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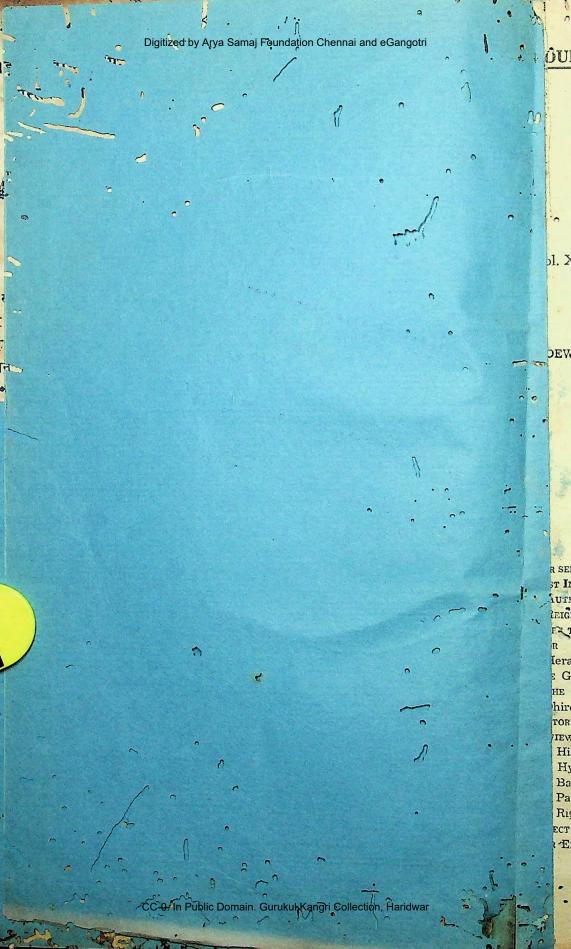
प्रागत पंजिका संख्या १४१

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प्रागत प्रविकी प्रकार का विशान लगाना

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EDITOR

Rājasēvāsakta

DEWAN BAHADUR S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hony. Ph.D.,

Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India,
 Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Rao Bahadur C. S. SRINIVASACHARYAR, M.A., Professor, Annamalai University.

V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., Dip. Ec., Lecturer, Dept. of Ind. Hist. & Arch., University of Madras.

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Journal of Indian History

Ourselves

We are very sorry indeed that the first number of the Journal of India History for 1942 should have delayed so long. This delay, regrettable as it is, was due to the unavoidable emergencies of the war which made conditions in Madras well-nigh impossible for work in the early months of the year. The kind of paper wanted for the Journal could not be had, and printing work could not be got through in any comfort. The Editor himself has had to leave Madras for safety. As ill-luck would have it, he had a serious attack of illness which kept him in bed for a couple of months, and disabled him from work for a longer period. This unhappy combination of circumstances brought us nearly to thinking of giving up the Journal-painful as the thought was-after the years of work put into it. We are thankful, after all, that we have now got over the period of emergency and have been able to secure the means to go to work again. In these circumstances it was inevitable that we should issue a double number instead of the usual two numbers in succession. We are thankful indeed, for having secured the means to do this.

We issue the Journal in the confidence that our clients will be good enough to overlook the inconvenience caused to them, and continue to help the Journal to go on through another period of life with great comfort. On passing this crisis, we hope we shall yet have another long period of service in the cause of Indian History to which we have devoted ourselves over a score of years and more that it has been in existence.

With sincere apologies for all those who shared our anxiety.

EDITOR.

East India Company and the Mughal. Authorities During Jahangir's Reign

By

V. C. Joshi, M.A., (Hons.), F. C. College, Lahore.

On September 22, 1599, a hundred and one London merchants decided to subscribe for a voyage to the East Indies.¹ After a few days they approached Queen Elizabeth for the grant of a charter, giving them monopoly of trade with the East and permission to incorporate themselves into a joint-stock company.² The Charter was granted on December 31, 1600.³ By this was established a corporate body, "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies", popularly called the East India Company.

The early voyages of the Company were made not to India but to the Eastern Archipelago. The ports of the Malabar Coast, situated in the territories of petty Chiefs were important marts for Indian trade, but these were mostly under the control of the Portuguese when the English company was established. The English did not hope to carry on a profitable trade there. The only course open to them was to go to Gujarat, then under the Mughal emperors who could allow them to share Indo-European trade with the Portuguese. The English thus had to deal with more powerful rulers than the Portuguese had to face and had to devise method other than the method of the Portuguese which was to guarantee their monopoly by armed force.

The first attempt by the English to trade with India was made in the third voyage. Captain Hawkins and Finch arrived at Surat in November 1607, in the *Hector* with some merchandise and despatched their ship to the Eastern Archipelago.⁴ In accordance

^{1.} Stevens, 1-4.

^{2.} Stevens, 8.

^{3.} F.L.B., 163-189.

^{4.} L.R.I., Introduction, XXIX, Cf., E.T. 70, 125.

with the practice of the time the new traders sought royal protection and patronage. Hawkins carried a royal letter from James I to the King of Surat.5 Leaving Finch at Surat, Hawkins proceeded to Jahangir's court at Agra where he was well received by the emperor. • He joined the imperial service and a mansab of 400 horse was conferred on him.6 He was also successful in securing a firman allowing the English to trade at Surat.7

The sixth voyage of the Company, under the generalship of Sir Henry Middleton, holds a prominent place in its history. As calicoes and other varieties of Indian cloth were in great demand in the Eastern Archipelago,8 special instructions were sent for the opening of a factory at Surat.9 Royal letters with presents to the Mughal Emperor and the governor of Cambay were sent. 10 The fleet anchored at the bar of Surat on September 6, 1611. In spite of the opposition of the Portuguese some of the Englishmen landed at Swally¹¹ and traded for a short time. Meanwhile, Hawkins had failed to obtain permission from the emperor for the establishment of a permanent English factory at Surat and returned in disgust.12 On February 9, 1612 the English merchants at Surat were ordered to leave the city without realizing even their debts13 and all the Englishman left the place. Thus that first attempt to establish an English factory in the Mughal Empire was frustrated.

Eir Henry Middleton failed in his attempts to open trade at various other places and in despair resolved to take revenge on the Turks of Aden and Mocha, Indians and Portuguese, by blockading the Red Sea, where they went for trade. He inflicted great losses on Indian ships including the "Remee", a junk belonging to Jahangir's mother.14

The was towards the end of 1612, that the English were able to secure a foothold in India. Thomas Best, a seaman of great experi-

- 5. F.L.B., 105.
- 6. E.R.I., 23., E.T. 82-83; Jahangir and Jesuits, 80.
- 7. L.R.I., 23; E.T. 85.
- 8. L.R.I., 18.
- 9. F.L.B, 333-34.
- 10. F.L.B., 349-50, 350-51.
- 11. L.R.I., 157-58.
- 12. L.R.I., 158, 175; E.T. 83-84; Maclagan 79-31.
- 13. L.R.I., 158, 175-76; E.T. 95. 14. L.R.I., 178-79, 186-88, 189-90.

ence, was commissioned to accomplish this work. King James granted him full authority to negotiate an agreement with the "Great King of the Mughals or any of his Deputies", on behalf of the King of Great Britain. Best reached the Indian coast in September 1612 with two ships. Near Daman, he received a warning left by Henry Middleton bidding Englishmen not to think of the trade at Surat. Disregarding it, he reached Swally on September 6. Four Englishmen proceeded to Surat in boats and were well received by the Governor and the chief men of the place. This encouraged them and on September 12, Thomas Aldworth and Paul Canning, two of the factors, landed with some goods for sale. 17

Meanwhile the news of Middleton's exploits in the Red Sea reached Surat. The English merchants were afraid of its consequences to themselves, and Captain Best wanted to leave the place. The factors ashore found the authorities at Surat very reasonable. and decided to open a factory.18 Fortunately, the Governnor of Gujarat also came to Surat and on October 14 visited Swally. After conferring with the English General and factors, he concluded an agreement with them.19 this was to be confirmed by the Mughal King within forty days; but his Firman did not reach them in time. Captain Best again prepared to leave the place, but Thomas Aldworth and other factors resisted his attempts. The long expected Firman from Jahangir confirming the agreement was received by the English General on January 13, 1613.20 The English found Surat a profitable place for their trade. The Factors wrote to the Company on January 25, 1613, ".....throughout the whole Indies there cannot be any place more beneficial for our country than this. being the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies and for sale of our commodities."21

In all ten Englishmen were left at Surat. It was decided to send Canning with four others, including two musicians, with a

^{15.} F.L.B., 437-40, 441.

^{16.} L.R.I., 233-34, 256.

^{17.} L.R.I., 234, 256.

^{18.} L.R.I., 234-235.

^{19.} L.R.I., 235, 256; E.T. 197.

^{20.} L.R.I., 235-36, 237.

^{21.} L.R.I., 238.

present, to the Mugal Court.22 They left Surat in January 1613,23 and reached Agra after facing great hardships. Canning delivered the presents and the royal letter to the Emperor, but failed to find favour with him. This was due to the Jesuits' influence at the court, who made Canning confess that the present came from the Company, not from the King of England. Canning died shortly afterwards on May 12, 1613, due to flux.24 Thereupon Thomas Kerridge was sent to the court, to take Canning's place. He was to secure the confirmation of the recent agreement based on Best's articles which were not much respected there. He was also to obtain the Mughal's reply to King James' letter and secure a place where the English ships could anchor without fear of the Portuguese.25 Kerridge arrived at Agra on August 22 and six days later had audience with the Emperor. His present, a standing cup, was not esteemed by Jahangir and the latter referred all business regarding the English to Mukarrab Khan.26 The Jesuits, being very influential at the court also obstructed him.27 Mukarrab Khan reproached the English for Middleton's actions. Kerridge had to offer many excuses for that.28

Fortunately for the English, the Portuguese came into conflict with the Mughals in 1613, thus giving the English a good opportunity to acquire commercial privileges. The Portuguese in Surat aimed at excluding other European nations from trade there.29 When the Mughal authorities seemed to be inclined to allow the English to share the foreign trade of Surat, the Portuguese captured a richly laden Indian ship, in which Jahangir's mother was interested.30 This led to hostilities between the Mughals and the Portuguese in which the English too played an important role. dispute was terminated in 1615 by a treaty.31

^{22.} L.R.I., 237-238, 257.

^{23.} L.R.II., 131.

^{24.} L.R.I., 282, 300, 303, II, 108 131 Cf. Maclagan; 81.

^{25.} L.R.H., 180; L.R.I., 300, 303.

^{26.} L.R.I., 277.

^{27.} L.R.I., 282-83, 300.

^{28.} Ibid, 279-80.

^{29.} L.R.II., 179, J.J., 83-84.

^{30.} L.R.I., 308-09, L.R.II., 96, 104; E.T. 203; 491-192; Danvers, II; 162. 31. Roe, 74, Danvers II, 173-74, cf. Heras, S.J., "Jahangir and Portuguese" Proceedings I.H.R.C. IX, (1926 pp. 72-80).

After Best's departure, the hot season set in shortly at Surat and little trade could be effected till October 1613.³² Leaving William Biddulph at Surat, Thomas Aldworth, the chief factor with Withington and Young, left for Ahmedabad on October 8.³³ Due to the Mughal-Portuguese conflict, the prices of Indigo had fallen and calicoes could be had at reasonable rates at Broach and Baroda. The English therefore extended trade to these towns.³⁴

Best did not return to Surat as was expected, and as no other English ship came there in 1613, the English trade could not be expanded much. Four ships under the command of Capt. Downton reached Swally in the middle of October 1614.35 This fleet brought fifteen merchants who were to stay in India, the chief of whom was William Edwards.36 They brought a Royal letter and a present from King James for the Great Mughal.37 William Edwards was appointed to go to the court of Jahangir under the title of a "messenger" from the English King to the Mughal Court as merchants were despised there.38 Fifteen articles were prepared and sent with Edwards to be confirmed by Jahangir as the privileges of the English.39

Mukarrab Khan hindered the trade of the English a little so that he might get their help against the Portuguese; but they decided to land goods in spite of that. The English merchants including William Edwards entered Surat on Novermember 8, 1614; but the "Messenger" was detained till November 30, by Mukarrab Khan without any apparent cause. The latter also forcibly seized the presents for Jahangir. Edwards proceeded to Ajmere via Ahmedabad. Almedabad.

Meanwhile, Jahangir hoping to defeat the Portuguese with the help of the English, sent a Firman to Mukarrab Khan asking him treat the English kindly and allow them to trade freely. William

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32. L.R.I., 299, 303.
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^{33.} L.R.I., 299, 306.

^{34.} L.R.I., 305-06, L.R.II., 100.

^{35.} F.L.B., 449-52, L.R.H., 167, 168.

^{36.} L.R.II., 138.

^{37.} Ibid, 138.

^{38.} Ibid, 133, 137.

^{39.} Ibid, 133.

^{40.} Ibid, 133, 138, 149, 1

^{41.} Ibid, 135-39,

^{42.} Ibid, 157.

Edwards reached Ajmere on February 2, 1615, but Jahangir had gone out on a hunting expedition. Learning of the arrival of the English messenger with presents, he called him to the place where he was. Edwards was received graciously, and the King promised to grant the English whatever they wanted. He was also given Rs. 3,000 by Jahangir for his expenses. The defeat of the Portuguese by Capt. Downton had served to enhance the prestige of the English at the Court.43 Jahangir replied to King Jame's letter and gave a Firman "directed to all the Governors, both of sea ports and chief cities and towns" allowing the English to trade and securing for them kind treatment.44

The necessity of having an Englishman of importance and high position at the Mughal court had been emphasised more than once. The authorities at home were at last converted and decided to send at their cost an ambassador from the English King to the Great Mughal. Sir Thomas Roe was chosen for the post, but was strictly forbidden to interfere in the commercial activities of the Company.45 He came in Keeling's fleet which reached Swally on September 19, 1615.46 Meanwhile, Surat had passed under the jurisdiction of Prince Khurram and Zulfiqar Khan was the Governor of the town. Roe landed in state at Swally, on September 26, 1615, after securing an assurance from the Governor to get his and his retinue's goods ashore customs free, according to the conventional right of an ambassador.46a But the Surat authorities did not pay much regard to Sir Thomas Roe. The reason was that all the Englishmen proceeding to the court had assumed the high sounding title of an ambassador. They probably regarded Roe as another impostor. Roe in his own words was "to repair a ruined house and was to make straight that which was crooked."47

Boe's goods were detained at the custom house and the Mughal officials tried to search them. The English merchants were also put to much trouble. In the face of these difficulties the ambassador assumed an attitude of defiance and threatened the Governor that

^{43.} L.R.II., 245-46, L.R.III., 14-15, 17, 63-64, 84-85, 89. 44. L.R.III., 20, 65.

^{45.} F.L.B., 446-49.

^{46.} L.R.III., 117, Roe, 27.

⁴⁶a. Roe, 28. 29, 31.

^{47.} Ibid, 30.

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he would complain against him to the King.48 On October 30, a firman was received at Surat from Jahahgir accepting Roe as an ambassador and ordering that he be entertained as such. This had its effect. Roe's goods were released and the Governor treated him in a friendly manner. The ambassador set out for the court the same day via Burhanpur. 49 Roe reached Burhanpur on November 14, 1615, and had an audience with Prince Parviz. He obtained from him a grant for the establishment of an English factory there.50 The ambassador reached Ajmere on December 23, and entered the city privately, because he was very ill.51 Having recovered, he went to the Darbar on January 10, 161652 He was permitted to behave there according to the custom of his country. The royal letter and the presents, though small, were well received by Jahangir. Roe writes in his journal that "he dismissed me with more favour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) than ever was showed to any ambassador, either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever,53 Jahangir also replied to the English King's letter.54

Roe stayed at the Mughal Court till the autumn of 1618 and during this period had to follow the Emperor to Mandu and Ahmedabad. It would be out of place here to deal in detail with his negotiations at the court for a long period of two years and nine months. He had come to India with the idea of concluding a commercial treaty with the Great Mughal on terms of equality, for securing a permanent footing in India for the English so that local officials should not be able to molest or injure them. He also thought of obtaining some place on the western coast of India for fortifying and making it a fit entrepot for the English trade and shipping. In October 1616, he requested the Prince for the same, but Khurram turned down this request. However, later, Roe gave up this idea, thinking it impracticable and harmful to trade, because the plantation policy bred quarrels, as the Dutch experience in the Moluccas proved. 55

^{48.} Ibid, 51-52, 54-55, L.R.III, 183-84, 196-97.

^{49.} Roe, 64-65

^{50.} Ibid, 68, 79-81, L.R.IV., 294.

^{51.} Roe, 84.

^{52.} Roe, 84, L.R.IV., 10.

^{53.} Roe, 87.

^{54.} o L.R.III., 284-85.

^{55.} E.F.I., 13-14.

Roe also failed in his negotiations for getting a treaty concluded with the Great Mughal. The ambassador submitted the articles drawn up by him to the Mughal Emperor on March 26, 1616.56 These aimed at freedom of trade for the English throughout the Empire, promising in return to bring rarities for the Mughal Emperor and to assist him against his enemies.⁵⁷ Jahangir referred the draft agreement to Asaf Khan. The kind entertainment of the ambassador made Roe feel that his articles would be agreed to, but these were returned by Asaf Khan on September 4, 1616.58 Roe modified the draft making it more agreeable to the Mughal, but Asaf Khan rejected the second draft too.59 The causes of such an attitude are not far to seek. The English had nothing to offer in return for the favours they were asking for. The bringing of rarities for the Emperor was a trivial matter and the promise of help a thing to be scorned. The Mughal Emperor regarded himself the greatest monarch of the world. As far as England was concerned, it was little known in India and too far off, to affect his fortunes. The poor presents brought by the English⁶⁰ did not enhance their prestige. Jahangir regarded Roe's embassy as an event without any significance and does not even mention it in his memoirs. Moreover, treaties of a commercial nature were an uncommon thing to the Indians of those times. Under such circumstances Roe's expectations could not be fulfilled. The Mughals generally allowed foreigners to trade in India as a favour. Roe understood the position clearly when he wrote that "neither will this overgrown eelphant descend to article or bind himself by any prince on terms of equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay so long as it either likes him or those that govern him."61 These firmans were revocable or alterable at any moment. Surat, the place where the English had their chief trade centre was under the jurisdiction of Prince Khurram, Jahangir's favourite son. He did not wish to interfere there. Roe accordingly was directed to secure a nishan from Khurram, for the purpose.62 The ambassador had already applied to the Prince for the same and a nishan granting the English

^{56.} Roe, 132.

^{57.} Roe, 134-37.

^{58.} Ibid, 228-29.

^{59.} Ibid, 229-30, 231.

^{60.} L.R.IV., 10.

^{61.} L.R.VI., 298.

^{62.} Roe, 229, 231.

liberty to trade at Surat was given to Roe, on September 11, 161663 Later, in 1618. Roe secured another nishan from the Prince, to the same effect, after giving an undertaking for the good behaviour of the English.64

Though Roe ostensibly failed in his mission, his services to the East India Company cannot be exaggerated. At the time of his arrival the very existence of English in the Mughal Empire was at stake. Prince Khurram had issued an order in October 1615, that the English should leave Surat after a month's trade. 65 As has been related, Roe was successful in securing an order from the Prince for . the permanent settlement of the English at Surat. Zulfiqar Khan, the Governor of Surat, had harshly dealt with the English, by forcibly appropriating their goods to himself, paying them arbitrary prices, searching them and extorting bribes.66 Roe made complaints against him at the court, whereupon he was recalled.67 The next Governor named Ibrahim Khan treated the English more reasonably.68 Ree succeeded in obtaining compensation for the English losses at Surat suffered at the hands of Zulfiqar Khan.⁶⁹ He also recovered English debts at the Court.70 When the English were troubled at Ahmedabad he secured effectual firmans for their fair treatment.71 For Broach also he got similar orders from Mahabat Khan, under whose jurisdiction the place fell. 72 Last of all, Roe's presence at the court must have influenced the local officials who do not seem to have molested the English.

The English at Surat could now pass their days peacefully. Trouble came with the arrival of Keeling's fleet. Zulfiqar Khan's 'abuses' have already been referred to. Some of the complaints of the English were justified; such as the taking of goods by the Governor without payment or at unreasonably low rates, detention of the goods for a long time in the customs house, overrating those

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63. Ibid, 118-119, 120-21, 122-23, 19, 30-31, 144. 64. E.F.I., 40-41.
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66. L.R.IV., 78-81, 83-84.

67. Ibid, 293-94.

68. Roe, 294. L.R.IV., 307-8, 320, 329.

69. Roe, 138, 149, 150 155-56 157, 160; 172; 197-98.

70. L.R. VI., 167.

71, Roe, 153, L.R.IV., 16-17.

^{65.} Roe, 55.

^{72.} L.R.IV., 141-42, 142-43.

for getting higher customs, hindering their free sale and extorting-There were other matters, however, in which the English were at a disadvantage. Regarding the searches in the custom house, it must be borne in mind that full free trade could not be allowed under the circumstances as the governors of the port towns had orders to buy, out of the imports, rare and strange commodities for the King.73 Many people tried to evade customs duties as they do even to-day. The English were also guilty of this offence and even Roe, inspite of his high position, tried to practise the same. According to his instructions some pearls were smuggled ashore, without payment of duty, in 161774 In 1616 he thought of deceiving the Surat authorities by getting costly goods, received from England, without payment of customs duties, with the presents for the Emperor.74 The English sailors also smuggled things ashore from the ships.75

Turther the English, many a time, put themselves into trouble through their own faults and follies. Most of the sailors and some of the factors coming to Surat were unruly and went beyond the bounds of decorum, in their behaviour. The page of Sir Thomas Roe left by him at Surat, quarrelled with the people in the streets, teased their women by making objectionable gestures, and even dared to enter the houses of merchants and "putting his hands into their pots of meat and drink."76 A sailor once opened the litter of a doli, in which was seated a woman.77 In November 1616, the English hung a big bell, 8 pounds in weight on their factory house, with a sign of the company resembling the Cross which the people detested. The matter was satisfactorily settled through the prudence of the governor, Ibrahim Khan, and the bell was removed.78 In 1617, the English landed some bricks and built a furnace at Surat to cast a big bell and a large number of sailors came ashore with arms. This created a stir among the people and the authorities ordered the demolition of the furnace and enjoined that no more than ten English sailors could come ashore at a time, leaving their arms in the customs-house.79

^{73.} L.R.II., 178-79.

^{74.} L.R.VI., 120, 141; Roe, 405.

^{75.} L.R.IV., 205-08.

^{76.} E.F.I., 111-12.

^{77.} Roe, 327, L.R.IV., 348. 78. L.R.IV., 344-48.

^{79.} L.R.VI., 217, 276.

English exploits at sea also sometimes brought about ruptures with the authorities. Captain Pepwell captured a Portuguese frigate on November 9, 1616, at Surat, in reprisal for one of Khwaja Abas, laden with English watercasks, captured by the Portuguese. The frigate contained some goods of Indian merchants and Ishaq Beg, the shahbandar, who was said to have been anti-English, got an opportunity to punish the English. It was ordered that no provisions be sold to the English and merchants were forbidden to trade with them. Though they were soon allowed to buy victuals, the embargo on trade continued upto December 7, 1616 when the English surrendered the frigate concerned. Pepwell was also guilty of capturing two Indian junks for which compensation of £150 had to be paid by the Surat factory.

In September 1617, Pepwell's fleet of four ships reached Swally.⁸² Roe learning of the arrival of the ships from England secured an order from Prince Khurram through Jahangir that the presents for the Emperor be sent to him without being opened at Surat.⁸³ These were despatched after a long delay from Surat with Edward Terry, Roe's new Chaplain.⁸⁴ Contrary to Roe's expectations, the presents fell into Jahangir's hands at Mandu who appropriated all, before Roe could see those.⁸⁵ The presents, according to the ambassador were poor and he was pleased at heart at this.⁸⁶

An important feature of Pepwell's voyage was the extension of East India Company's trade to Persia, mainly for exporting Indian goods to Persia henceforth; this commerce became a regular feature of its activities in the East, which formerly had been carried on by Indian merchants and the Portuguese. A few years later, in 1622, the English stepped into the freight trade between India and Persia. In 1618, the English also began to send ships to the feed Sea for commercial purposes. The merchants of Gujarat

^{80.} L.R.IV., 248-54, L.R.V., 113.

^{81.} L.R.V., 206-07, L.R.VI., 161

^{82.} L.R.IV., 280-81.

^{83.} L.R.IV., 204-05.

^{84.} L.R.V., 111, 208.

^{85.} Roe, 343-44, 344-45, 346-53, L.R.V. 2034, 208, 335-36.

^{86.} L.R.II., 336, 337 38. 87. E.F.II., 247, 186, 198.

^{88.} E.F.I., 27, 33-34, 35-36, 44-45, 67.

made large profits out of the Red Sea trade. They were opposed to this venture of the English, because the latter carried to Mocha not only English goods but also those of Gujarat. The English had already encroached upon their trade to the South and Persia. The Red Sea-commerce was the only important sea trade left to them. They refused to sell commodities, fit for the Red Sea, to the English and the authorities put an embargo on any sale to them throughout Gujarat excepting Broach, though the English secretly contrived to make some purchases.89 A petition was sent to the King against this, but proved useless.90 The English tried all means including threats, entreaties, bribes etc., but the Indian authorities were not prepared to sacrifice the interest of their own merchants.91 When Bickley's fleet arrived at Swally, in October 1619, the authorities refused to allow the English to land coral as it was an important commodity which the Gujarati merchants brought from the Red Sea. 92 The English again sent a request to Prince Khurram to lift the embargo on their Red Sea trade and allow the landing and sale of coral.93 The Prince supporting the demand of Indian merchants rejected their petition, but allowed the English to land and sell their coral for the year, asking them not to bring any more.94 The English had to give up the Red Sea trade for the time being.

In 1621, the English factors at Surat resolved to revive this trade in Indian commodities and broad-cloth, in spite of Khurram's orders to the contrary. Three ships sailed for Mocha in March 1622, and after visiting that port returned to Swally on September 19.96 Investments were again made for Mocha in Gujarat, for 1623, in Indian products. In March 1623, three ships under the command of Captain Hall were despatched from Surat to Mocha for trade with instruction to seize and detain Indian junks coming back from the Red Sea to Surat. This work they accomplished.

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89. Ibid, 56, 89, 92-98.
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^{90.} Jbid, 95-96, 117.

^{91.} Ibid, 101, 106.

^{92.} Ibid, 129, 130, 131.

^{93.} Ibid, 126-27.

^{94.} Ibid, 174-77.

^{95.} E.F.I., 319-20, 321, 325, 331-32c

^{96.} E.F.II., 60, 62. 97. *Ibid*, 148-49.

^{98.} Ibid, 228.

Since 1614, English ships came regularly every year to Surat and goods were exported to England. The English trade in India progressed steadily, but their factors in India continuously complained of many disabilities some of which have already been related. They were prohibited from purchasing goods for the Red Sea in Gujarat and were not allowed to deal in coral at Surat. They were greatly inconvenienced by the size of their factory house, because the one which they occupied was small and they had to distribute their goods in as many as seven ware-houses. authorities would neither allow them to build a residence for themselves nor to hire another near the castle or the river where big houses could be obtained.99 Many abuses existed in the customs house. Goods were overrated to get higher customs, were detained there for a longer time than was necessary and purchases were made by the local officials at unreasonably low prices, fixed by themselves. 100 With the opening of a mint at Surat the English were not allowed to export specie or rials to their inland factories and had to exchange their coins at some loss. 101 They protested against it but to no purpose. Sometimes the English could not get carts or other means of transport due to the interference of local authorities. In October 1621 Pehlwan Safid, the Governor of Swally, ordered the cartmen not to take English goods from Swally to Surat, for their disorderly behaviour. The English also could not get water for their ship's company.102 The unrealized debts also gave great worry to English factors. They sold goods on credit, but found it very difficult to recover their debts and sometimes had to forego payments. Sometimes, the English caravans coming to Surat from inland factories, were detained on the way. In 1619, a caravan of 1600 camels, coming from Agra to Surat, was detained near Burhanpur because of a claim by a Portuguese named Francisco Soares on the Company. Sparge, an English factor, had smuggied some baskets of porcelain, left by Soares, with Bangham at Burhanpur. The Mir Adal had granted a warrant for it, but the English were determined not to pay as they held that according to European custom the "principals" were not responsible for the acts of the

^{99.} E.F.I., 103, 114, 135-36.

^{100.} E.F.I., 101.

^{101.} E.F.I., 238, 292.

^{102.} Ibid, 295, 296, 301, 331.

servants.103 The English were successful in maintaining their point of view and the caravan was released in September 1619, on Prince Khurram's command. 104 Soares renewed his claim in 1621. but the Qazi to whom the matter was referred, held Soare's testimony to be false.105

The English were exasperated to find that often their rivals in trade were high Mughal officials, many of whom had an immediate interest in hindering their activities. The English were put to trouble by Ishaq Beg, the Governor of Surat, in November 1619, which came to an end by the appointment of a new Governor named Jamshed Beg. 106 But he too was a merchant and desiring to purchase the coral of the English at low rates would not allow other merchants to trade therein. The factors at Surat decided to bribe him, rather than to yield to his desire.107

Many of the complaints of the English were flimsy. These were hey-days of Mercantile System in England, but the English factors in India wanted to have full free trade in the country. The least restriction seemed intolerable and most unjust to them, even though it was necessitated by the customs and law of the country. checks were placed on them for their unruly behaviour at Surat. But being strong at sea they tried to get the best out of the situation for themselves. The seizing of Indian junks as a remedy to get such wrongs righted had been suggested by Roe in 1617.108 This was repeated again and again, and in 1620 the Company gave its approval for such an action.109 The method was tried successfully for the first time in March 1621, when the Governor of Olpad detained the English goods and provisions. The junk detained in this case belonged to Prince Khurram and was released when the Governor of Surat promised to get their grievances redressed. 110 But the alleged 'abuses' continued till many of them were remedied in November 1621. The coral was allowed to be landed and the embargo on English trade in Gujarat was lifted. Free exportation

^{103.} Ibid, 88-89, 90, 92.

^{104.} Ibid, 120, 121, 134.

^{105.} E.F.I., 209, 273.

^{106.} Ibid, 145, 146, 149, 150-51, 155.

^{107.} Ibid, 187-89.

^{108.} L.R.VI., 128.

^{109.} E.F.I., 214.

^{110.} E.F.I., 232.

of rials from Surat was allowed and the English were permitted to have a house to their 'best conveniency."111

But new troubles came soon. The English had captured a Sind junk worth a thousand rupees according to their own computation. The Sind merchants to whom the junk belonged came to the Mughal court to seek restitution and claimed Rs. 10,000 from the English. The latter denied it and putting confidence in Asaf Khan, left to him to do justice. 112 In a Portuguese frigate, captured by the English there were some goods and money belonging to two influential Gujarat merchants, named Safi Khan and Gangaji, who also laid a claim of £ 1,150 on the English.113 Safi Khan, in December 1621, detained English goods at Ahmedabad and those of the Dutch at Sarkhej, thinking them to be one, though he released the latter when he came to know of their true position.114 Trade was prohibited to the English at Baroda and English goods at Cambay were also ordered to be detained. 115 Such restrictions were only removed when on January 11, 1622, the English factors at Ahmedabad, reluctantly promised to pay the demand in full.116 Early in 1622, the English factors at Agra and their goods were seized by the authorities because of the English highhandedness at sea and the claim of the Sind merchants. It was expected that this would be repeated elsewhere throughout the Mughal Empire. 117 The Factors were released shortly after, but the goods were kept in custody. 118 The English at Surat learning of it wanted to represent their case at the royal court; but the Governor of Surat did not allow Jadu, an Indian broker and the envoy employed for the purpose, to leave the place. 119 The two English factors at Samana, hearing of the misfortune which had fallen upon their brethren decided to go overland to Persia. Young first went to Lahore and not being allowed to proceed further he returned to Samaza. 120

^{111.} E.F.I., 325.

^{112.} Ibid, 267-8, 235-36.

^{113.} Ibid, 334.

^{114.} Ibid, 348-49, 350-51, 353, 355.

^{115.} Ibid, 349-50, 352-53.

^{116.} E.F.II., 19.

^{117.} E.F.II., 11-12.

^{118.} Ibid, 13.

^{119.} E.F.II., 21-22.

^{120.} Ibid, 43, 58.

From there he came back to Agra in April with the cloths purchased by him. 121 In the same month, Asaf Khan ordered that Rs. 10,200 be taken out of the English cash but other goods remained in the custody of the authorities.122 The other factor at Samana, named Willoughby, was able to reach the royal court in Kashmere the same month and was able to secure an order for the release of English goods excepting Rs. 10,200 given over to Sind merchants in compensation.123

The English felt that they had suffered much and decided to seize Indian junks to remedy the wrongs done to them. A general plan to quit all the inland English factories was the first necessity to enforce their demands for better terms. Burhanpur facory was dissolved in May 1622,124 followed by Agra125 and Ahmadabad126 in April and August 1623. All the factors came down to Surat.

Three English ships had arrived at Swally, in October 1622, under the command of Captain Hall. 127 Realising that the English property in India was small in March 1623, and the factories could be withdrawn in time, the President and Council at Surat decided to seize Indian ships coming back from Mocha, in October. The three ships under Captain Hall were to proceed to the Red Sea, for the purpose and a Council was appointed to accomplish the scheme. 128. Full instructions were given to them. 129 which were duly carried out. The English ships took five Indian junks including one of Khurram's and another of Dalhol. The Dolphin and Blessing anchored near Daman on September 27, with these vessels. To these were added a little later the Gunjawar, a big ship and the Shahi, a junk belonging to Jahangir. 130 President Rastell escaped to Swally, before the Indians came to know of this exploit. 131 This

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121. Ibid, 74.
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^{122.} Ibid, 78-79.

^{123.} Ibid, 90. 124. Jbid, 87.

^{125.} Ibid, 221-22.

^{126.} Ibid, 258.

^{127.} Ibid, 166.

^{128.} E.F.II., 204-05.

^{129.} E.F.II, 206-07.

^{130.} Ibid, 264-65, 267-271.

^{131.} Ibid, 266-67.

action did not create much stir at the royal court due to the civil war which was going on, at the time. Bahadur Khan, the Governor of Surat patiently dealt with the matter. He treated the English courteously and promised to get their grievances redressed by Khan-i-Azam who was in Gujarat, putting down the rebellious Khurram. 132 The English landed all the passengers except some kept as hostages; but kept aboard the property of everyone under seal, to be delivered after the settlement.133 The Dutch chief at Surat, Pieter Van der Broeck interceded on behalf of the Indian Merchants, to President Rastell, to make up their differences, 134 as the Mughal authorities placed difficulties in the trade of the Dutch. 135 Englishmen at Surat were taken prisoners by the Governor and a guard was placed on the factory house. 136 The English had submitted an exaggerated demand of about £ 100,000 on October 18, hoping to make concession out of it without loss to themselves. This contained various losses suffered by the English due to robberies on highways including one by Malik Ambar's men, the detention of goods, unrealized debts, compensations paid, bribes and losses due to ban on trade at various places. 137 Khan-i-Azam had come to Surat but had to leave the place soon on November 4, 1623, having been asked by Jahangir to repair to the court. 138 He left the matter in the hands of Safi Khan, who would not accept all the demands of the English but assured fair treatment for the future. 139 Under repeated threats of the English to leave the place with the Indian junks, and through the efforts of Hakim Massiahul-Zaman140 and some merchants of Surat, an agreement was reached on November 10, 1623. This was formally signed on November 14, by the English President, Nawab Saif Khan, the Qazi and the other chief men of Surat.141 The watch on the English factory was withdrawn, English prisoners were set free, and the junks were

^{132.} Ibid, 269-70, 273-74.

^{133.} Ibid, 271.

^{134.} Ibid, 276-77.

^{135.} Ibid, 280-81, 290.

^{136.} Ibid, 294.

^{137.} E.F.II., 281, 283-86.

^{138.} Ibid, 297.

^{139.} Ibid, 299, 300-301.

^{140.} He was appointed Governor of Surat in 1636 E.F.V., 204. 141. E.F.II., 366, 320-1

released by the English on November 19142 Prince Dawar Baksh ratified the agreement.143 The English resumed their trade activities both in Gujarat and North India. The Surat Presidency rewarded Captain Hall, with a chain of gold, worth 100 marks, for the accomplishment of the project.144

The agreement consisted of two parts. The first dealt with the English claims and the second part with the future regulation of their trade. Some of these claims were met, and others being recognized, it was stipulated to hand over the offenders to the English. The demands on Malik Ansar were allowed to be satisfied from the Dalhol junk and the goods of the Deccanese, in other ships. It was also decided to get these articles confirmed by the king so that no claim be made with regard to these in future.145 On the whole, the English got compensation for all their past losses. The English were allowed to trade freely in all parts of the Mughal Empire, including Bengal and Sind. Regarding customs duties, it was decided that the English would pay 40,000 Mahmudies (£ 2,000) per annum in a lump sum and nothing more. No inland tolls were to be charged. No goods would be taken out of the customs house without payment, or detained there. Goods required for the King and Prince Khurram could be taken out, and the price paid. No carts or boats were to be denied to the English and no caravan to be detained in the way, on any pretext. Free exercise of religion was promised to the English; they could wear arms for their defence and administer justice on their own people. The estates of the deceased Englishmen were to belong to the English factory and the brokers of the English were also promised fair treatment. 146 Lastly it was agreed that "the past or present stoppage of the King's, Prince's or his subjects' junks shall not be imputed to the English as a crime of equice, seeing that the want of justice upon sundry abuses, outrages, prohibitions, and losses sustained had justly enforced them to that extremity." Nothing was to be asked in satisfaction for the detention of the junks, and no Englishman could be questioned or punished for that.147 Thus they fully justified their action.

^{142.} Ibid, 321-22, 323.

^{143.} Ibid, 322.

^{144.} Ibid, 339.

^{145.} E.F.H. 306-09.

^{146.} Ibid, 309-12.

^{147.} Ibid, 312.

By this agreement the English got all that could be desired but at the very time of its conclusion some of them felt that it would not be kept by the Indian authorities.. 148 It had been forced upon them due to their weak position on sea. However, the agreement included a clause in it for the confirmation by the King. This was never granted and Jahangir coming to know of it ordered "the apprehending of our (English) persons, restitution of our recoveries and expulsion out of this country."149 The English were charged with taking goods in excess to the amount of £ 10,000, in settlement of their claim that was allowed by the agreement. When the English ships had left Swally early in 1624, all Englishmen at Surat including the President were put into prison and their goods were seized. The English ships, returned from Persia, in March, 150 and tried to seize the Indian junks again, but the Dutch at Surat protected them. 151 No reconciliation could be made even in April, and the English ships, the William and the Blessing, sailed for Bantam and the Red Sea without getting a landing. They were expected to return in September, to take action against the Indian junks. 152

The English factors at the court at Lahore tried to move the King for the fair treatment of the English at Surat. They were able to secure a firman from Jahangir for the same, 153 but before it reached Surat, an agreement had been concluded on September 7, 1624, between the English President and the authorities and merchants of Surat partly based on that of the previous year. 154 The English were to pay customs duties at the usual rates and not in a lump sum. The privilege of wearing arms was taken away. Restriction was imposed on the movements of the President to safeguard Indian interests at sea and he was forbidden to go abroad the ships without the Governor's license. 155 The English and their goods were released but some commodities and money were taken from them, as compensation to Indian merchants. 156 The losses of the English were apparently great, but not more than the restitu-

^{148.} Ibid, 319.

^{149.} E.F.III., 56.

^{150.} E.F.II., 319.

^{151.} E.F.III., 4, 6-7, 18.

^{152.} E.F.III., 19, 20-21, 58.

^{153.} Ibid, 32-33.

^{154.} E.F.III., 27-30, 36, 195.

^{155.} Ibid, 29-30°

tion they had forced in 1623.157 Writing to the Company, the factors at Surat covered their disgrace with some providential benefits. 158 After this agreement, the English, having realized their true position, were established in the Mughal Empire; cordiality of their relations with Indians increased day by day, their trade expanded. their credit became greater and they did not come into conflict with the Mughal authorities for a long time. Thus the President and Council could write home in 1628, 'our fair correspondence with this country people is continued by all means we can, and our living amongst them is with greater peace and amity than even it was before the breach."159

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156. Ibid, 32, 36, 59, 154.

157. Ibid, 59.

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Were the Mohenjo-Darians Aryans or Dravidians?

By

Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

Dr. Laxman Sarup of the Oriental College, Lahore, submitted a paper on "Is the Indus Valley Civilization Aryan or Non-Aryan?" to the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Hyderabad, last December, which deserves some consideration. His contention is that the authors of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization were Aryans. But after a careful study of all the documents and arguments put forward by him, one finally comes to the conclusion that the authors of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization were Dravidians.

We are sorry we do not possess the full text of his paper which has not been published as yet but its summary officially published by the Local Secretary of the Conference is in our possession, and the different arguments advanced by Dr. Sarup are quite clear and admit of no doubt...

Their final conclusion is enunciated thus. The Indus Valley Civilization is an outcome of the Rgvedic period. It occupies an intermediate stage between the Rgvedic and the post-Rgvedic Hindu civilization. Its character is Aryan and not non-Aryan." It would at first sight appear a difficult task for Dr. Sarup to prove these three statements which are totally contradictory to what has been proved by Prof. R. D. Banerji, Sir John Marshall and other authors, both Indian and European. Yet the ingenuity of Dr. Sarup seems to make this task easy. Let us examine the arguments he proposes to convince the readers.

His argument may be reduced to four different categories: -

- (1) Sociology.
- (2) Religion.
- (3) Script.
- (4) Chronology.

^{1.} The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad Session, Summaries of papers, pp. 120-123.

(1) Sociological Arguments.

As regards the sociological arguments Dr. Sarup seems to overlook that when the Aryas arrived in India, they found India inhabited by a race whom they called Dāsas or Dasyus. Dr. Sarup tells us that the civilization of Mohenjo-Daro is a city-civilization as opposed to village civilization, and in this he is quite correct. But he further informs us that this city-civilization was not found in India till the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore, he concludes that the civilization of Mohenjo Daro must belong to this later period.

Now it is perfectly clear that the Aryas of the Rgvedic period did not develop any other civilization than the village civilization as opposed to city civilization. Yet the Rgvedic Rsis themselves mention the purah of the Dāsas which are precisely those cities within which city civilization was flourishing. Hence, we may unhesitatingly state that city civilization in the Rgvedic period did not exist among the Āryas, but among the Dāsas from whom the Āryas themselves learnt so as to be able to develop the same civilization at a later period. Accordingly Dr. Sarup's argument, if properly studied proves that the Mohenjo Daro civilization was the civilization of the Dāsas, either in the very Rgvedic period or in a period prior to the Rgveda.

Another argument adduced by Dr. Sarup refers to trade and commerce. He is quite right in saying that the trade and commerce period of civilization is always a post-agricultural period. From this he infers that the Mohenjo Daro period being of trade and commerce must be later than the Rgvedic period of the Aryas which was purely agricultural. Unfortunately here the traders mentioned in the Rgveda are overlooked. Very often, the tribe of the Panis is being referred to by the Rgvedic Rsis as a tribe of enemies, who were enemies likewise of their bright gods² and who in spite of their hoarding immense riches³ were never ready to give daksinā to the Rsis.⁴ In these references to the Panis all authors have seen the ancient traders of the country who were a section or a tribe of those Dāsa or Dasyus⁵ a contemptuous name given by the Aryas to their enemies in general.

^{2.} Rg. I, 151, 9; Rg. I, 83, 4; 182., III, 58; 2; V; 34; 7; 61; 8; VI; 13; 3, 20, 4; 32, 2; VIII, 64, 11; VI, 13, 3; V, 34; 7.

^{3.} Ibid, I, 83, 4.

^{4.} Rg., V, 34, 5, 7.

⁵ Cf. Ludwig, Translation of the Rgveda, III, pp. 213-215; cf. Cambridge history of India, I, p. 82.

Those trade activities of the pre-Āryan inhabitants of India are fully acknowledged by scholars. Mr. J. F. Hewitt describes the commerce of the pre-Āryan Dravidians of the country in such a vivid and reasonable manner that it will be useful to quote a passage from his study here. He sems to have forseeen the discoveries in the Indus Valley. He says as follows:

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"There is ample evidence to show that it was not the Aryans who made India a great exporting country. The Kolarian and Dravidian settlers had founded and maintained a flourishing inland and foreign trade long before the advent of the Aryans, and this trade could only have begun and kept up by a people who had great advances in civilization. For the maintainance of a large foreign and inland trade, there must be cities like those so frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, in which merchants could live and store the minerals, forest and agricultural products, and the manufactured articles in which they dealt. These cities could not be built without carpenters and masons. The weavers of the coarser cottons and fine muslins, which formed so large a part of the exports, must have congregated into the towns, to be near the merchants to whom they sold their goods. There must have been workers in iron6 to make their spears and weapons of war, axes to cut down forest trees, hoes and agricultural implements, and carpenters' and mining tools. Jewellers must have lived in the cities, to prepare for export the precious stones, of which such large quantities were sent to foreign countries. And there were also dyers among the manufacturing artisans, who besides being conversant with other dyes, had learnt the difficult and recondite process of extracting dye from the indigo plant, indigo being in very early times, as it is now, a most valuable item among the Indian exports. Besides these classes, there were also necessarily in the cities potters, workers in leather and petty shop-keepers and retail dealers. None of these occupations have ever been taken up by Aryans, but were in former times, as now, left in the hands of the Sudras or native races who originated them. The mines, which supplied so large a part of the wealth of India, and were the chief attractions

^{6.} Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 52, thinks that Ayas means brass, while Roth and Grassman both believe it to be iron. Considering that iron ore is exceedingly common in all the rocky parts of India, and copper, tin, and zinc rare, it is probable that iron was smelted long before the compound metals were used.

to foreign merchants, give valuable evidence of the high stage of civilization to which these people had attained. These were not mere surface diggings in alluvial gravels, but were, as the old workings still extant show, made by following the lodes of metalliferous ore to considerable depths in the rocks which they permeated. The working of these mines required practical mechanical skill as well as the scientific aptitude and perseverance necessary to discover the proper method of treating the ores so as to extract the precious metals.

"The large population of merchants, traders, artisans, miners, and collectors of forest produce, could not have been maintained unless agriculture had been in a flourishing condition. And that this was the case, is shown by the fact that pepper, saffron, oil and clarified butter (ghee) furnished a very considerable part of the exports.

"Though the rivers supplied means of carriage throughout a large part of the country, the only rivers which reached the harbours of the Western coast were the Indus, Nerbudda and Tapti. These, however, were of little use to the miners of Rajputana, and the trading and agricultural population on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. Land carriage was necessary to bring produce to the western ports from the central plains, and this must have been provided at a very early period. The warriors in the Rgveda are all represented as fighting from chariots, and carts were invented long before war-chariots. The first two Jātaka stories, which are among the oldest in the collection, tell of the caravans of five hundred bullock waggons which merchants used to send to and fro between Benares and the sea-coast, and of the difficulties of passing through the desert. There are many other stories of the same kind, and these must have been popular for ages before they were included in Buddhist Literature, and the state of society they describe must have existed long before these stories were invented"?

The Dravidian inhabitants of India were therefore traders long before the Āryans entered India. Consequently the trade and commerce civilization of Mohenjo Daro period may be fully identified with the period prior to the Āryan invasion. Here again we may suggest that the descendents of the Rgvedic Āryas learnt

^{7.} Hewitt, "Notes on the Early History of Northern India", Part II, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXI, pp. 199-201.

likewise trade methods from their former opponents and practised them at a later period.

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2. Religion.

The final inference of Dr. Sarup as regards this point is worth quoting in order to understand his mind from the very outset. From the religious point of view, he says, "The Indus valley civilization is nearer to the Brahmanic period than the age of the Rgveda."

argument advanced to prove his contention There Śiva. refers to are, he many emblems says, among the finds of Mohenjo Daro. And stating that "Siva is a minor deity in Rgveda," he elaborately describes the evolution of Siva from the Rgvedic period to the period of the epics. Up to the present no author has ever been able to prove that the cult of Siva ever existed in the Rgvedic period. Not even as a minor god is Siva ever mentioned in the Rgveda. I should say that not even a seed of the future Siva can be traced in the Rgvedic hymns. The word Siva, found only once in the Rgveda as if it were a qualification of Rudra, is not in anyway a proof of the identification of both gods. It is equivalent to stating that Rudra is a Siva in his graciousness and auspiciousness. The statement nevertheless without offering a proof of the identiheation of Siva and Rudra in the Rgveda might have been the first step leading to this identification at a later period and clearly shows the influence of An-Siva cult of the Dravidians upon the Revedic religion when the hymns of the 10th Mandala were being composed. The later identification of the sometimes furious, sometimes benevolent Rudra with Siva is only a way of satisfying the followers of both deities, when the final amalgamation of Dravidian and Aryan dogmas was made. This identification, though accepted, was not very happy indeed. For the three functions of Siva which have beautifully materialized in the image called Maheśamūrti of the Saivite temples, cannot find their parallel in the Rgvedic God. The finding of the saivite emblems in the Mohenjo Daro excavations does not necessarily imply that the the civilization of the Indus Valley belongs to the Brahmanic period, when the Aryanized Saivite Cult was fully developed. Such discoveries may also connect the Mohenjo Daro civilization with a civilization of the Dravidian nation existing in India before the Āryan invasion. But since this cult is essentially non-Āryan and among the religious emblems found in Mohenjo Daro, there is none belonging to other. Vedic or Aryan

deities, it seems much more natural to identify the Indus Civilization with the Dravidian Civilization. If these Saivite emblems belonged to the Brahmanic period, how can we explain the fact that no other emblems belonging to other deities have ever been found e.g. the Samkha, or Cakra of Viṣṇu, the Vajra of Indra of for the matter of that the padma of Surya?

It is moreover to be considered that the Vrātya cult referred to in the Atharva Veda pre-supposes a fully-developed Saivite cult under the name of Eka-Vrātya. If the Saiva cult were only in its infancy in the Rgvedic period, how is it possible to find it so developed, even in its uncongenial rites, at a period not so distant from the Rgvedic? The Vrātya cult was essentially Dravidian. It was therefore natural that in the Atharva Veda it should appear so fully described as it could have perhaps appeared in a similar way in the late Rgvedic period.

Another argument used by Dr. Sarup is taken from the well known condemnation of the phallic cult in the Rgveda. The passage has been interpreted in different ways; either that the Vedic Rsis condemned the custom of worshipping the phallus or that they abominated the god of the phallus. In either case, the Vedic Rsis fully condemned the phallus and its cult either in the God or in its devotees. Can it ever be said that this shows the infancy of the cult as Dr. Sarup contends: "I think that the cult of the phallic worship (sic) was in its infancy in the Rgveda?"

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Now as regards the Vedic expression itself, if interpreted in the former of the two meanings explained above it is evident from the first, that the Vedic Rsis condemened those who worshipped the phallus; second that round the Rgvedic settlements were people worshipping the phallus. Otherwise the condemnation would be totally uncalled for. Therefore it is not necessary to proceed to the Brahmanic period to find the linga cult fully developed. It was fully developed already in the Rgvedic period, amongst the Dravidians living around the Aryan settlements. But if we understand

^{8.} Rg. X, 92, 9. "He is invoked and is auspicious, Siva (X, 92, 9) an epithet which is not even in the AV, as yet peculiar to any particular deity" Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 75. "Thus the deprecations of his wrath gave rise to the euphemistic epithet "auspicious (Siva), which became the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology" Ibid, p. 77.

the condemnation of the sisna-devāh as referring to the God of the Phallus, an interpretation which is more probable, we have, in such a case, a clear reference to the God of Mohenjo Daro, as shown at least in three representations, nude and exposing the ūrdhva-linga. Needless to say, that those who condemn the God of Mohenjo Daro cannot belong to the Mohenjo Daro nation. That is to say that the Mohenjo Daro people cannot be Aryans.

As regards the Asvamedha referred to by Dr. Sarup as having already some phallic ceremonies in the Vedic period, it must be noted that the ceremonies in question9 are not properly phallic. They may be styled obscene only, and they very likely revealed some early fertility magic of the primitive Aryans. 10

3. Script.

Dr. Sarup's argument in this connection follows the same lines as the preceding ones: The Rgvedic Aryas did not know the art of writing. The art of writing was known only at a later period. Therefore the Mohenjo Darians, who knew the art of writing must belong to a later period.

To assign the Mohenjo Daro script to such a late period seems to be to say the least incongrucus. The use of so many pictograms in no way developed or modified by the Mohenjo Darians, belongs to a very early age. Birds, fishes, flowers, men, houses, thrones mountains and other like signs cannot be conceived as belonging to a period when the great Brahmanic works were being written.

We may perhaps suggest that even in the Rgvedic period there were people who knew the art of writing. The Panis, whom we have mentioned above as belonging to the non-Āryan stock, are called in the Rgveda grathins. 11 This word has been interpreted by Sayana as prattlers,12 but the following epithet by which the Panis are qualified by the Rsi, Mrdhavachah, i.e., rudely speaking people, makes one suspect that the two epithets would not refer to speech. In point of fact, grathin means composing or writing literary

^{9.} Cf. Yajurveda, III, 4, 19, ff.

^{10.} Belvalkar-Runade, History of Indian Philosophy, II, p. 49.

^{12.} Ibid., Grathino-Jalpakan.

works.¹³ Moreover the word grathin, placed next to Mrdhravacah, might have, as the latter, a disparaging meaning as referring to the trade accounts carefully kept by these merchants, and which were often brought forward to justify their claims against the Āryas. Since up to the time of the Mohenjo Daro discoveries we never suspected the existence of writing as early as the Rgveda period, we could not understand this word as having this special connotation.

Now the structure itself of the Mohenjo Daro writing and the comparison established between the Mohenjo Daro seals and those of equal or similar type found in Sumer, point to a rather earlier date than the date of the Rgveda. Hence, the Panis might perhaps have been described as *Grathins*, i.e., writers; for writing was naturally a quaint task for the Vedic Aryas who then did not know how to write, just as the speech of the Panis is also mentioned in the following epithet as another strange characteristic of their opponents.

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We may mention here, for the satisfaction of our readers, that it is recorded in the Yāpparunkala-Virutti (a commentary of the tenth century) quoting it from an unknown ancient Tāmiļ work that there were four kinds of writing used by the ancient Tāmils. One of them was picture-writing which is described thus:

"Picture-letter (i.e. writing) is that which represents all sorts of visible forms and is painted (or drawn) like the handiwork of an expert painter." 14

An extraordinary piece of news which seems to tally with the discoveries of Mohenjo Daro and the character of *Grathins* attributed to the Panis.

4. Chronology.

Dr. Sarup seems to admit the dates suggested by the discoveries of those sites of the Archaeological Survey of India, namely 2,700-2500 B.C. for Mohenjo Daro, and 3000 B.C. for Harappa. Now Dr. Sarup

13. The word Grantha, which was so much used at a later period referring to written literary works, comes from the root Grath to string together.

^{14.} Yāpparunkalam, edited by Diwan Bahadur Bhavanandam Pillai, II, p. 528. (Madras 1929). I owe this reference to the kindness of Rev. Fr. S. Gyānaprakāśar, O.M.I.

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puts forward an argument taken from the Mittani—Hittite treaty in which four Vedic deities are being mentioned. The migration of these Vedic deities all the way from India to Asia Minor, he says, coud not have taken place in less than three or four hundred years. Therefore, three or four hundred years before the Mittani-Hittite treaty such vedic deities were known in India. This treaty took place circa 1500 B.C. Adding to this date 400 years at the most as Dr. Sarup suggests, we reach the date 1900 B.C. Dr. Sarup simply says without summing up these figures that such a date is the date assigned to the Indus Valley Culture by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues. One, nevertheless, still finds a gap of at least 600 years with the lowest date suggested for Mohenjo Daro. Evidently the Rgvedic chronology in this case does not fully agree with the Indus Valley chronology.

There is still another argument proposed by Dr. Sarup. The Kaliyuga, he says, started in 12,100 B.C. i.e., after the enthronement of Yudhisthira. The Rgveda is evidently earlier than the enthronement of this king, for it is earlier than the Mahābhārata. Since the Rgveda is earlier than 12,100 B.C., it may be contemporaneous with the Indus Valley Civilization.

As regards the date of the Rgveda, Dr. A. Barriedale Keith, after a long discussion of all available materials and every possible point of view, has lately concluded that the Rgveda was compossed between 1,300 to 1000 B.C. ¹⁵ a date which, having been arrived at by an impartial scholar, does not agree in the least with Dr. Sarup's deductions. In fact, Dr. Keith further adds that "an early dating of the Vedic Indians is mistaken and that we must not put them too high in the second millennium B.C." ¹⁶

As for the argument of Dr. Sarup, it is quite true that the Mahābharata was composed a good many years after the Revedic hymns. But was the main subject of the Mahabharata, or for the matter of that many of its multiple and non-essential episodes, events that had taken place within the period that elapsed from the Revedic times till the time of the composition of that poem? The affirmative reply to this question has very often been presupposed,

^{15.} Keith, The Age of the Rgveda, Woolner Commemoration Volume, 16. Ibid, p. 147.

but has never been proved historically. Nay even a number of those events in connection with which Aryan tribes or heroes are mentioned, might have taken place prior to the Vedic period, and in narrating them the Sanskrit poet, who as such did not feel bound by historical accuracy, may have introduced those tribes or persons in order to make the whole poem more interesting to the Āryan nation. In particular the episode mentioned by Dr. Sarup belongs to the history of the Pandava family which is one of the portions of the Mahābhārata that smack most of pre-Aryan social customs. We are aware that Dr. Sarup is of the opinion that Draupadi was the wife of Yudhisthira only, and not of the other four Pandava brothers.¹⁷ But his opinion is not general and we are sorry to say, seems based on very flimsy grounds. Even Pandit M. M. Lachhmi Dhar, who interprets the whole passage mythologically, admits the marriage of Draupadi with the five brothers. 18 In fact this quaint union of Draupadi with five brothers is traditional in India, though thoroughly non-Āryan.19 That is precisely the reason, one discovers behind the contention of Dr. Sarup, of not admitting the polyandrical marriage.

Therefore, most likely, the story of Yudhisthira and his enthronement, dates from a period prior to the Rgveda and to the Aryan invasion. Hence, the composition of the Rgveda very likely took place when the Kaliyuga had already started. Consequently the date of the Rgveda which was composed fully within the Kaliyuga, cannot tally with the dates proposed for the Indus Valley Culture and admitted by Dr. Sarup.

Before closing the chronological question, we must draw the attention of our readers to an inconsistency in Dr. Sarup's arguments. He has invariably affirmed and tried to prove that the Indus Valley Culture is nearer to the Brahmanic period than the But when speaking about chronology Dr. Sarap appears to contend that the dates admitted for the Indus Valley Culture agree with the Rgvedic dates, which he places much earlier than

^{17.} Dr. Sarup has submitted another paper on the subject to the Hyderabad Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. cf. "Had Draupadi Five Husbands?" The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Summaries of of Papers, p. 96.

^{18.} Lachhmi Dhar, "The myths of the Five Husbands of Draupadi" Woolner Commemoration Volume, Supplement, pp. 311-316.

^{19.} Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 32. (Oxford. 1923).

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modern critical scholars do. This is a tacit admission of the fact that in the background of the invasion of the Aryan nation and of its development in India, existing much earlier than the former, and extending parallelly at first, and mixed up later on with the latter, there was a great culture which Dr. Sarup does not mention, nor acknowledge, and which is the solution of the great puzzle. That is the great Dravidian culture of India which erected the walled purah of the Rgveda, built in the person of Māyā. Yudhisthira's palace taught the difficult notions of the atman and of the life after death to the Upanisadic Brahmanas, and laid down the foundation for the Puranic chronicles.

Conclusion.

We have said in the beginning of our note that though the contention of Dr. Sarup was to prove that the Indus Valley Culture was Ayran nevertheless the arguments put forward by him appear to establish that this Indus Valley Culture is Dravidian. Our impartial readers may see whether or not we were correct in our statement.20

In a recently published work on Ancient Sind, Prof. C. L. Mariwala referring to another article on the Aryan origin of the Indus Valley Culture, ends discussion with the following words which may also be our colophon: "If a glorious champion of a cause cannot put forward any positive proof to support his point of view, one cannot entertain any favourable opinion hypotheses.21

^{20.} We could have given other proofs to show that the authors of the Mohenjo Daro Culture were Dravidians. Yet that was not our purpose. We have confined ourselves within the limits of the Revedic period and to the very arguments proposed by Dr. Sarup.

^{21.} Mariwalla, Ancient Sind, p. 5.

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Imperial Guptas

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKHERJEE.

The late Mr. Edward Thomas since 1850 till the last advocated the view that the dates of the Imperial Guptas should be referred to the Saka era of 77-78 A.D. In 1854 General Cunningham applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. In reply to this view of General Cunningham the late Mr. Thomas wrote a paper entitled 'On the epoch of the Gupta Dynasty' wherein he held that the Saka era applied to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved, should apply preferentially to the Valabhi grants. He also quoted the views of Prof. Lassen (Indische Altertumskunde, Vol. II) to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160. After this on further study Gen. Cunningham laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era and adopted the view of Thomas to the Saka era and 'stated that from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes and of the Gupta silver coins with the Shah (Ksatrapa) coins of Saurāṣṭra, he had seen that the first Gupta must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the Kushan Scythians and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the first century of the Christian era'. 'And on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Candragupta I, the founder of that era; that Alberuni's information was that the Saka era was established by a king named Vikramāditya, after a victory over the Sakas; that the name of Vikramāditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Candragupta I and that the Allahabad pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Candragupta I, as receiving tributes from the Sakas—he expressed himself as inclined to adopt the Saka era, which began in A.D. 79, as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Candragupta I'. General Cunningham also attached a note to Prof. Dowson's paper on 'Ancient Inscriptions from "Mathura' in which, on the grounds that both d

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Kaniska and Huviska must have preceded the establishment of the Saka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted reference in the Allahabad Pillar inscriptions to the Daivaputras and Shāhānushāḥis, who must have been the Turuska kings of the Punjab as showing that Samudragupta was a contemporary of the Turuska kings whose dominions according to the Chinese authority had already passed away, in the beginning of the third century after Christ. In 1862 the late Mr. Newton published a lengthy discussion 'On the Sah, Gupta and other ancient dynasties of Kāthiāwād and Gujrāt' in which he held the view that the Guptas preceded the Valabhi dynasty and that the dates in the Valabhi grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era. The late Drs. Bhaudaji, R. G. Bhandarkar and Oldenberg assumed the epoch, A.D. 319 for the Gupta dynasty. It is to be noted here that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed Kaniska's accession in A.D. 278, i.e. only 41 years before Candragupta I, according to him and Dr. R. C. Majumdar supposed Kaniska to be the founder of the Kalachuri era in A.D. 248-49, only 70 years before Candragupta I. The late Dr. Oldenberg says: 'It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this (Kusana coinage) is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off.' He further added by placing Kaniska in A.D. 78, that 'the vacant period between Vasudeva (Sam. 98=therefore to A.D. 176) and the Gupta (A.D. 319) is already perhaps greater than might be expected'. Thus all these practically admit the contemporaneity of the Guptas and the Kusanas. The late Mr. Fergusson's view was that the Valabhi era was established in A.D. 318-19 probably on the building of Valabhi, and that Maharaja Gupta was a Viceroy of the Andhra kings but not necessarily at the time of the building of the city of Valabhi. In 1882 Sir E. Clive Bayley from a set of evidence accepted A.D. 190-51 for the epoch of the era of the Guptas. In A.D. 1000 Con. Cunningham accepted A.D. 166-67 for the said epoch. In 1885 in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Dr. A.F.R. Hoernle arrived at the opinion that the terminal date of A.D. 319 of the Gupta empire as determined by Thomas may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no more open to question 'and that Gen. Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch of the Gupta era has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta dynasty'. In view of this unsettled state of things, in 1887 Dr. Fleet mainly

on a few atsronomical calculations fixed the epoch of the Gupta era in A.D. 319-20. Dr. Vincent Smith remarked on this: 'A great step in advance was gained by Fleet's determination of the Gupta era which has been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year of that era is A.D. 319-20 fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty and reduced chaos to order'. But even with this epoch, numerous difficulties. as admitted by historians, continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta and later periods, and lately Dr. Shamasastry in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1923 advocated A.D. 200-01 and Mr. M. Govind Pai (J.I.H., 1932) and Mr. K. G. Sankar (N.I.A., 1941) following him advocated A.D. 273 for the epoch of the Gupta era. Since 1932 this humble writer is showing from various types of evidence the incorrectness of all these determinations in regard to Gupta era only the determination by Edward Thomas approaching nearer the truth. The epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and that the Imperial Guptas flourished from the 1st Century B.C.

From a study of the inscriptions dated in the Gupta and the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa eras it is evident that the interval between the epoch of the two eras must be about 400 years. As Dr. Fleet assumed the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 319-20, he found no other epoch but that of the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. to be (319+58, or) 377 years earlier than his epoch. He thus assumed the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. to be identical with the Kṛta or Mālavagaņa era. Now we have the Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Rājādhirāja Yasodharman wherein his defeat of Mihirakula is recorded. This inscription is undated but in another inscription of Yaśodharman's minister's brother Dakṣa in the same locality the year 589 of the Malavagana era is mentioned. The it was assumed that Rajādhirāja Yaśodharman's defeat of Mihirakula occurred about this date which corresponds to Vikrama Sam. 589 and therefore equivalent to 589-57, or A.D. 532. Now shortly after Mihirakula's defeat his brother usurped his throne, and Mihirakula repaired to Kashmir. It was here that Mihirakula beheaded the 23rd and the last of the Northern Buddhist Patriarchs, Simha. Now let us suppose that this happened, on Fleet's epoch in A.D. 540, Whereas, from the 'Fu-fa-tsogn-yin-yuan-ching' the Chinese translation in A.D. 472 of a Buddhist work, it is stated that a persecuting king Miloku, that is evidently Mihirakula, beheaded the 23rd

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and the last of the Northern Buddhist Patriarchs, Simha. The 21st Patriarch 'Vasubanda,' i.e. evidently Vasubandhu is also mentioned in this work. 'The date of the composition of this work in India is not known. Assuming this was composed immediately after Mihirakula's death which, say, occurred about A.D. 460, we find that his date A.D. 540 when he beheaded Simha found above is in error by at least (540-460, or) 80 years, and consequently the epoch of the Krta or Malavagana era cannot be identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and must be at least (80 + 58, or) 138 B.C. from this evidence alone. This will also be supported form even the latest, date, according to one account of the translation of a work 'Lien-hua-mien-ching' or the 'Sutra of the Lotus Flower face' in Chinese in A.D. 574. The contents of this work show that it was written long after the death of Mihirakula who was succeeded by seven sovereigns in Kashmir who were patrons of of Buddhism.

The Mandasor fort wall Buddhist inscription of the time of Prabhākara dated in Mālavagaņa year 524 mentions the early Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and his son Govindagupta. inscription records donations by the Gupta feudatory Prabhākara's Commander-in-chief, Dattabhaṭa, son of Vāyurakṣita, the General (Sēnādhipa) of Govindagupta. Now Govindagupta Governor of Vaisali, and the brother of Kumaragupta I, Mahendraditya (Śrī Mahēndra etc.). In the above inscription it is stated that Indra (i.e. Mahendra) was suspicious of Govinda's power. This shows clearly that Mālavagaņa year 524 must fall during the reign of Kumāragupta I (Sam. 93-136). On Fleet's epoch, the Malayagana year 524=A.D. 466=Gupta Sam. 146 during the reign of Skandagupta. This again shows the incorrectness of the identity of the Mālavagaņa and the Vikrama eras. It has been shown from one Chinese evidence that the latest possible date of the epoch of Mālavagaņa era is about 138 B.C. Thus Govindagupta's date, Mālavagaņa year 524 (524-138, or) 386 A.D.= Gupta year 66, according to Dr. Fleet falls during the early part of Chandragupta II's reign (Sam. 60-93) when Kumāra had not even ascended the throne. Kumara I at the utmost may have

Messrs Pai and Sankar assume the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 273 and that of the Kṛta of Mālavagaṇa era to be the same 58 B.C. Thus according to them Govindagupta's date Mālavagaṇa year 524=A.D. 466=Gupta year (466-273, or) 193, i.c., some 100

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years after Govindagupta's father's death. This is absurd. Hence if Messrs Pai and Sankar stick to their epoch of the Gupta era, they cannot but admit the incorrectness of the identity of the Kṛta and the Vikrama eras. When Dr. Shamasastry assumed the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 200-01, he could not examine the Mandasor inscription of Mālavagaṇa year 524 as it was not then published. Dr. Shamasastry also took the Mālavagaṇa year to be equivalent to the Vikrama year. Thus Mālavagaṇa year 524—A.D. 466—Gupta Sam. (466-200, or) 266 on Dr. Sastry's epoch, when Govindagupta would be living! The same absurdity follows from Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 167 and Edward Thomas' epoch of A.D. 78. Thus the earlier we assume an epoch of the Gupta era, the earlier we shall have to seek for an epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era.

The incorrectness of the identity of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era with the Vikrama era having been shown conclusively, it remains to show from other pieces of evidence the correct epoch of the Gupta as well as that of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era.

Ācārya Sthiramati's "Introduction to Mahāyānism" was translated into Chinese by A.D. 400. Hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400. (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 167), Now let us suppose that the date of Sthiramati's death is A.D. 380. But from the Wala grant of Dharasena II dated Sam. 269, we know that Ācārya Sthiramati had a Vihāra built through Dharasena II's father Guhasena (Sam 240). (Ācārya bhadanta Sthiramati-Kārita-bappa pādiya-vihāra)'. on Dr. Fleet's epoch Sam. 240=A.D. 560. Even assuming this to be the last date of Sthiramati we find Dr. Fleet's epoch to be in error by (560-380, or) 180 years at least. That is, the epoch of the Gupta era from this evidence alone cannot be later than (320-180, or) A.D. 140, some 27 years prior to even Gen. Cunningham's epoch of the Gupta era

The latest possible date of the death of Acārya Sthiramati thus found is about A.D. 380. Now Sthiramati's teacher was Ācārya Vasubandhu. From Chinese literary evidence we learn that Harivarman and Vasubandhu were contemporaneous. Harivarman's great work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajiva (A.D. 383-412 in China) who also wrote a life of Vasubandhu not now extant and read the 'Sata Sāstra' of Vasubandhu before A.D. 380. Hence Vasubandhu's death cannot be placed later than A.D. 360=Gupta Sam. 40 on Dr. Fleet's epoch when Samudragupta was ruling.

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Whereas Vasubandhu died during the reigr of (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya, son of Budhagupta (wrongly read as Puragupta. Vide also S. K. Saraswati," A gold coin of Budhagapta', I.C. Vol. I. pp. 691-92). Now the inscriptional dates of Budhagupta range from Sam. 157 to 175 and he may have reigned for about 5 years more. Hence Vasubandhu's death may be placed about Sam. 200, quite in conformity with his disciple Sthiramati's date Sam. 240. Hence Vasubandhu's date Sam. 200=A.D. 520 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, is in error by at least (520-360, or) 160 years. Now Vasubandhu's teacher was Acarya Buddhamitra. The latest possible date of the death of Vasubandhu being about A.D. 360, Ācārya Buddhamitra was certainly flourishing in C.A.D. 320, i.e. during the beginning of the Gupta era according to Dr. Fleet. But from the Mankuwar inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I we learn that Buddhao mitra was still living and undefeated by anybody in Sam. 129=A.D. (320-129, or) 449 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. All this shows the utter incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) also states that Vasubandhu and his master Manoratha or Buddhamitra flourished between A.D. 50 and 150 (=Vikrama Sam. 108 and 208); and we know that during Gupta Sam. 108 and 208 kings from Kumāragupta I to Narasimhgupta Bālāditya reigned. This is quite in conformity with another statement of Hieun Tsang that Mihirakula (and therefore his contemporary Bālāditya and the latter's contemporary Ācārya Vasubandhu) flourished several centuries before Hiuen Tsang's time (A.D. 640). All this shows the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras.

Now in Mālavagaņa year 524 we have Kumāragupta I's brother Govindagupta ruling. For Kumāragupta I we have the date in the Mandasor inscription, Mālavagaņa year 529. As Narasimhagupta Bālāditya was the grand-son-of Kumāragupta I, Narasimhagupta may naturally be living in Mālavagaņa year 589, some 60 or 65 years later, when Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula. Thus the contemporaneity of Mihirakula, Yaśodharman and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya follows. Evidently Yaśodharman was subordinate to the paramount sovereign Bālāditya, and Hiuen Tsang is found to be right in giving the sole credit of the victory over Mihirakula to Bālādit

The 'Lankāvatāra Sūtra' was first translated into Chinese by Gunabhadra in A.D. 443. There are several gāthā verses in this work which were collected together and put at the end of the Sūtra

under a separate chapter entitled 'Sagathakam' beginning with 'Lankāvatāra Sūtroktam gāthā-ratna-mayam Śṛṇu' etc. in the translation of A.D. 513 by Bodhiruci. The verse number 786 in this work runs thus: 'Mauryā-Nandāśca Guptāśca tato mlecchā nrpādhamah Mlecchānte Sastra-Sankṣobhah Sastrānte ca Kalir yugah | Kali yugante lokaiśca Saddharmenahi bhavitah || This shows that after the Guptas there came the Mlecchas, and after the latter there was anarchy followed by an evil age (Kali). This shows that the downfall of the Guptas occurred long before A.D. 443 (=Gupta Sam. 123 on Dr. Fleet's epoch). According to different Jaina evidence, the Guptas ruled for about 231 or 240 vears. The last inscriptional date of Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta is Sam. 224=A.D. 544 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. Now we have already found Gupta Vikramāditya Sam. 240 (=A.D. 182) to be the date of Vasubandhu's disciple Ācārya Sthiramati. Thus Ācārya Sthiramati flourishing long before A.D. 400, it shows clearly that the downfall of the Guptas also occurred long before A.D. 400, quite in keeping with the date of the translation of the 'Lankavatāra Sūtra'. This will also be evident from the history of the later Guptas of Magadha whose first king Kṛṣṇagupta flourished about A.D. 440. If these later Guptas had any relationship or were subordinates to the Imperial Guptas the very full genealogy in the Aphsad inscription would certainly have mentioned their illustrious relationship with pride instead of characterising the first king Kṛṣṇnagupta as simply of 'good family' ('Sad-vamśaḥ). In case these later Guptas had any connection with the Imperial Guptas the former rose to prominence such a long interval after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas that the later Guptas forgot all that.

The Dhiniki plate of Mahārājadhirāja Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra issued from Bhumilikā or Bhumli, the fort in the Barada hills in Kāthiāwār, is dated in Vikrama Sam. 794 (=A.D. 738). On Dr. Fleet's epoch A.D. 738=Gupta Sam. 418 when Māhārājādhirāja Silāditya V would be ruling in Kāthiāwār, showing clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch. Another plate of a king Jainka was found in Morbi (in Kāthiāwār). From the Makara (fish) mark on the plate and the locality where it was found, it is evident that it belongs to the Jethvā kings whose early capital was Morbi before they changed it to Bhumli about the beginning of the 8th Century A.D. The date in this plate is Gupta Sam. 585, the month Phālguna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. On Dr. Fleet's epoch the date of the grant is A.D. (585-320, or) 905, that is (905-738, or)

167 years later than the previous Bhumli plate. Whereas Palaeographically the letters of Morbi plate are much anterior to the Bhumli plate and closely resemble the characters of the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A.D. 520. Assuming the Gupta Vikramāditya era to be identical with the Vikrama era, the date of the Morbi grant corresponds to A.D. 529 (remarkably close to the date of the Horiuzi palm leaves) in which year there was a total solar eclipse on January 25 which was exactly the 5th day of Phalguna as stated in the grant. Whereas with Dr. Fleet's epoch there was no solar eclipse in Phälguna in A.D. 905 or a few years before or after this date. All this shows as clearly as possible the identity of the Gupta Vikramādītya era with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

That the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. will be evident from the newly discovered Gokak (in the Belgaum district, Bombay) plate of the Rāstrakūta Dejja Mahārāja dated when 845 years of the 'Aguptāyika kings had passed away' ('A-Guptāyikānām rājnām astasu varsa satesu pancacatvārimsad agresu gatesu'). The Editor of the plate in the E.I. Vol. XXI, pp. 289-92, placed the A-Guptayika era with Maurya Candrgupta (313 B.C.). But the Editor himself admits that the resulting date (845-345 or) 532 A.D. is palaeographically somewhat too early. The plate belongs palaeographically to about the 8th century A.D. It did not strike the Editor to consider these A-Guptāyika kings to be the Early Imperial Guptas, for on Dr. Fleet's epoch the resulting date A.D. (845-320, or) 1165 is obviously too late and thus the Editor remarked. 'But I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately'. A-Guptāyikānām (ā+Gupta+ayikānām) evidently ā Gupta* (Anu) ayikānām ('aya' with or without the prefix 'anu' might mean the same), or it is just possible that the scribe inadvertently left the compound letter 'nva' of 'ā-Guptānvayikānām.' ā-Guptānvayikānāmrājñām 'is exactly similar to Guptānvayānām nṛpa-sattamānām rājye, of the Udayagiri inscription of Sam. 106 and to 'Guptānvayānām Vasudhēśvarāṇām' of the Tumain inscription dated Sam. 116 of the time of Kumāragupta I. Assuming the Gupta Vikramāditya era to be identical with the Vikrama era, the date of the Gokak plate is A.D. (845-57, or) 788 which exactly suits the date from palaeographic considerations and this date of Dejja falls exactly within the period A.D. 757 to A.D. 812 proposed for Jejja or his brother by Kielhern, while editing

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Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jejja's grandson Parabalais inscription dated (Vikrama) Sam. 917 (=A.D. 861). Phonetically also 'Dejja' and Jejja' are identical. (Compare Daśaratha=Jasaratha, Duvaraja=Yuvaraja). Thus this Gokak plate proves geometrically the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya era with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. The epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era being about 400 years earlier than the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era the former must be identical with the Śrī Harṣa era of 458 B.C. mentioned by Alberuni. Thus Mālavagaṇa years 493 and 529 of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman are equivalent to Gupta Vikramāditya Sam. 93 and 129 when we know Kumāragupta I was ruling as stated in the inscription. Thus Mālavagaṇa year 524 of Govindagupta is equivalent to Gupta Vikrama Sam. 124, and falls during his brother Kumāra I's reign.

'The memory of Skandagupta and his victory over the Hunas seem to be preserved in the story of King Vikramāditya in Somadeva's Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, Book XViii; Mahēndrāditya was king of Ujjayini at a time when the Mlecchas were overrunning the earth, afflicting even the gods with their oppressions, a son named Vikramāditya is born to him, who, becoming king on his father's abdication, utterly routs the Mlēcchas. It is worth noting that the historical kernel of the story exactly agrees with Skandagupta's Bhitari and Junagadh inscriptions; Mahendrāditya is the well-established "Āditya" title of Kumāragupta I and Vikramāditya of Skandagupta while the Mlēcchas are the Hūṇas of the Bhitari inscription and the Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription; Skandagupta moreover, did succeed his father when the Mlēcchas were threatening the ruin of the country.' (Allan, Gupta Coins, p. xlix fn.) shows that in Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara the story of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta is to be found. But Somdeva only abridged Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat Kathā. Somadeva distinctly says. 'Yathā tathaivaitat manāg-apyatikramaḥ| aucityānvaya na rakṣā ca yathā Śaktir vidhīyate ||'. 'As in the original work so also in this one, there is nowhere the least deviation, only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large.' This shows that the story of Kumaragupta and Skandagupta was 'contained in Guṇāḍhya's now lost original. Now Guṇāḍhya is placed by Eühler, Keith, Levi, V. Smith and others in about the 2nd century A.D. This shows that Kumāra and Skanda did not flourish in the middle of the fifth century as follows from Dr. Fleet's theory, but must have flourished some three and half centuries earlier about

the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. showing clearly the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras.

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Study of local records drew the attention of Hiuen Tsang to the history of a greatly religious monarch Sīlāditya, who had been king of Mālava for fifty years, some sixty years before Hiuen Tsang. Thus this Sīlāditya ruled from c.A.D. 526 to 576. Whereas on Fleet's epoch even the first Sīlāditya of Valabhi ruled some 70 years later, from c.A.D. 595 to 610 or 615. That is, he ruled upto only 20 years before Hiuen Tsang thus showing a great discrepancy. Moreover none of the Sīlāditya kings from Sīlāditya I to VII had a reign of 50 years. Hence V. Smith was constrained to remark: 'M. Sylvain Levi seems to be right in identifying this religious monarch with Sīlāditya I surnamed Dharmāditya, the Sun of Piety of the Valabhi dynasty who reigned from about 595 to 610 or 615 A.D.; for although these dates do not agree exactly with the indications given by Hiuen Tsang....' All this shows the utter incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era.

In Rudradāman's Girnar Rock Inscription dated Sam. 72 we read that he 'forcibly extirpated the Yaudheyas who were intractable for their pride for having earned the title of heroes among all Kṣatriyas.' This date Sam. 72 is taken as in the Saka era and therefore equivalent to (72-78, or) 150 A.D. But from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta we learn that the Yaudheyas after this subjugation by Samudragupta paid him homage sometime about A.D. 350 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. This shows clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch by at least (350-150, or) 200 years. It also shows that Samudragupta flourished before Rudradāman who extirpated the Yaudheyas.

'According to the Chinese authority the Yuechi during the period between A.D. 220 and 280 put their kings to death and established military chiefs! Samudragupta must therefore have reigned before A.D. 200 because he was contemporaneous with the Kushan king Daivaputra Sāhi Sāhānushāi who entered into diplomatic relations with him. On Dr. Fleet's epoch this event occurred about A.D. 350 thus showing clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by more than 150 years.

The characters of the newly discovered Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II dated Sam. 61 are identical with the early Kusana records. As the latest possible date of the early Kusanas is the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. evidently Dr. Fleet's epoch is in error, by at least 200 years.

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Shaman, Hwui-Li a disciple of Hiuen Tsang wrote a biography of his master as he heard from him from time to time and completed the same sometime after A.D. 670. From this 'Life of Hiuen Tsang' (translated by the Rev. S. Beal, pp. 110-112) and also from Hiuen Tsang's records, we learn that the building of the Nalanda monastery was begun by an old king of the country called Sakrāditva. After his decease his son Fo-to (Buddha) Guptaraja seized the throne, continued the vast undertaking and built towards the south another Sanghārāma. Then his successor Ta-ta-kata-rāja built a Sanghārāma to the eastward. Then his successor Bālāditya built a Sanghārāma to the north-east. Afterwards the king seeing some priests who came from the country of China to receive his religious offerings was filled with gladness and he gave up his royal estates and became a recluse. His son 'Fa-she-lo' transliterated as 'Chin-kong' succeeded and built, another Sanghārāma to the north. After him a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another Sanghārāma. These six kings in connected succession added to these structures. Hwui. Li then states that the priests dwelling here are as a body naturally dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules'. On this Rev. Beal remarks as follows: "This seems to throw light on the date of Sakrāditya, if he was the first to found the Nālandā convent, and this was 700 years before Hiuen Tsang, we may suppose he lived about the 1st century B.C.' From another Buddhist tradition we known that Ācārya Āryadeva was the rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta king Candragupta II, (Sam. 60 to 93=A.D. 2 to 35). This shows that the beginning of the Nālandā college dates at least from the time of Samudragupta's (Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya's father. So that from A.D. 2 to A.D. 670 nearly seven centuries had elapsed. Hiuen Tsang states that after Kumāragupta I's death his son Fo-to-gupta-rāja seized the throne. From inscriptions we learn that during the latter part of Kumāra I's reign, the Gupta power was tottering to its fall due to Hūṇa and Huna and Mleccha inroads. Kumāra abdicated about Sam. 136 and placed Skandagupta on the throne who restored the ruined fortunes of his family and ruled from Sam. 136 to C. 155 and about this latter date Kumāra I died (for his Sārnāth inscription dated Sam. 154 speaks of 'bhūmim rakṣati Kumāraguptai'). After Kumāra's death there was a fratricidal struggle beween Skanda and Buddha in which Buddhagupta was at last victorious and seized the throne

THE GENEALOGY OF IMPERIAL GUPTAS 45

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as stated by Hiuen Tsang. From the Britari seal we know that Kumāra's son by Queen Anantādevī was Budhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta (vide also S. K. Saraswati, 'A 'gold coin of Budhagupta', I.C. Vol. I, pp. 691-92) and Budhagupta's son was Narasimhagupta Bālāditya whose son was Kumāragupta II. From Hieun Tsang we learn that Budhagupta was succeeded by Ta-taka-ta-kuta rendered as Tatha-ga-ta-gupta. The Chinese word seems to be a copyist's error for the real name 'Gta-to-tka-cagupta' who was evidently a son of Kumāragupta I as we know from the Tumain inscription dated Sam. 116. From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Gha-to' Mr. Allan correctly states that king 'Ghatotkacagupta' must be contemporary with those kings known from the Bhitari seal' (i.e. Budha, Narasimha and Kumāra). Thus after Budhagupta's death sometime after Sam. 175 (his coin date) it seems his brother Ghatotkacagupta ascended the throne probably because Narasimhagupta was still a minor. As stated by Hiuen Tsang, Ghatotkacagupta was succeeded by (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya sometime about Sam. 185 and ruled till C. Sam. 215. From Hiuen Tsang we learn that Bālāditya was succeeded by his son Fa-she-lo (? or Ku-mo-lo?) transliterated as Chinkang meaning 'Varapāṇi (or Vajra-hasta), but seems to me to mean 'Saktihasta' which is a synonym of Kumāra (or, Kārtikeya) thus clearly verifying the statement in the Bhitari seal that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāragupta III. The Damodarpur plate of Sam. 224 evidently belongs to (Kumāra) Gupta as proposed by by Krishna Sastry in the E.I. Vol. XVII, p. 192 n. This will be supported by the plate of Mahārājādhirāja Budhagupta found in the same locality Damodarpur (date unfortunately damaged) where the name of the Nagara-Śresthin is Ribhupāla. This Ribhupāla is again the Nagara-Śreṣṭhin in the Damodarpur plate of Mahārājādhirāja (Kumāra) Gupta dated Sam. 224. It seems Ribhupāla was appointed as the Nagara-Śresthin towards the close of Budhagupta's reign and continued in this position till his grandson's reign in Sam. 224. Two other officers prathama kulika Matidatta and Prathama kāyastha, Skandapāla of Kumāragupta seems to be the sons of prathama kulika Baradatta and prathama kāyasthā Viprapāla of Budhagupta. It seems during Bālāditya's son Kumāragupta (II) the downfall of the Gupta power the occurred. For, from Jaina evidence we learn that the Guptas ruled for 231 or 240 years. Hiuen Tsang says that after Baladitya's son a king of Central India built another Sanghānāma at Nālandā

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This king will clearly be seen to be Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription dated in Mālava-gaņa year 589—Vikrama Sam. 189 when Bālāditya was reigning.

From the Eran inscription of Budhagupta dated Sam. 165 we know that Mahārāja Mātriviṣnu was his vassal there. But after Mātriviṣnu's death we find his brother Dhanyaviṣnu acknowledging the supremacy of Toramāna. The silver hemidrachms of Toramāna are minutely imitated from those of Budhagupta. Thus Budhagupta being a contemporary of Toramāna, Budhagupta's son (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya was clearly a contemporary of (Toramāna's son) Mihirakula as stated by Hiuen Tsang. Thus Hiuen Tsang's statement that Mihirakula (and therefore Bālāditya, Vasubandhu etc.) flourished between A.D. 50 and 150 and also several centuries before Hieun Tsang, will now be found to be perfectly true.

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In the Rajatarangini it is stated that twelve reigns intervened between Kaniska and Mihirakula. On an average of 15 years to each reign Watters places Mihirakula some 180 years after Kaniska. The inscriptions Kaniska's reign range of Sam. 1 and the date of Yasodharman who Mihirakula being Mālavagaņa year 589=Vikrama year 189 and also the date of the Eran inscription of Bhanugupta being Sam. 191, the statement in the Rājataranginī will now be found to be very accurate. Thus Mālavagaņa year 589—Vikrama Sam. 189— A.D. 131 and also Sam. 191=A.D. 133; and we see that these dates are a few years before A.D. 150 and several centuries before Hiuen Tsang's time when Mihirakula, Bālāditya, Yaśodharman, Vasubandhu etc., flourished. Another tradition preserved in the Rājataranginī is to the effect that Toramāna forbade the currency of the coins with the name of Bāla (āditya) within his territory and largely circulated the dināra coined by himself. From this it follows that Budhagupta's contemporary Toramāna was for sometime contemporaneous with Budhagupta's son Narasimhagupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Kṛṣṇarāja of western Gupta fabric found in the Nasik district have been attributed to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja who flourished c.A.D. 375-400. The late Professor Rapson accepting Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era remarked: 'This attribution is, however, certainly incorrect, as this date is too early for the style of the coins, which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the locality'. (Indian Coins, p. 27). The date of the

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latest Gupta coins (of Budhagupta and others) on Dr. Fleet's epoch is c.A.D. 500=Sam, 180 It has been shown conclusively that these Guptas flourished before A.D. 130=Sam. 188. Hence the attribution of the coins to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja will be found to be consistent with the date of the Gupta coins.

Hima Kadphises is supposed to have flourished immediately before Kaniska. Hima Kadphises was the first to issue the gold coinage which was continued by the Gupta Vikramādityas. namless king of certain coins uses a symbol characteristic of Hima Kadphises and on a unique coin published by General Cunningham there occurs a bust with two faces, and in front of the faces, the symbols of the Nameless King and Hima Kadphises which seem to show that Hima Kadphises was defeated by the Nameless King who is regarded by Von Gutschmid as an Indian prince. Gen. Cun-. ningham also saw the feasibility of some such identification and suggested that the Kharosthi 'Vi' which occurs on many coins of the Nameless King might be an abbreviation of Vikramāditya. On this the late Prof Rapson remarks: 'It must be pointed out, however, if any such identification of the Nameless King with Vikramāditya is possible, the Vikrama era which begins with 57 B.C. must be supposed to date from his birth.' (Indian Coins, p. 17). The late Prof. Rapson supposed Kaniska to be the founder of the Śaka°era of 78 A.D.°and as this was 135 years later than the epoch of the Vikrama era, he supposed 57 B.C. to be the date of Vikramāditya's birth. In any case, it being now definitely established that the Great Vikramāditya was no other than the Gupta Vikramāditya, the contemporaneity of Kaniska and Candragupta follows as clearly as possible.

The Gupta era being identical with the Vikrama era it follows clearly that Candragupta I, Samudragupta and Candragupta II and therefore their Court poet Kālidāsa flourished in the 1st Century B.C. This will be supported by the Bhitā medallion depicting a scene exclusive of the Abhijnāna Śakuntalam of Kālidāsa. Dr. Vogel and others state that the medallion must belong to the Sunga period (1st century B.C. but assuming no doubt it is much anterior to Kālidāsa and on that account the identification cannot be regarded as certain'. (!!) (A.S.I.R. for 1909-10, p. 40).

The latest date proposed by historians for Hāla, the Andhra king is A D. 50. Hāla mentions the magnanimity, benevolence etc., of Vikramāditya (Candragupta I) in his Gāthā-Saptaśati.

Hāla ruled for 5 years and his successor Mantalaka also ruled for 5 years. This Mantalaka was evidently the Mantaraja of Kaurala mentioned by Samudragupta in his Allahabad inscription. Evidently after 5 years' reign, Hāla led a retired life. This Kaurāla seems to me to be the modern Kurnool district (compare, Vegi= Vengi). We know that the famous temple of Sree Sailam or Sree Parvata in the Kurnool district was built by the Satavahana king for Nāgārjuna. A story related in the Sthala-Māhātmya of the place says that the princess Candravatī, a daughter of the Gupta king Candragupta conceived a passion for the god on the Sree Saila and began offering a garland of jasmin-flowers to him." (Report of Epigraphy for 1914-15) quoted by Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil as a very precious piece of information). This shows that during Candragupta II's time Sree Parvata was a very famous place of pilgrimage. When Fa-hian visited India (A.D. 405-11) he could not visit the place, it having been turned into a desolate impassable region. Fa-hian says. 'This land is barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages.....' This supports that Candragupta II, Nāgārjuna, and Nāgārjuna's younger contemporary Āryadeva, flourished long before Fa-hian in the 1st century A.D. and not during Fa-hian's time in the fifth century A.D. as follows from, Dr. Fleet's epoch.

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When Fa-hian visited India he found Śrāvasti desolate peopled by only 200 huts. Whereas, during Candragupta II's reign Śrāvasti was the provincial capital and the seat of the Governor, showing clearly that the Guptas ruled long before A.D. 400, quite in keeping with the statement in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra translated into Chinese about A.D. 443 already discussed.

From Dr. Walleser's 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources' (reprint from 'Asia Major', Hirth anniversary volume) and from the late Sarat Chandra Dass (J.A.S.B. Vol. 51 pt. 1, 1882, p. 115) we learn that according to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of ancient Indian historians Nāgārjuna was born...when the dynasty of Aśoka vaned and gave place to that of the illustrious Candragupta, the first of the Candra (Gupta) family. Nāgārjuna is also stated by them to have been born a century before Candragupta. The late Sarat Chandra Dass tried to identify Candragupta with the Maurya king of that name and placed Nagarjuna a century after him (i.e. in the 2nd century B.C.). Hence Dr. Walleser rightly remarks that the late Sarat Chandra Dass thereby alters his own information, for, after

the waning of Aśoka's dynasty during the reign of

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illustrious Candra, the first of the Candra family shows clearly that it was during the reign of Candragupta I, the first monarch of the Gupta family that Nāgārjuna was born and this was about a century before Candragupta II (last date Sam. 93). Dr. Walleser rightly identified Candragupta with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty but as Nāgārjuna could not be placed so late as c.A.D. 319 (on Fleet's epoch), he placed Nāgārjuna a century before in about A.D. 200. I-Tsing states Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Kanishka (Sam. 1-23). Another Indian Buddhist tradition places Nagarjuna as a contemporary of Huviska (Sam 31-60). Again from Rev. S. Beal's "Sûccession of Buddhist Patriarchs" (compiled chiefly from Tārānātha's history of Buddha and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books I. A. Vol. IX, pp. 118-19), we know that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Vikramāditya-evidently Candragupta Vikramāditya. From Nāgārjuna's famous poem (letter to an intimate friend) addressed to the 'Suhrillekha' Sātavāhana king 'Ge-ta-ka' (seems to me to be 'Go-ta-mi') will now clearly be seen to have been addressed to Gautami putra Sātakarņi who was ruling in Sam. 46 when he extirpated the dynasty of Nahapāna. As such Nagārjuna was clearly a contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. The Tibetan Lāmā Sumpakhan-po 'collected materials for his work 'Pag-sam-zon-jang' from ancient Tibetan works extant in China. In this work it is stated that while Candragupta was ruling in the Eastern country-Prācya, Kaniska was ruling in the West towards Delhi and Malwa. From the Tibetan version of 'Mahārāja-Kanika-Lēkha' written by Aśyva ghoșa to Kanika we get references of Aryadeva and Candragupta. Alberuni also states that the name of the Great Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. was Candra-bija, evidently Candra-Virya (=Vikrama) i.e. Candragupta Vikramāditya. The Udayagiri Amrita Cave inscriptions dated in Vikrama Sam 1093 records the restoration by Kanha of a dilapidated temple of Visnu first built by Candragupta (of the Imperial Gupta dynasty) after which the reign of Vikranıaditya (the Great) began. We know from Buddhist tradition that Aryadeva, the younger contemporary of Nagarjuna was the Rector of Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta (II Vikramāditya) (Sam. 60-93). Dr. Kern assuming the correctness of Dr. Fleet's epoch threw doubts on this statement. Sura and Santideva were two pupils of Aryadeva. From the inscriptions of Guhasena of Valabhi (Sam. 240) we know that Bhatarka, the General of Skandagupta (Sam. 136, C. 155) erected a Vihara and

presented it to Ācārya Śūra. We know from the Gunaighar inscription of Sam. 188 that Ācārya Śāntideva lived before this time. General Cunningham also in his CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM, INDICARUM, Vol. I, p. 10 states: 'The inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śātakarani and Pulumāyi clearly belong to the same period as the well-known Gupta inscriptions.'

The tradition of the origin of the Guhilots is that they descended from the last Silāditya prince of the Valabhi dynasty. The last available date of a Silāditya Mahārājādhirāja of Valabhi is Sam. 447—A.D. 767 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. But the earliest prince of the Guhila dynasty for whom a date has been obtained is Guhila Silāditya and his date is Vikrama Samvat 703—A.D. 646. This Guhila Silāditya was again five generations removed from Guhadatta, the founder. This takes Guhadatta to circa A.D. 546 and this date is (766-546, or) 220 years earlier than the last available date of a Silāditya of Valabhi. This shows the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era which cannot be later than (320-220, or) 100 A.D. from this evidence alone.

Mahārājādhirāja Silāditya III to Silāditya VII of Valabhi ruled from Sam. 343 to 447=A.D. 662 to 766 on Fleet's epoch. But from the Kāthiāwār plate of Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadova of Saurāṣṭra we know that he was ruling in V.S. 794=A.D. 738. Thus Saurāṣṭra was independent even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power according to Dr. Fleet's theory which is impossible.

On Fleet's epoch the period of Valabhi's greatest power was from the middle of the 7th to the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. But the absence of any reference to the kingdom of Valabhi in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh and the eighth centuries show that Valabhi's greatest power was attained long before the seventh century.

The Kairā plate of the Gujerāṭ Cālukya Vijayarāja, grandson of Jayasimha is dated in K (-ulachuri) Sam. 394—A.D. 642. From this it has been concluded that Cālukya Jayasimha's dominions extended up to at least a part of North Gujerāṭ, and Jayasimha sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it. It is to be noted that the two Kairā grants of Gujerāṭ Sāmanta Dadda II Praśāntarāga dated K. Sam. 380 and 385—A.D. 628 and 633 relate to the gift to certain Brahmans to Jamkusar many of whom again reappear in Vijayarāja's grant dated K. Sam. 394—A.D. 642 alluded to above. From the Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi II dated Saka 556—A.D.

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634 we know that he conquered the countries of Lata, Malava and Gurjara. Thus Gurjara Dadda II was a feudatory (Samanta) of Cālukya Pulakeśi II and his successors. This is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsang's statement that during his time (c.A.D. 636) Kairā, Anandapura and Surāṣṭra were appanages of Mālava and not of Valabhi. Whereas, on Fleet's epoch we find the Valabhi ruler Dhruvasena II Bālāditya who made conquests and spread the power of the Valabhi ruler over these countries at that time. His Nagawa plates dated Sam. 320 and 321=A.D. 639 and 640 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, recorded the grants of one hundred 'bhuktis of land in the district of Mālava (Mālavaka-bhukti). The newly discovered Virdi grant of the Valabhi ruler Kharagraha I, the father of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, dated Sam. 297= A.D. 617 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, was issued from the camp at Ujjayini. Whereas the Abhona plate of Kalachuri Sankaragana dated K. Sam. 347= A.D. 595 is issued from the victorious camp at Ujjayini. Sankaragaņa's son Buddharāja's plate dated K. Sam. 360=A.D. 608 was issued from Vaidiśā (Bhilsā) and his Sarsavni plate dated K. Sam. 361-A.D. 609 was issued from Anandapura showing clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era and that these Valabhi rulers flourished long before the 7th Century A.D. On palaeographic consideration also we find that the Valabhi plate characters differ from the characters in use in the Valabhi territory about the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D. which were the same from which Devanāgari was derived. As Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji believed in Dr. Fleet's date of the Valabhi rulers, he remarked. 'The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that previously in use in south Gujerat plates which was taken from the south Indian character.' On this A.M.T. Jackson remarked. "The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local sources, Skandagupta (A.D. 450) and Rudradāman's (A.D. 150) Girnar inscriptions' (Bom Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 80 F.N.) The Valabhi character followed the Gupta character no doubt. But the question is if the date of the Valabhi plates range from the 6th to the 8th centuries on Fleet's epoch, how is it that it is different from the character then in use in the Valabhi country which was the immediate diate ancestor of Devanagari? There is no mention of Valabhi in any Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kalachūri or Gurjara inscriptions from the 6th to the 8th centuries except only in one Gurjara plate of Gurjara Jayabhata III dated K. Sam. 486=A.D. 735 (E.I. Vol. XXII and XXIII) where it is stated that Dadda I (K. Sam. 330 to C. 354=

A.D. 579 to C. 603) pretected the land of Valabhi that had been defeated by the glorious Harsadeva, and Jayobhata III in K. Sam. 486 =A.D. 735 claims to have fought with the Tajjikas or the Arab invaders in the town of Valabhi. (Incidentally, from the only available inscription of Dadda I's son, Jayabhata I dated K. Sam. 355=A.D. 604, it follows clearly that Harsa's defeat of the Valabhi ruler must have taken place before A.D. 604 and thus Harsa's accession and the epoch of the so-called Harsa era cannot be A.D. 606. It has been shown in the New Indian Antiquary for October, 1940 that the epoch of so-called Harsa era is Saka 500 current=A.D. 576-77 with omitted hundreds). This shows that the Valabhi rulers at that time sank to the level of ordinary local rulers. They were none of the powerful Valabhi rulers from Dhruvasena II Bālāditva to Mahārājādhirāja Silāditya VII. We have already found from the Bhumli plate of Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadeva of Saurāstra that he was ruling in V.S. 794=A.D. 738. Hence Jayabhata III (K. Sam. 486=A.D. 735) seems to have been a feudatory of the Jethvā Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadeva. The reference in the Arab accounts of the Arab raid on Baroda evidently refers to the Baroda hill in Porbandar (as suggested by Sir Henry Elliot in his History of India) on which the fort of Bhumli, the capital of the Jethvas was situated. It was one of these Jethva Maharajadhirajas, the then powerful rulers of Kāthiāwār, that was defeated by the Arabs. With all the above difficulties in the chronology of the Valabhi rulers it is to be regretted that Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji and others could not declare the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. Thus Dr. Bhagwan Lal was constrained to remark 'Except the complete genealogy covering the 250 years from the beginning of the 6th to the middle of the 8th century little is known of Valabhi or its chiefs.... The separateness though perhaps dependence of Saurāṣṭra even in even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power, the rare mention of Valabhi in contemporary Gujerāt grants (of the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Kaṭacchuris and the Gurjaras); and the absence of trustworthy reference in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh or the eighth century tend to raise a doubt whether, except perhaps the ten years ending A.D. 650 (=330), Valabhi ever was of more than local importance' (II) (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 96-97). In fact owing to Dr. Fleet's incorrect epoch of the Gupta era no place can be found for the van of the Valabhi monarchs to stand upon. All this shows as clearly as possible that Dr. Fleet's epoch is in error by more than 250 years i.e. the epoch of the Gupta era must be earlier than (320-250, or) 70 A.D.

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The Satrunjaya Māhātmya was written by Dhaneśvara Sūri on the advice of Silāditya, the lord of Surāṣtra at Valabhi in the year 477 of Vikrama who is placed 470 years after Mahāvīra i.e., in (528-470, or) 58 B.C. Thus this Silāditya of Valabhi was ruling in (477-58, or) 419 A.D. Now the first inscriptional date of Silāditya I is Sam. 286 and the last inscriptional date of his father Dharasena II is Sam. 270. Assuming Siladitya I ascended the 'throne in Sam. 271=A.D. 590 on Fleet's epoch, we find that a Silāditya was reigning some 170 years earlier in Valabhi showing clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by about 170 years at least from this evidence alone. In fact the Silāditya of the Satrunjaya Māhātmya will be found to be Silāditya VIII, son of Silāditya VII for whom we have the inscriptional date Sam. 447.

That the Gupta Vikramāditya era is identical with the Vikrama era will also be evident from the Kāthiāwār plate of Dharasena II dated Samvat 257, the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha on the occasion of a solar eclipse. On Fleet's epoch this date Sam. 257=A.D. 576. But there was no solar eclipse in this year or a few years before or after this date in Vaiśākha. Sam. 257 referred to the Vikrama era is equivalent to A.D. 199 in which year there was a partial solar eclipse in Vaisakha on April 13. If Sam. 257 be taken as expired, the date is equivalent to A.D. 200 in which year there was a total solar eclipse visible as a partial one from India on April 1. It is to be noted that Mr. D.B. Diskalkar, M.A.. who had the original plate persistently read the date as '257'. Recently this plate was edited by Mr. Diskalkar in the E.I. Vol. XXI, pp. 179-81, who again read the date as Sam. 257. But this date was changed to Sam. '254' by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit M.A., the then Editor of the Epig. Indica probably to verify the astronomical detail on Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. Rao Bahadur Dikshic is stated to have read the late as Sam. 254 from the impression of the plate supplied by Mr. Diskalkar, the original plate having been lost. But from the copy of the impression as at last published after a good deal of correspondence in the Epig. Indica (Vol. XXIV, between pages 256 and 257) neither Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar nor Dr. D. C. Sarkar of the Calcutta University could read the last figure either as 7 or 4. Hence Rao Bahadur's reading is unwarranted and the date read as Sam. 257 by a scholar of the type of Mr. Diskalkar who had seen the original plate must be accepted as true. This date is evidently in the Vikrama era as follows another inscription of the same

Sam. 269 where it is stated that Ācārya, bhadanta Sthiramati had a vihāra built by Dharasena's father Guhasena in C. Sam. 240= A.D. 560 on Fleet's epoch. Ācārya Sthiramati's Introduction to Mahāyārism was translated into Chinese by A.D. 400. This, the evidence of the Gokak plate and various other pieces of evidence show conclusively the futility of trying to verify the astronomical details on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era.

From what has been stated in brief before and from numerous other pieces of evidence, literary, epigraphic and numismatic from Indian, Chinese and Tibetan sources it will be seen conclusively that the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and that the Guptas began to rule from the 1st century B.C. and not from the fourth century A.D. as supposed by Dr. Fleet.

Geneological and Synchronistic tables for clearness are given in Appendices A and B.

NOTE.

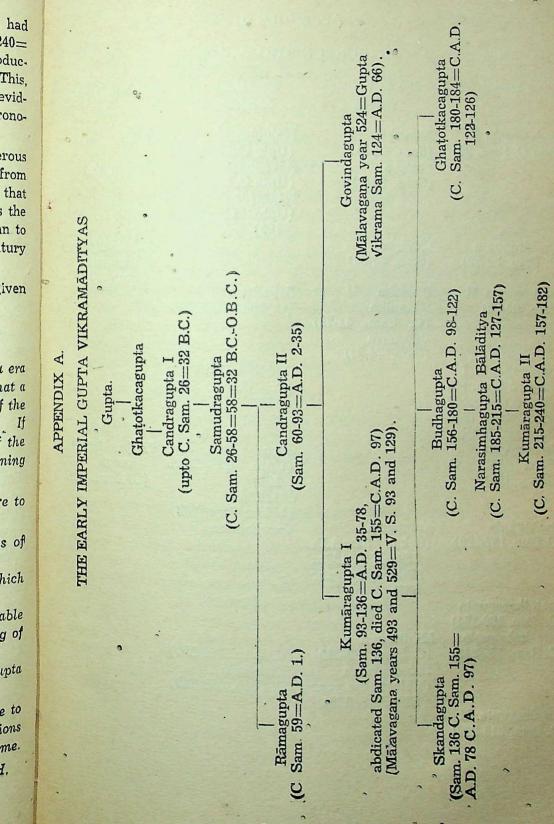
Mookerjee's article makes an attempt to identify the Gupta era with that of Vikramasamvat or Vikramaditya era. He feels that a case is made out that 319-20 A.D. fails in respect of a number of the Gupta dates and therefore the Gupta era cannot be 319-20 A.D. If so, the question naturally would be, what is the actual date of the Gupta era? He attempts to make the Vikramasamvat, beginning B.C. 57 work correctly for the dates in the Gupta era.

In regard to this whole subject, the following points require to be settled:—

- (1) What are all the Gupta dates which fail on the basis of 319-20 A.D. for the beginning of the era and for what reasons?
- (2) Secondly, what are the Gupta dates of the Gupta era which agree with this starting point—319-20 A.D.
- (3) Could all the dates containing astronomically verifiable dates be brought to agree with any other date for the beginning of the era?
- (4) Will that date satisfy the conditions of the known Gupta dates with verifiable details and without?

A systematic investigation of these questions would require to be undertaken to fix a date for the Gupta era. Any contributions towards settlement of this question would be welcome.

-Editor J.I.H.



APPENDIX B

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

Gupta monarchs. I	Kuṣāna and other	Buddhist	Andhra kings.
	rulers.	ācāryas etc.	
Candragupta I (upto C. Sam. 26)	Kaniska (Sam. 1-23).	Kālidāsa (Upto C. Sam. 70)	Hāla
	Vasiska (Sam. 24-28)	Aśvaghoṣa (Upto C. Sam. 70) Nāgārjuna	Mantalaka
		(Upto C. Sam. 108)	
Samudragupta (C. Sam. 26-59)	Huvişka (Sam. 28-60)		Gautamiputra Śātakarni (Sam. 46)
Candragupta II (Sam. 60-93)	Kaniska II or Kanika (C. Sam. 41-73) Vāsudeva (Sam. 74-98)	Aryadeva (C. Sam. 65-120)	(Sam. 10)
Kumāragupta I (reigned Sam. 93- 136, abdicated Sam. 136, died C. Sam. 155).		Buddhamitra (C. Sam. 129- 159)	
Skandagupta (Sam. 136, C. Sam. 155).		Sūra (Upto C. Sam. 154) Sāntideva (before Sam. 188)	Yajna Śrī Śāta karņi (C. Sam. 190:
Budhagupta (C. Sam. 157-180).	Toramāna (Śaka 52—A.D. 130—V.S. 188— Mālavagaņa year 588)	Vasubandhu	
Ghatotkacagupta (C. Sam. 180-184) Narasimhagupta	Mihirakula		
(C. Sam. 185-215)	(C. Sam. 189-210) Yaśodharman (Mālavagaṇa year	(C. Sam. 150-200) Sthiramati (C. Sam. 200-240)	
Kumāragupta II (C. Sam. 215-240)	589=V.S. 189)		

The Term Kusa or Kusana

By

BAIJNATH PURI, M.A., Lucknow.

The term Kuṣa or Kuṣāṇa has for long been a subject of controversy among scholars. The controversy does not seem to have ended. Therefore we have to consider whether the term Kusana is the adjective of Kusa which according to Baron A Von Stael Holstein1 was the name of the family to which Kaniska and others belonged or Kuṣāṇa itself was the name of that family. In order to consider this subject in detail we shall have to take note of the different forms which the family name assumes in inscriptions coins or elsewhere. A consideration of all the forms may bring forth fruitful results. Let us therefore enumerate these forms.

- I. Inscriptions. A Kharosthi.
 - 1. Panjtar Inscription: —Gusana.²
 - Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription: —Kuşanasa³
 - 3. Manikiala Inscription: —Gusanavasa.4
 - B. Brāhmī.
 - Mathura Stone Statue of Vamataksa-Kuṣāṇaputre.5
- II. Coins. A Greek legends. Kujula Kadphises: — ΚΟΡΓΟΛΟΥ. Kaniska and others: -Kopano.7 B. Kharosthi legends: —Kusana,8 Khusana.9
- 1. J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 79 ff.
- 2. C.I.I. Vol. II, pt. I. p. 67, ff.
- 3. Ibid, p. 70, ff.
- 4. Ibid, p. 145, ff.
- 5. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1911-12. p. 124
- 6. Whitehead, Cat. p. 179, No. 8.
- 7. Ibid, No. 53, 116, 209, 231. 8. Ibid, No. 8.
- 9. Ibid, No. 13.

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- III. In Aśvaghoṣaś Śūtralamkāra which exists in a Chinese translation we find a phrase Kusha chung chung yui wang ming chentankia ni cha meaning that in the Kuṣa race there was a king (wang) called Devaputra Kaniṣka. It would be seen that here the term used is Kuṣa, and not Kuṣāṇa.
- IV. In Dr. F. W. Thomas's translation of the Mahārājakanikalekha which has come down in a Tibetan version, Aśvaghosa writes to Kaniṣka "Train yourself in the way of your people, born in the Kuṣa race. Do you impair not the household law of your ancestors.¹¹
- V. In Kalpanāmānditīkā of Kumārlata Kaniṣka is stated to be of the family (kula) of the Kuisha—evidently Kuṣa.¹²
- VI. In certain Tamil works of the 1st century A.D. there is a mention of a term Kosar which has been identified by Kanakasabhai Pillai in his book. "Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago" with Kuṣāṇa

From a perusal of the above list, it appears that there are two prominent forms namely Kusa and Kusana. The kusanaputros or the descendants of the Kuṣāṇa formed a different dynasty. Here at present we are chiefly concerned with the consideration of the terms Kuṣa and Kuṣāṇa. The former is noticeable only in Tibetan and Chinese texts. In the inscriptions and coins, the name appears Gusana Kusāna or Khusana. but certain that the correct name of the family Kusāna which is noticeable in the Mat inscription of Vamataksa. The question then naturally arises if the name of the family to which Kaniska and others belonged was Kusana, how are we going to reconcile it with the Tibetan and Chinese texts where it appears as Kuṣa and not Kuṣāṇa? The answer to this question would be clear from the fact that in the course of the transmission of the name Kuṣāṇa the anusvāra some how found a

^{10.} J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 86 and J.A. 1903, p. 385.

^{11.} I.A. 1903, p. 356 No. 49.

^{12.} Luders: Bruch Stuke der Kaipanāmanditīkā der kumāralata leipzig 1926, (Sten Know's reference) C.I.I. PLXXV.

^{13.} p. 50 14. Vogel: Cat. M.M. No. A 60

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place. As such the name which was transmitted was Kusanam and not Kuṣāna. The anusvāra was a little perplexing to these commentators. Kuṣāṇam was the genitive plural of Kuṣa and so the name of the family was Kusa and not Kusana. Now it may here be asked how the genitive plural of Kusa could be Kusanam and not Kuṣāṇaṁ? The answer to this question would be forthcoming if we persue a Brahmi inscription of that period. In the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription14 we find in line- 3. Savastānam= Sarvasatvānam while in line 4 we notice Savasthi-Vadinyanam= Sarvāstivādinām. Here we find two forms of the genitive plural viz. nām and nām in a single inscription which indicates that both could be used to convey the same meaning. As such there is nothing impossible in taking Kuṣāṇam=Kuṣaṇām as the genitive plural of Kusa. This necessarily explains why in certain texts we find Kuşa as the family name and not the word Kuşāna. The error is now detected and therefore the Baron's suggestion that Kusana is the adjective of the family name Kusa is now out of question. Thus we have been able to explain why in Tibetan texts we find the family name Kusa and not Kusana. It is now certain that the name of the family was kuṣāṇa, and not Kuṣa.

Oldest Indo-Aryan Cities

By

ATINDRA NATH BOSE.

Long before Aryan migration, the non-Aryan settlers of India specialised in city-building. Remains of their art are seen in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa with characteristically modern amenities like masonry drains and regular streets and baths. The Arvans were primarily an agricultural and pastoral people but whether they had come or not from the cities of Mesopotamia and Iran, they might not have been strangers to city life. Without being good builders they could not possibly conquer the land from the original settlers who knew the use of fortified cities. Hence though Vedic and Brahmanical culture are essentially rural, a natural consequence of the consolidation of the Aryan tribal system into large states and kingdoms was the growth from the village settlements into large cities planned on the same principles in which the different village units clustered around the royal palace or citadel. The Epics present a large number of cities in the reader's horizon, dotted all over northern India from Assam to Afghanistan. When Megasthenes visited India "the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision" (Arrian. X). The Indian tract alone subdued by Alexander is reported by his companions to have contained as many as 5000 towns, none less than Cos. (Pliny, VI. 17).1

The Science Vāstu Vidyā and Silpa-śāstra.

The science of town-planning is so ancient in India that its origin is lost in antiquity. The treatises on $v\bar{a}stu$ - $vidy\bar{a}$ and silpa- $s\bar{a}stra$, the Mānasāra, the Mayamata, the Yuktikalpataru, the Devipurāṇa and works on political science like¹ the Arthaśāstra and the Sukranīti all testify to its remote origin. The patronymic Viśva-karmā—the architect divine, apotheosised master-builders like Maya, Tvaṣṭar and Manu, the mythological genealogies attributed to

^{1.} The list was probably compiled from hearsay including every town ship or defensive outpost raised to hold the surrounding area in check.

them,² the position of the master-builder as high-priest or sacrificial expert, all confirm the supposition.³ These and the position of the expounders of the science also prove that the social status of the civic architect was not low. The Mayamata avers that blue blood ran, in his veins (abhijātavān)⁴

Treatment of the subject

The subject of town-planning is discussed under certain heads in the Mānasāra and the Mayamata which signify its perfection. These are (a) examination of soil (bhūparīkṣā) (b) selections of site (bhūmīsaṃgraha) (c) determination of directions (dikparicheda), (d) division of the grounds into squares (padavinyāsa) (e) the offerings (balikarmavidhāna) (f) planning of villages and towns (grāmavinyāsa, nagaravinyāsa) (g) buildings and their different stories (bhūmividhāna) (h) contsruction of gateways (gopuravidhāna) (i) construction of temples (maṇḍapavidhāna) (j) construction of royal palaces (rājaveśmavidhāna). It will be noted that the construction of Dvārāvatī under the direction of Kṛṣṇa answers to these plans and procedures (Devip., Viṣ. p., Ch. 58).

Origin of cities from expansion of village

The towns generally grow out of villages. The plan of the Indo-Aryan town fairly reproduces on a grander scale the plan of the village. Thus the terms gāma and nigama are often indifferently used. The following story about the origin of the Kuru city of Kammāsadamma is illuminating. "He (Bodhisatta) had a vast lake constructed near the Banyan tree and transported thither many families and founded a village. It grew into a big place supplied

2. Viśvakarmāprakāśa, Ch. I.

3. Some of the metal-workers and carpenters of South India still retain the epithet 'ācārye' as their caste distinction. See Havell: Aryan Rule, P. 128.

4. It is suggested that he descended in social estimation at least in the time of the Mahābhārata since Maya, the builder of Yudhisthira's council house is spoken of as a dānava being a non-Āryan; this possibly implies that the science having deteriorated among the Aryans there was a lack of competent experts among them The supposition is far-fetched. The non-Aryans being more advanced in the technique an expert of their race might well be summoned in preference to one from the Aryan stock. See B. B. Datt: Town planning in ancient India, p. 14.

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with 80,000 shops. And starting from the farthest limits of its branches he levelled the ground about the roots of the tree and surrounded it with a balustrade furnished with arches and gates and the spirit of the tree was propitiated. And owing to the fact of the village having been settled on the spot where the ogre was converted, the place grew into the nigama of Kammāsadamma" (Jāt. V. 511). The difference between a gāma and a nigama is thus one of degree.

A self-contained village with a surrounding wall was not of course likely to undergo urban transformation. More possibly the cities grew out of several hamlets originally clustering around a market place.⁵ Or from the advantages of some natural resources. -a mine, a bed of flint, a layer of clay, a village might specialise in an art and acquire more than local importance. 6 More frequently. villages on trade routes soon flourished as cities. The earliest Indo-Aryan settlements were planted on the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges which were the great arteries of commerce in Northern India. The riparian cities had moreover great advantage from military and sanitary points of view. Important connections of overland routes had more commercial facilitiess. Hence villages and towns are said to be situated on the cross-section of numerous paths and bye-paths (Dn. XIII. 10). The city of Taxila, it will be seen was favoured with all these advantages. Such a town with the additional favour of a sea-coast obtained the designation of pattana or seaport which is defined as "a town abounding in articles imported from other islands alive with all classes of people, a land of commercial transactions in the shape of sale and purchase, replete with jewellery, precious stones, money, silk cloths, perfumery and the like, situated in the vicinity of a sea-coast."7 It is important to note that these littoral settlements are referred to as pattanagama in the Jatakas carrying an older tradition. In course of time when

^{5.} Cf. the cities of Saptagrāma or Sātgāon, Caturgrāma or Chittagong, Pentapolis or 'five cities' (Ptolemy, 2. 2). Mark also the suffixes in modern city names like Cox's Bazar, Bagerhat, Lalmanirhat, Narayangani, Raniganj etc.

^{6.} Cf. Golcunda with its diamoids, Agra with its marble works, Dacca with its silk and so on, and modern factory towns like Jamshedpur, Asansol etc.

^{7.} Mayamatam, 10. 55-57. In popular parlance a river port also is pattana. Jāt. I. 121.

they became full-fledged seaports serving as thriving outlets for foreign transactions, the gama was dropped and they became cities par excellence (panyapatṭana; Arth. II. 16).

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Sacred city and University town.

A divine sanctuary or a sage's nook sometimes became the nucleus of an urban settlement. With the ingress of pilgrims and students, shops and resthouses were in demand. Gradually a magnificent sacred city or university town came into being, possibly chosen later for the seat of government by secular authority.8

But Indo-Aryan cities like the Anglo-Saxon boroughs of old arose primarily out of a military necessity. To resist invasions or to consolidate conquests it was incumbent to build fortified outposts at important strategic points linking together the military roads maintained by the state. Because of constant internecine warfare, it was hard for a purely commercial town to exist. Hence every town was protected by walls fitted with watch towers and girdled with ditches. The gates were closed at night and sentries kept post throughout the day. In the Vedic literature the word for the city is 'pur' which means 'fort' or 'rampart'. In the Artha-Sastra a city appears with the appellation of durga i.e., 'difficult to penetrate', fortified with strong defences and other arrangements to resist attack. Its description in the Brahmavaivarta purana, Kāmandakīya Nītisāra and the Arthaśāstra is strikingly like that of a military encampment. The city of Pātaliputra was originally built by Ajātasatru to resist the powerful Vajjis (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). The city fort was surrounded by a number of suburbs (Jāt. VI. 330 f) where the kings and the high officials repaired when they wanted to take a pleasure jaunt.

Diverse types of cities

These different circumstances of their origin explain the diversity in character of Indian cities. There were pattanas or sea ports. There were nigamas or market towns situated on trade-routes. There are vihāras or university towns, temple cities, forts with bastions and battlements termed durga. A medley of other names are given in the śilpa śāstras, viz. nagara, rājadhānī, kheta, kharvaṭa,

^{8.} Cf. Kanchi and Taxila.

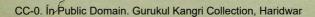
^{9.} Literally, 'nigama' means a 'trade-route'.

sivira, senāmukha, skanduāvāra, sthānīya, dronamukha, kotmakolaka and so on. The cities also varied in shape-square or rectangular, circular or elliptic, lotus-like or bow-shaped each having technical appellations for its variety, and each with its peculiar planning of streets and distribution of public places and buildings.¹⁰

The planned city, principles of planning

This apart, quite promiscuously, village settlements might outgrow their rural framework and attain to urban importance. Despite their natural growth, at certain stages they underwent the skill of a scheming technician. For example, to provide for increasing population and traffic, to improve the defences and broaden the streets. the ruler had to call for the civic engineer (sthapati). Besides there are detailed instructions laid down in the silpa sastras and concrete instances in other literature, of cities founded with a deliberate planning at the very inception. The rules for the guidance of the builder demanded the preparation of maps indicating density of population in different parts, allocation of sites for castes and professions, distribution of residential, business and industrial areas, of parks and squares with space. When improving or extending existing towns he has to make his project without violenty dislocating the existing order and with a consideration for temples, buildings and water-works of importance. As soil specialist he has to survey the ground for its fertility, solidity and mineral resources; if the city is on river or on sea, he has to study the probability of deluvion or erosion. He has to survey general traffic, sewage and water-supply, strategic points of offence and defence, folks in the neighbourhood, trees and plants suitable for culture and verdal beautification and all possibilities for the sanitation and aesthatics of the city. This would meet the demands of current political concepts. The capital ought to have the advantages of the hills, plains and seas, command vegetable, animal and mineral resources and be a centre of quick commercial activity. It should be on river bank if not on sea shore, surrounded by walls (prākāra) and ditches (parikhā) with four gates in four directions, provided with wells, tanks and pools, good roads and parks in roads, and well-construct ed taverns, temples and inns for travellers. (Sukranīti, I. 425-33). This is not an idealistic utopia but clearly recalls the numerous city descriptions given in Pali and Sanskrit works. Indian architecture

^{10.} See Dutt: Town planning in Ancient India, Chs. VIII, XI.



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further lays down technical instructions as to road-making, e.g. that they should be like the back of a tortoise, i-e. high in the middle and sloping towards the sides where they are provided with drains and that they should be regularly watered and gravelled and repaired every year (I. 531-537).11

The real was not at all out of this standard. The layout of Indian cities from the far-off Śākala in the Punjab to the distant Campā in Anga is realistically set forth in popular stories with minute details.

"Just as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground and rocks, not open to the danger of attack. And then when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine, and regular, measured out into suitable quarters, with trenches and ramparts thrown out around it, with strong gateways, watchtowers and battlements, with wide squares and open places and junctions (where two roads meet) with clean and even highroads, with regular lines of open shops, well-provided with parks and gardens and lakes and lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods, free from every fault. And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous, filled with stores of food, peaceful, glorious, happy, free from distress and calamity, the meeting place of all sorts and conditions of men. Nobles, Brahmanas all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless, perfect and pleasant...."

Yathā..... nagaravaddhaki nagaram māpetukāmo pathamam tāva samam anunnatam-anoṇataṃ asakkharapāsāņam nirupaddavam-anavajjam anuviloketvā ramaniyam bhūmibhāgam yam tattha visamam tam samam kārāpetvā khānukantakam visodhāpetvā tattha nagaram māpeyya sobhanam vibhattam mitam daļha-gopur-attālaukkinna-parikhapākāram kottakam puthu-caccara-catukkasandhi-singhatakam suci-samatalarājamaggam suvibhatta-antarāpaņam ārām-uyyāna-taṭāka-pokkha-

^{11.} The necessity of watering roads and keeping them clear was fully realised. The streets of Ayodhyā were regularly watered. Dropping filth on the later of the late on the king's highroad is to be fined with 2 kārṣāpaṇas and the filth immediately removed by the offender Manu, IX. 282.

raņī-udapāna-sampannam bahuvidha-devaṭṭhāna-patimaṇḍitaṃ sabba dosavirohitam, atha taṃ nagaraṃ apareṇa samayena iddhaṃ bhaveyya phītaṃ subhikkhaṃ khemaṃ samiddham sivam anītikam niruppadavaṃ nānājana samākulaṃ.....taṃ nagaram vāsaya upagatā nānāvisayino janā navaṃ suvibhattaṃ adosam-anavajjam ramanīyaṃ taṃ nagaraṃ passitvā.... (Mil. 330 f. Cf. 34, 1 f).

The city of Indraprastha laid out by Maya for the sons of Pāṇḍu, the city of Dvārāvatī reconstructed by Viśvakarmā under the orders of Śrī Kṛṣṇa are concrete instances of such planned cities which were no promiscuous growth. Another picture gives:

"Behold....a city furnished with solid foundations and with many gateways and walls and with many pleasant spots where four roads meet. Pillars and trenches, bars and bolts, watch towers and gates.....

"See various types of birds in the roads under the gateways

"See a marvellous city with grand walls, making the hairs stand erect with wonder, pleasant with banners upraised, and with its sands all of gold,—see the hermitages divided regularly in blocks, and the different houses and their yards, with streets and blind lanes between.

"Behold the drinking shops and taverns, the slaughter-house and cooks' shops and the harlots and wantons....the garlandweavers, the washermen, the astrologers, the cloth merchants, the gold-workers, the jewellers.

"Crowds are gathered here of men and women, see the seats tiers beyond tiers..... See the wrestlers and the crowd striking their doubled arms, see the strikers and the stricken...." Jāt. VI. 276.

Municipal extension

The walls and ditches of the city with its belt of stately trees presented the town a solidarity and corporate entity and prevented the mushroom growth of clumsy outskirts about them. But these defensive works stood in the way of easy expansion. This might be one of the subsidiary reasons which led to the later exclusion of the untouchables and pariah outside the city gate. The commonest method of town extension, as in the case of Dvārāvatī, was to dismantle the old walls, fill up the moats and erect a new boundary. As this was expensive and laborious, sometimes a ward or sub-town

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was built adjoining the wall of the main city which occasionally equalled in eminence or even eclipsed the original one. The city of Puri is supposed to have once possessed such a sub-town the ruins of which are still existing. Kāveripattinam is said to have been originally divided into the two parts of Maruvur Pākkam and Pattina Pākkam. Ciribbaja and Rājagaha probably offered a similar instancce.

'Six great cities'

At the time of Buddha, the six great cities of India (that is to say, the provinces which are now the United Provinces and Bihar) enumerated in contrast to a khuddakanagara or sākhanagara were Campā, Rājagaha. Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosāmbi and Bārāṇasi which were in Ānanda's estimation proper places to receive his Lord at the time of nibhūna (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

Campā

Campā was the capital of Anga, the country to the east of Magadha. Its site is discovered at modern Bhagalpur. It lost its independence to Magadha under Bimbisāra which appears to have never been regained. According to Hemchandra's Sthavirāvali and Pariśistaparva, after Bimbisāra's death Ajātasatru made Campā his capital but his son shifted to the newly built city of Pataliputra (Canto VI). In the Anuśasanaparva it is said that the city was surrounded by groves of Campaka trees (42). The Jatakas represent it as equipped with gates, watchtowers and walls (dvāratṭālakapākāra, VI. 32). Hieun Tsang witnessed these walls and the vestiges of the mound on which they stood are still existing surrounded by a ditch on three sides and by the Ganges in the north. It was a sacred place for both the Buddhists and the Jains. The Buddhist works mention an artificial lake excavated by Queen Gaggara with groves of of Campaka trees on its bank where wandering monks used to reside in the time of Buddha. It appears as a flourishing city in the Jaina work Campaka-śresthi-kathā which enumerates among the castes and crafts of the town perfumers, spice-sellers, sugarcandy-sellers, jewellers, tanners, makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen etc. 13 In the Daśakumāracarita Campā is seen abounding in rogues.

^{12.} V. Kanakasabhai Pillai: The Tamils 1800 years Ago. P. 24 f. 13. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri: Catalogue of Sanskrit Mahuscripts.

Rājagraha, modern Rajgīr was in Buddha's time not only the capital of Magadha but the spiritual metropolis of India. Innumerable folklore, personal reminiscences of Buddha and his faithfuls, and spiritual discourses are associated with this place in the canon. It comprised of the hill fortress of Giribbaja surrounded by five hills and the later town of Rajagaha proper built by Bimbisāva at its northern foot. According to the Mahābhārata the old Rājagrha or Giribrajapura was ruled by the legendary king Jarāsandha (II. 21) who was killed by Bhīma in a hefty duel. The fortifications of Giribbaja and Rājagaha still extant, are 4½ and 3 miles respectively in circumference.

Sāvatthi

Sāvatthi, in Buddha's time was capital of Kosala under king Pasenadi. It is identified by Cunningham with Saheth-Mahetl, on the Nepal border on the banks of the Rapti then known as Acirāvatī. It is traditionally associated with a great many Buddhist legends and folk-tales. Out of the 498 Jātakas, 416 are said to have been recounted by Buddha at this place. The famous lay devotee Anāthapiṇḍika hailed from here and here he purchased the Jetavana where a vihūra was built. As the birthplace of two Tirthankaras, the place was sacred to the Jainas too as Candrikāpurī or Candrapurī. It was a great emporium whence caravans started with 500 cartloads of wares (Jāt. IV. 350).

Sāketa or Ayodhyā

Sāketa was another important Kosala city and sometime its capital (Mahāvastu, I. 348; Jāt. III. 270). Its site has been discovered in the Unao district of Oudh. Its identification with Ayojjhā is doubted by Rhys Davids, for both are mentioned as existing in Buddha's time. The present city of Ayodhyā is according to him at a corner of Sāketa. "They were possibly adjoining, like London and Westminster." But in the Rāmāyaṇa and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṇsa Sāketa has been explicitly called the capital of king Daśaratha although that position is habitually attributed to Ayodhyā. The city must have had two names which were indiscriminately used both in Pali and Sanskrit.

^{14.} Buddhist India, p. 39.

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Ayodhyā is unimportant in the Pali canonical works and is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, it butts in with the full grandeur of a metropolis. Situated on the banks of the Sarayu, it was a well-fortified city, protected on the other sides by a deeply excavated moat kept continually filled with water, 12 yojanas in length and 3 yojanas in breadth. Daśaratha multiplied its habitations (purim ābāsayāmāsa). The city had fine wide streets full of traffic, symmetrically arranged, regularly watered and occasionally strewn with full-bloomed flowers. It had massive gates, was intersected with small crossways (subvibhaktantarapanam), equipped with mechanical contrivances (sarvayanîrāyudhavatā), inhabited by all sorts of mechanics (sarvasilpī) provided with dramatic parties (bahūnāṭaka samghaiśca samyuktām), fitted with parks and mango-gardens and encircled by a line of big Śāla trees. The fronts of its buildings were harmoniously arranged (sunivesitavesitavesmanta). It was frequented by merchants from different countries and garnered with paddy and rice (I. 5, 9 ff). It had the auspicious shape of a bow, the string being along the river (Kālikā Purāna 84, 237 f). 5āketa is referred to as Sagoda by Ptolemy (2, 25).

Kosāmbi

Kosāmbi was capital of the Vatsas or Vamsas (Jāt. IV. 28; VI 236) on the Jamunā. Its king was Udayana whose elopement and marriage with Vāsavadattā the princess of Avantī form the theme of a dramatic legend. "It was the most important entrepot for both goods and passengers coming to Kosala and Magada from the south and west." 16

Bārāṇasi

Bārāṇasi, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gumti (Mbh. XIII. 30) was the capital of Kāsi which, at the time of Buddha formed part of the kingdom of Kōśala. It was a seat of Buddhist learning and philosophy, remains of which are scattered at Sarnath. But when Hiuen Tsang visited the city "there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combines to

16. Rhys Davids: Loc. Cit.

^{15.} In the Mānasāra and the Mayamata this design of a village or town 16. But

shade (the sites), while the pure streams of water encircle them". Like Taxila it later attained the fame of a university town. Although at the time when the Jātakas were composed it was a centre of learning of some standing (I. 436, 447, 463; III, 537) students had to travel all the way to Taxila from Benares for the higher courses of sippas and vijjās. At that time it was a great centre of industries (I. 98) and a big and prosperous city, 12-1 yojanas in extent (II, 402)—pākāraparikkhepo dvādasayojaniko hoti, idam assā antarabāhiram pana tiyojanasatikaraṭṭham (I. 125).

Vesāli

Ananda's list is far from exhaustive; and even in Buddha's time, in the Madhyadesa itself, the cradle of his faith, there were other cities which could claim rank with the aforesaid ones. Vesāli, the capital of the Vajjis, a powerful confederation of republican tribes was situated in the Muzaffarpur district (Basarh) on the left bank of the Gandak (Rām. I. 4). It is said to be three yojanas north of the Ganges and five yojanas from Rājagaha (Com. on Sut. II. 1). The Jātakas aver that in Buddha's time it was a highly prosperous city (paramasobhaggapattam) encompassed by a triple wall each a yojana distant from the next having three gates with watch-towers (I. 504). According to the Mahāvagga, "at that time (Buddha's), Vesāli was an opulent (iddhā), prosperous (phītā), populous (Bahujanā) town, crowded with people (ākiņņamanussā), abundant with food (subhikkhā). There were 7707 storied buildings (pāsāda), 7707 pinnacled buildings (kūṭāgāra), 7707 pleasure grounds (ārāma), 7707 lotus ponds (pokkharaņi)" (VIII. 1). The prosperity was no doubt eclipsed by Pāṭaliputra when Ajātasatru annexed the land of the Vajjis to Magadha and built the new city to hold them under subjection.

Mithilā

In the same district of Muzuffarpur has been located the city of Mithilā (Janakpur) capital of Videha, said to have been seven yojanas in extent (circumference? sattayojane mithilānagəre Jāt. III. 365. IV, 315, VI. 246). It was undoubtedly a big and opulent city, for at its four gates there were four nighamas or wards called the East Town (pācinayavamajjhaka), the South Town, the West Town and the North Town each inhabited by wealthy merchants (seṭṭhī, anuseṭṭhī, VI. 330 f). In the Maha-ummagga Jātaka it is said that a king dug three moats round it, a water-moat, a mud-moat

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According to a long versical narrative, Mithila was spacious and splendid (visālam sabbatopabham), divided into well-measured blocks (vibhattam bhāgaso mitam), having many walls and gates (bahupākāratoraṇaṃ), strong towers and palaces (dalhamattālakotthakam), intersected by big roads (suvibhattam mahāpatham), laid out with shops at regular intervals (suvibhattantarapanam). thick with traffic of carts and chariots (gavassarathapilitam beautified with parks and gardens (ārāmavanamālinim) (Jāt. VI. 46 ff). The account of the Mahābhārata is closely similar. The city was ruled over by Janaka and "adorned with the flags of various guilds." It was "a beautiful town resounding with the noise of sacrifices and festivities", "furnished with splendid gateways, abounding with palatial residences." "Protected by walls on all sides, it had many splendid buildings to boast of. That delightful town was also filled with innumerable cars. Its streets and roads were many and welllaid and many of them were lined with shops. And it was full of horses and cars and elephants and warriors. And the citizens were all in health and joy and they were always engaged in festivities." (III. 206. 6-9).

Kapilavastu

Kapilavastu was the headquarters of the Sākyas another republican tribe, and the birth-place of Buddha. It comprised of several villages or wards of which one was Lummini, where Buddha was born and which is identified with Rummindei where Asoka's Pillar Edict records the commutation of bali and reduction of bhaga to 1/8 for the villagers, Kapilavastu is located in Gorackpur district on the border of Nepal and the United Provinces from archeological discoveries and from the distances given from other known places; viz. 60 yojanas from Rājagaha, 50 from Sāvatthi, and so on. It had a central mote-hall (Santāgāra) where deliberations and administrative business were carried on.18

Ujjeni

Ujjeni or Ujjaini, the Ozene of the Periplus, was the capital of Avanti, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus ruled in the

^{17.} The Arthasastra enjoins three ditches round a city (II. 3). The Devi Purāna says that the number should be according to the requirements of the ground (72. 28).

^{18.} For the legendary origin of Kapilavastu. See S. Hardy: Manual, 133, ff pp. 133, ff.

time of Buddha and Bimbisāra by Canda Pajjota whose son Vidudhaba massacied the Sākyas at Kapilavastu for deceitfully giving a slave girl in marriage to his father. Under the Maurya administration, this was provincial headquarters. Ptolemy notes that it was the capital of Tiastenes (Chastana). The famous Vikramāditya having expelled the Scythians and established his power over the greater part of India made this city his capital. At the time of the Periplus, it was an important mart linking the northern countries to the sea-port of Barygaza. Fa-hien refers to it as a flourishing university town.

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Takṣaśīla

Takṣaśilā (Pali-Takkhasilā), the reputed centre of Brāhmanical learning flourished much earlier from the time of Buddha. It is profusely referred to in the Pali canonical literature and men of eminence like Pāṇini the grammarian, Jivaka the physician and Cānakya the politician, claimed this as their almo mater. The foundation of the city is ascribed by the Rāmāyana to Bharata who is said to have placed his son Taksa as king there (VII. 114, 201).19 Literally the word means "hewn stone" and Wilson thinks that the city might have been built of stone instead of brick or mud as were most other cities of India. Presumably it grew to be the capital of Gandhāra (Jāt. I. 217). Its king Omphis submitted to Alexander when he invaded it. Under the Mauryas it remained a viceregal centre, a large city and governed by good laws (Str. XV. i. 28). After them it was successively the capital of the Bactrian, Saka and Pahlava kings. Arrian describes the city as great and wealthy (V. 8) and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes. Strabo tells the same thing and with Hiuen Tsang praises the fertility of its soil (XV. i. 17, 28). The latter notices its springs and watercourses which account for this fertility. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sunk down into the plains. Near the middle of the 1st century A.D. Appollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are reported to have visited it and Philostratos the biographer described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city and the residence of a sovereign. The city was "divided into narrow streets with great regularity" reminding the travellers of Athens. There was also a garden, a stadium along with a tank in

^{19.} According to Buddhist legends the name is derived from the celebrated head offering by Buddha (takka-sira).

the midst filled with cool and refreshing streams. Outside the wall was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Poros (Priaulx's Appollon, pp. 13 ff).

Its Natural Advantages

The valley in which the remains of Taxila lie, is a singularly pleasant one, well-watered by the Haro river and its tributaries, and protected by a girdle of hills; on the north and east by the snow-mountains of Hazra and the Muree ridge, on the south and west by the well-known Margalla spur and other lower eminences. "This position on the great trade-route which used to connect Hindustan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, the fertility of the soil, and a constant supply of good water, readily accounts for the importance of the city in early times." 20

Its Ruins and Plan

The remains of the city are distributed into three distinct sites within three and half miles of each other, viz. Bhir mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh. This fact characteristic of many other ancient towns reveals important socio-political developments. Firstly, there was the need of expansion of old towns and the convenient way was to start with a suburban townlet adjoining the borders than to expand by demolishing old parapets and dumping up the ditches. But the change was more often brought about by military than by civic requirements. Many of the oldest cities were moving camps of kings; and the site from which a king shifted became a deserted city. For a conqueror to use this as capital was against the rules of politics apparently because its ins and outs were known to enemy agents. Hence he had to found his own capital which was conveniently done at the neighbourhood of the old site.

These ruins also afford a clear glimpse into the old city plan. The city of Sirkap shows several large blocks of dwellings, separated one from the other by narrow side streets.... The unit of their design is the open quadrangle surrounded by chambers (catuḥśātā) and this unit is repeated two, three or four times according to the amount of accommodation required by the occu-

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^{20.} Marshall: Guide to Taxila, pp. 1 f.

pants, the small rooms fronting on the streets being usually reserved for shops. The valls were constructed either of rough rubble or diaper masonry, About its construction and material prosperity, the Rāmāyaṇa writes that the twin cities of Taxila and Puskalāvatī were rich in treasures and embellished with gardens; characterised by intensive commerce, great concourse of people, shops, symmetrically arranged in rows on both sides of the main thoroughfares; beautified with splendid shrines and massive trees; so that it took five years to build the cities (VII. 114).

Pușkalāvatī

Like Taxila, the city of Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī is claimed to have been founded by Bharata and placed under the rule of his son Puṣkala. It was the western capital of Gandhāra. It is placed in the district of Charsaddda on the river now called Landai which Alexander crossed by constructing a bridge (Str. XV. i. 27). He besieged and reduced the city and set up his protegē there (Arrian, Anab. IV. 22). It stood on important trade routes from Bactria to Barygaza (Peri. 47) and to Pāṭaliputra. The city is also noticed by Ptolemy (I. 44) and by Arrian as a very large and populous city (Indica, I.).

Kampilla

Kampilla, (Kampil in Farukkabad district) was the capital of the northern Pañcālas on the northern bank of the Ganges (Jat. V. 98). In the Mahābhārata however it appears on the bank of the Ganges but as the capital of south Pañcāla, which became the seat of king Drupada after he was defeated by Droṇa's pupils (I. 138. 73 f) while Ahicchatra (in Rohilkhand) was capital of north Pañcāla.

Dantapura

Dantapura is referred to as capital of Kalinga (Jāt. II. 367, IV. 230; Dn. II. 235; Mah. III. 361). It is the same as Pliny's Dandaguda, the town of the Calingoe. Tradition ascribes the name to the tooth relic of Buddha preserved there. This was obviously a later ascription after the name was already in vogue from some other

21. Ibid, pp. 70 f.

^{22.} The historicity of these two eponymous heroes is doubtful. As Taxila may well have owed its name to its stone-built houses, so Puskalavati may have been so named due to its attractive lotus-ponds

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origin.23 The name may have been derived from the elephant tusk or ivory for which Kalinga was famous (Arth. I. 2). The city has been identified by Cunningham with Rajamahendri, and by others with Puri. It may more plausibly be placed at Dantan on the Kasai in Midnapore district. At the time of Khāravela the capital was removed farther south where the new city of Kalinga (Muklialingam and adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district) was built and a settlement of 100 masons was created free from revenue, obviously for further beautification of the city (Hathigumpha In.)

Mathurā

Mathurā (a little south of modern Mathurā) on the Jumna, the capital of the Surasenas was the reputed birth place of Krsna and the scene of his juvenile adventures. In Buddha's time it is barely mentioned while in the Milinda it is reported to be one of the famous places in India (331). Hence "the time of its greatest growth must have been between these dates."24 Pliny knows the city. Arrian knows it as a great city and Ptolemy as 'the city of the gods'. This is a cogent observation for under the Kuṣāṇas it became the seat of Jaina religion and learning and dotted with numerous sculptures and votive inscriptions. The Uttarakanda of the Ramayana records that Satrughna founded it after slaying Lavaña, that it stood on the Jamuna the shape of a half-moon,25 that its land was fertile and productive, that its shops teemed with merchandise, that its buildings were reconstructed and parks and squares laid out and that it flourished with brisk business transactions carried out by merchants from different countries (83. 9 ff).26 The Harivamsa confirms the same report stating that it was like a half-moon along the Jamunā, that it was rich in gardens and groves (udyānavana-sampanna) and decorated with ramparts and turrets (chayāṭṭālaka keyūraḥ) (Viṣṇuparva, Ch. 54.) "It was sufficiently famous for the other Madhurā in Tinnevelly first mentioned in the Mahāvamso to be named after it".27

24. Rhys Davids: Buddhist India.

27. Rhys Davids: Buddhist India.

^{23.} Cf. how under the influence of Buddhist legends Takṣaśilā (hewn rock) became Taksasira (severed head) and Adicheatra (Adi's parasol) became Ahicchatra (parasol of snake's hood).

^{25.} Cf. Ayodhyā and the Kārmuka design. Ardhacandra is not crescent. 26. The Jainas thus appear as a mercantile community even in the early Christian centuries.

Dwaraka

Dwaraka or Dvaravati said in the Mahabharata to have been founded by Srī Krṣṇa by renovation of the old sea-coast city of Kuśāsthalī is perhaps of later growth like Mathurā. Yule and Lassen have identified this with the Baraca of the Periplus and Barake of Ptolemy (I. 94) on the tip of the Kathiawad Peninsula the gulf whereof was very difficult for navigation (40). The Harivamsa describes the construction of the city in great detail. When Śrī Krsna communicated his plan to the chief architect Viśwakarmā. he suggested a further extension for the accommodation of the citizens. Srī Kṛṣṇa proceeded with his own and realised his error after a few years. A new scheme was initiated and the municipal area extended to 12 yojanas × 8 yojanas. Old walls were dismantled and old ditches dumped. The surrounding area was cleared and prepared for the extension. Srī Kṛṣṇa gave instructions that building plots were to be properly spaced, triangular and quadrangular 'islands' were to be created on the crossways and other suitable spots; the main thoroughfares were to be measured up, the orientation of buildings ascertained. Thus ordered, the Yadavas selected the site, measured up the boundary lines, divided the plots and on an auspicious day made offerings to the presiding deities of the vāstu. Then Kṛṣṇa reiterated his instructions and laid special strees on the etsablishment of temples. The orders were carried out and special sites reserved for trees. The original city had its traffic mainly through lanes and bye-lanes (rathyā kotīsahasrāḍhyā). In the enlarged city there were eight main roads-four latitudinal, four longitudinal surrounded by a boulevard. Sixteen public squares were erected at the sixteen cross-sections.28 The city was bedecked with reservoirs of pure water, troughs and sheds for drinking water, parks, orchards and gardens. Fortifications were built and ditches excavated around which looked as wide and deep as the river Ganges. Defensive weapons and missiles were stored in large numbers (Visnuparva, Chs. 58, 98).

The veracity of these minute details may be doubted with regard to the city of Dwārakā, but by no means with regard to the general principles of town-planning. The building of the Kuru

^{28.} Thus Dvārāvatī had six longitudinal streets including the boulevard while Calcutta can boast of at most five:—viz., Circular Road, College-Wellesley Street, Chitpore-Chowringhee Road, Strand Road.

township of Kammāsadainma as described in the Jātaka story and already quoted, reflects the same principles in their original and nebulous form. The *śilpa śāstras* develop the same principles into a civic science and the builders of an age of progressive urbanisation gave effect to them with ingenious additions to meet the military, economic, religious, sanitary and aesthetic requirements of the times. Such radical reconstructions as described in the Harivamsa and in the theoretical works also presuppose a large control on private owners, more extensive than any modern improvement trust can boast of. No private interest was allowed to stand on the way against what was conceived as a public necessity.²⁹

Indraprastha

As Dwārakā was built by the divine architect Viśwakarma under the orders of king Śrī Kṛṣṇa, so the city of Indraprastha was constructed by the demon Maya at the requisition of king Yudhiṣṭhira. At the site cleared by the conflagration of the Khāṇḍava forest, on the banks of the Jamunā arose the stately city defended with sea-like ditches and sky-scraping parapets and adorned with gates, towers and palatial buildings. There was a fine layout of large thoroughfares. There were magnificent houses, pleasant retreats, fine museums, artificial hills, numerous tanks brimming with water, beautiful lakes fragrant with lilies and lotuses, and lovely with varieties of birds, many charming parks and gardens with tanks at the centres and numberless fine ponds (Mbh. I. 217). Ptolemy notices this city as Indabara (I. 49).

Sāgala

Sāgala or Sākala identified by Fleet with modern Sialkot in the Lahore division is said to have been the capital of Madra (Jāt. IV. 230). It was ruled over by the Madra king Salya, the brother of Pāṇḍu's wife who participated in the Bhārata war (Mbh. II. 32). It was also ruled over by king Aśvapati, father of Sāvitrī (Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 206). Cunningham says that it was Alexander's Sangala which is known to have offered him stout resistance, although the position disagrees with that assigned by Alexander's

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^{29.} The Sukraniti says that private ownership should not be allowed in towns. Plots of ground were allotted to persons during their life-time only for laying out gardens and erecting houses thereon. Ch. II. LL. 421-24.

historians.³⁰ It was the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after this expedition from Bactria and of his successors down to Dionysius. It is referred to as Euthydemia by Ptolemy (I. 46). It undoubtedly rose to the acme of its glory under king Menander. The Milindapañho opens with a full-throated description of the Yona city which substantially recalls the picture of Dvārakā and elaborates upon those of Vesāli, Indraprastha and other cities.

Pātaliputra.

With the city of Pāṭaliputra we pass the quicksands of legends and folklore and tread on firmer historical ground. The stages of its evolution are not shrouded in the midst of Epic and Puranic traditions. In the earlier Pali literature, supposed to be contemporary of Buddha, it is referred to as Pāṭaligāma. But it had great strategic and commercial value, situated as it was on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son (Erannoboas or Hiranyavahā) one of its largest tributaries. It was near to the land of the Vajjis whose capital Vesāli was conquerred by Ajātasatru. Hence the Magadhan king deputed his astute ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra to convert it into a fort in order to hold the Vajjis in check (Mv. VI 28; Jātakas). His successor Udaiyin removed from Rājagraha to this new city. Thenceforth Pataliputra remained the holder of imperial tradition under the successive dynasties of Saisunaga, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanha, Andhra and the Gupta. After the Guptas Kanauj competed with it and finally it was completely overshadow ed by the parvenu. When Fa-hien visited it, it was still like "the work of genii beyond the power of human skill." But in Hiuen Tsang's time all that remained of the splendid metropolis were heaps of debris and an insignificant village consisting of about 209 or 300 miserable houses. The city thus, after a shining career of roughly 900 years sank within a century to the oblivion from which it arose in the brief space of a few decades.

According to Megasthenes, Palibothra was the greatest city in India, the shape of a parallelogram, 80 stadia along the river and 15 stadia in breadth, encompassed with a wooden wall (the remains of which have been unearthed and preserved), pierced with loop holes for the discharge of arrows, crowned with 570 towers and 64 gates which was surrounded by a ditch 600 feet wide and 45 feet deep for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The royal

^{30.} Arrian and Curtius have noted that this was to the east of the Ravi, whereas Śākala according to the Karņaparvā was to its west,

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palace situated in the centre, surpassed the splendour of Susa and Echatana (Str. XV. i. 35 f, Arrian 10). Obviously it attracted from all northern India its overland and riverborne trade. It is recorded from the mouth of Buddha that as far as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, Pāṭaliputra will be the premier city, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares (yāvatā Ānanda, āryam āyatanam yāvatā vanippatho idam agganagarm bhavissati Pāṭaliputtam puṭabhedanam, Dn. XVI. i. 28). The 'prophecy' was evidently interpolated in a day when Pāṭaliputra was no longer a fishing village but the unrivalled metropolis of Magadha.

Tosali

Tosali has been decisively located with the finding of the name in the Asoka inscriptions on the Dhaul rock. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of the monument and it is almost certain now that this was Asoka's capital in the province of Orissa. It probably continued to be so till the time of Ptolemy who called it a metropolis, but wrongly placed it to the east of the Ganges thus misleading Lassen to locate it somewhere in the province of Dhakkā. The city stood on the margin of a pool called Kosala-Ganga and probably hence the compound Tosala-Kosalakas in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (Ch. 51) as suggested by Wilford ..

Śrīnagarī

Kalhana the chronicler of Kashmir says that the city of Śrinagarī in Kashmir was built by Aśoka which was most important on account of its 96 lacs of houses resplendent with wealth (Rāj. I. 104). Cunningham identifies this with the present village of Pandresthān (Purāṇādhisthāna or old capital) on the right bank of the Vitastā some 3 miles above modern Srinagar. 31

Kānyakubja

Kānyakubja or Kanauj was a leading city in Pañcāla during the period of early Buddhism. According to Rhys Davids it was the capital of the second or southern Pancala.32 Its remains have been traced 65 miles W.N.W. from Lucknow. It is referred to by Ptolemy as Kanogiza on the course of the Ganges (2.22) and as Kanagara Kanagorā in Prasiakē (I. 53). It is mentioned in Patanjalī, the

32. Buddhist India.

^{31.} For discussion on Cunningham's views see Stein's note on Raj. I. 104, translation.

Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the last recounting the Paurāṇic story that Vāyu transformed here the 99 daughters (kanyā) of its king Kuśanābha into hunchbacks (kubjas) for scorning him.

Nālandā

Nālandā, of which the relics have been discovered in the village of Bargaon, 7 miles to the north-west of Rajgir is referred to in the Majhima as a stronghold of the Jainas or Niganthas, a rich and populous city (iddhā, phītā, bahujanā, ākiṇṇamanussā). From the ruins it appears to have been surrounded with noble tanks on all sides. It is actually described as a suburb of Rājagṛha (Kalpasutra, p. 122), it apparently did not flourish until about the beginning of the Christian era.³³ It is not known from when dates its rise as the foremost university town in the East taking the man'tle from Taxila as we find in the records of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing.

Patala

Paṭala, says Arrian, was situated at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. This indication would have sufficed for its identification but for the fact that the river very often changed its course shifting its point of bifurcation. Arrian says that Paṭala was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouth of the Indus. It figures conspicuously in the history of the Macedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus. Seeing its fine commercial and strategical situation he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. In Sanskrit Paṭala means 'the trumpet flower' and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have derived its name from its resemblance to the shape of a flower.

The small cities

As opposed to these opulent cities were several little suburb towns beset with jungle (khuddakanagaraka, sākhānagaraka, ujjamgalanagaraka) like Kusinārā the city of the Mallas unfit as a place where the holy Buddha could attain nirvāna. Similar were the Malla townships of Pāvā and Anupiyā, Kitāgiri of Kāsi, Koli,

^{33.} Bālāditya who lived at the end of the first century A.D. is reported to have built the great temple at Nālandā. Rajendralala Mitra: Buddha Gaya. p. 247.

Sajjanela and Haliddavasana of the Koliyas, Āpana of Angā, Haṃsavati near the Sākya and Thullakoṭṭḥika near the Kuru country.

Sea-ports

Apart from these inland cities there were seaports or pattanas whose main importance was commercial and which served as gates to India's seaborne trade. Although the major part of India's foreign trade was diverted to the extensive seaboard of the south. the coasts of Bengal, Orissa, Kathiawad and Sind had their ports which exchanged cargo with all countries from Rome to Java and Cambodia. One of the earliest of these was Roruka later known as Roruva, the capital of Sovīra (Jāt. III. 470; Dn. II. 235; Div. P. 544). It is not exactly located but must have been somewhere on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Cutch. It has been identified by some with Ophir or Sophir where Solomon's vessels had traded. Caravans arrived here from all parts of India including Magadha. Bhārukaccha or Bhrgukaccha or Barygaza of the Greeks was on the site of modern Broach the seaport of the kingdom of Bhāru (Jāt. IV. 137) which may have flourished after the waning of Roruka out of importance (Div. pp. 544 ff). Surpāraka was the capital of Aparānta or Northern Konkan.34 It has been satisfactorily identified with the Ophir to which Solomon sent his ships hired from the Tyrians. Supārā had such a coastal situation that western traders crossing the ocean under the monsoon would naturally direct their course thither. The name Supārā is almost identical with that of Ophir when it takes an initial 'S' becoming Sophara as in the Septuagint and Sofir which is the Coptic name for India.25 Bhārukaccha and Suppāraka were the great ports of the Andhras and Sātavāhanas and contributed to their phenomenal wealth. Periplus refers to another seaport on the western coast, viz. Barbaricum (Barberei Ptolemy I. 60), the port of the Scythian metropolis of Patala and Minnagara (38) or, occording to Sanskrit, of Barbara country. It also refers to the great eastern emporium of Tamralipta (modern Tamluk) situated at the mouth of the Ganges. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy (Tamalites, 1, 73) and in the

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^{34.} R. G. Bhandarkar: History of the Deccan, III. p. 9.

Persian Gulf, the Indian names for the products showing only that the place was a trading centre with India.

Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. From this port Vijaya is said to have sailed for and conquered Ceylon.

So far for the Indian cities known over the globe for their phenomenal wealth and luxury all of which have sunk down to nonentity and some to oblivion with amazing rapidity leaving behind nothing but the name and dilapidated bricks to recall their glory. The list is far from comprehensive for our space and period. It is impossible to disentangle the identity and origin of the innumerable cities from their mythic cobwebs. But the foregoing account may help to give a general picture of cities of which there is a marked uniformity over the differences of time and place, and of the various conditions of their development, viz. military, demographic, industrial and commercial. The city architecture also brings forth the social life of town-dwellers. The richer people, the military and enercantile magnates resorted to cities in large numbers and at their behests the artists poured their skill on public buildings to give expression to the happy life, the traditions and ideals of their masters. They decorated the temples, stupus and caves with relief sculptures presenting pictorially the soul-stirring episodes from the career of Rāma, Buddha, Hanumat, Kṛṣṇa, Siva, Viṣṇu and other divine or sacred lives. The epics, legends and folklores of the land were an inexhaustible store of material for these artistic, religious and martial expressions. These impulses combined with the national ideal which, blazonned forth from the public buildings inculcated humanising and ennobling sentiments. The mute walls and colonnades of these buildings were thus great educative agents disseminating national culture. Besides being the nurseries of corporate ideals and military and artistic endeavours Indian cities were great schools of nationalism in its most liberal and comprehensive sense. It was this characteristic which gave a peculiar stamp to Indian civic life and gave Indian cities its distinctive mark of individuality which evoked the wonder and admiration of their visitors.

Bhaktisara Yogi and his Philosophy of Religion or Alvar of Tirumalisai (Mahisasurapuri)

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By

K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A., Ph.D.

I

Bhaktisāra is the fourth āļvār amongst the Śrī Vaisnava saints. He is said to have been born of Bhargava and Kanakangi, an apsarasa woman, in a forest near Mahiṣāsurapuri. The traditional date is about 4203 B.C.1 Having been left in the forest by his parents no sooner than born, he was picked up by a childless cowherd and taken home and brought up amidst cowherds. possessed from his very birth freedom from desire for food. His foster-father went and consulted a śūdra sage nearby who divining that the child was a great soul prayed to it and offered milk. The child drank the milk and asked his foster-mother to drink the remaining milk, saying that that would make her beget a child. A child was born to them in due time and was named Kanikanna. For seven years Bhaktisara did not partake of any food. At the end of this period he left the home of his foster-parent on pilgrimage to holy shrines. He practised Yoga, and in his wanderings he came across all types of religious and philosophical schools such as Śākya, Nyāya, Vaiṣeśika, Kāpila and Pātanjālālā and Kapāla. After a thousand years, says the tradition, he discovered Siva to be the Final Object (para-tattva). He became a chief exponent of Siva-theosophy and later he entered upon a vow of silence (mauna-vrata). Peyāļvār (the third saint of the Srivaisnavas) coming to know of Bhaktisāra as a great philosopher and yogi, came over to where he was, intent upon correcting him. But he found Bhaktisāra observing māuna or silence, and would not enter upon any philosophic discussion. He thereupon hit upon a plan. He set a small garden-plot just in the sight of the alvar's resident residence. In it he planted seedlings, but with their roots in the air and the leaves underground. He then proceeded to water these

^{1.} Ancient India and South Indian Culture: Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Vol. II. p. 734, O.B.A. 74. Poona, 1941.

inverted seedlings with the help of a pot which had so many holes, that water never remained to reach the plot.

Looking at this absurd procedure, Tirumaliśai, the silent, burst into a laughter exclaiming what a fool! Peyālvār immediately retored "Who is the fool? Not I but you". Thus started a long argument about the wisdom of the one or the other, and finally the superiority of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa was accepted by Bhaktisāra, whom he found or saw has been declared by the scriptures to be the First Cause of all, including Rudra or Sankara who happens to be the grand-son of Nārāyaṇa. It is as a result of this that Bhaktisāra composed the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi. It is also said that Peyālvār taught him all the sacred and secret lore of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. We find that Bhaktisāra became the philosophical exponent of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava doctrines through his Tirucchanda Viruttam, wherein we find for the first time in the Āļvār-literature a mention about the Pāñcarātra doctrine of the vyūhas.

Tirumalīśai āļvār was always a yogi and his practices towards realization of Nārāyaṇa were so complete that he could say that he knew Him better than any one else and completely. His austere and total surrender to Nārāyaṇa was so complete that he did not permit even a shadow of Siva, his own previous object of adoration, to fall on him. There is a story, amusing indeed, about his exclusive devotion to Nārāyana. Once when Bhaktisāra was meditating on Nārāyaṇa, both Siva and Pārvati were cruising in the sky over him. He avoided their shadows. Perceiving this, they came down and seeing his strong devotion to Nārāyaṇa, Śiva asked Bhaktisāra to elect a boon. Bhaktisāra replied that he wanted nothing. But being pressed, he requested Him to grant him salvation. Siva replied that He could not grant that request as it was not in His power to do that. But yet Siva asked him to choose some other boon. Being pressed further Bhaktisara prayed that the thread he was having might pass through the eye of the needle. Siva was enraged at this, tradition says, and opened his third eye of destruction at this wanton insult. Tirumalīsai alvār revealed to Siva that he also had an equally powerful eye and that in his foot, due to the grace of Nārāyaṇa and his yogic siddhi. This the tradition goes on to say, made Siva realise the greatness of Parabhakti,

^{2.} This version is contradicced by the statement of Bhaktisāra in the First verse of Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi that he was the first to know this fact.

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and praising him He called him Bhaktisāra by name. Another story describing his occult powers is also told, as to how a magician by name Sūktisāra, was travelling in the sky on a tiger. Bhaktisāra stopped it by his occult power and made him come down. The magician finding that an occultist did this, approached Bhaktisāra offering him a present of a magic cloak. But the āļvār, refusing that cloak, offered him instead a coat of precious stones. Seeing this the magician asked Bhaktisāra to convert his japa-māla into a garland of precious stones. Bhaktisāra through his occult power converted it much to the amazement of the magician. Wondering at his marvellous powers he prostrated before the āļvār and left humbled. There is a story of the āļvār having converted mud into gold, and also of making an old woman young. The latter incident took place when the āļvār was staying at Kāñci, Yadoktakāri-temple.

This incident led to a new situation. On seeing this young girl the local rājah was infatuated by her beauty and married her. But as her beauty was waxing day by day, the king's was waning day by day. He queried her about this strange phenomenon. She then told him that it was due to the alvar, who was staying at the Yadoktakāri shvine, that she got back her youth. The rājah sent word to the disciple of the alvar, one Kanikannan, and wanted him to bring the alvar to his presence. The disciple told him that that was impossible. The rajah was enraged and he asked him to sing a praise of himself. This too was refused by the disciple because mortal lips were given to praise one's teacher and God, and none else. Incensed at this the rājah ordered him to leave the city. The disciple left followed by the āļvār, and it is said that the deity in the temple also followed. Seeing this, all the other gods and townsmen left, and the whole city of Kāñcī performed wholesale evacuation. The rājah got alarmed and ran up to the āļvār and requested him to forgive the offence and the alvar gave him refuge.

The ālvār in his final days went to Kumbhakonam. En route he had to pass through villages and towns. On one occasion when passing through a town the persons in that place found God being taken in procession in every street that the ālvār went. There is also narrated a story that once when passing through a town where Vedic recitations were taking place, the reciters to hear them. After the ālvār left the place, when they started to recommence their recitation, they could not start again as they

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had clean forgotten all the Veda. They then ran upto the alvar, penitent at their behaviour, and requested him to assist them. Being avaidic, he through signs made them understand and recall the Veda. He was honoured by them for this supreme gift, as greater than the Veda-knower. After a considerable period the alvar gave up his body.

The āļvār's life as above given is the traditional version. Tirumaļīśai āļvār's life was rich in its varied philosophical, occult and devotional experiences. He was a seasoned thinker and knower of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions and Vedic lore. He was a siddha, a perfect yogi, who had the experience of the divine and was himself a person endowed with enormous power which he used to humble the proud. The intimacy of his relationship with God was such that God lived and moved and enjoyed with him.

Internal evidence however points to certain stories about him being remarkably otherwise than anti-saiva or anti-Siva. Tirumaliśai alvar seems to have had great reverance for Markandeya and Siva himself. His own life seems to have run on similar lines. The story of the meeting between Siva and Bhaktisāra is impossible, when we consider that Siva was the object adorable of Bhaktisara prior to his conversion to Vaisnavim, though it may well be argued that new converts are always most antipathic to their older loyalties. The Nanmukhan Tiruvandadis 15, 17 and 18 speak to the fact that Siva taught the path to Nārāyana to his four disciples and that Markandeya tread the path shown by Siva. The power of Siva was fully appreciated and his greatness fully known (Tirucchanda Viruttam 8). These two facts make it clear that when Bhaktisāra left Siva-worship for Nārāyaṇa, it did not mean anything more than the fact to which Peyālvār drew his pointed attention that the Adorable and Salvation-giving fact is the First Cause and nothing else. This is Nārāyana and none other. Even Śiva, the Gangādhara, was the witness to this fact, the salvation-fact, of Nārāyaṇa. Mārkandēya is well-known as a devotee of Siva who saved him from Yama (Mh. B. Vana. 191). He was blessed with immortality (ciranjīvatva). Mārkandēya is said to have been the son of Mrkandu, who presumably was the son of Dhata, the son of Bhrigu through Khyāti. Thus he happens to be a Bhārgava, even as Tirumaliśai alvar was. Markandeva's life after his having been saved from Yama or death by Siva in the first manvantara is not narrated anywhere except in the Bhagavata XII skanda. It is there declared that he lived through six manvantaras and gained the fruits of tapas or austerity. At the beginning of the present manvantara it is said Nārāyaṇa gave him His darśanam. Nārāyaṇa asked him to choose a boon and Mārkanḍēya replied that the darśanam He gave was all sufficient. He however wished to see His Māyā. Nārāyaṇa then showed him the praļaya, deluge of all the universes, in which Mārkanḍēya alone persisted amidst the involution. He then saw a child on the vaṭapatra enchantingly beautiful, whom he recognized as the Lord Nārāyaṇa. The child opened its mouth and Mārkanḍēya saw within it all the worlds and himself too. This is the fullest experience of Nārāyaṇa and it is seen that Tirumalīśai āļvār in the third verse³ of the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi writes:

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"Who knows as I do that Supreme Causal Substance of the Universe, the true substance enjoyable of all externals, is the Incomparable Person in the waters, lying on the Ocean of Milk and at Śrīranga, and who slept on the Leaf"?

Later in the same Bhāgavata Purāṇa XII it is stated that once when Mārkanḍēya was lost in intense contemplation of Nārāyaṇa, Rudra with Pārvati was moving in the sky. Seeing Mārkanḍēya they came down but Mārkanḍēya was oblivious of their presence. However Rudra was able to awaken him, and Mārkanḍēya having been awakened perceived Rudra and Pārvati and prostrated before them. Rudra then asked Mārkanḍēya to choose a boon. Mārkanḍēya replied "By seeing you I have become full of desirable things and they will never leave me. What is the boon I have to ask for? Nevertheless I will ask for this boon namely that my love for Bhagavān, for those that regard Him as the Highest goal, and for you may remain unshaken." (XII. 33-34) Rudra granted him this request and went his way.

Thus we have in the life of Mārkandēya as found in the Bhārata and Bhāgavata version an attempt at revealing the fact that Markandēya became a devotee of the Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa after having been saved from death by Siva. Tirumaļīśai āļvār who obviously realised the truth of Nārāyaṇa's ultimate Causality after having been a close and firm believer Siva, realised also that truth even as Mārkandēya did. It is therefore likely that the story of the meeting between Siva and Tirumaliśai āļvār has been embel-

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lished in a sectarian manner. It is however clear from Bhaktisāra's writings that he had absolutely no doubt as to the unfitness of Siva being the Object. Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi 53, Tirucchanda Viruttam 42 and 113 show Siva to be pervaded by rajas-tattva, and as such not the Ultimate. Siva is described as one who smears his body with ashes which are the result of his destruction of Kāma, through anger. In his matted locks there is only the one-digited moon, and in his hand he carries a skull, and his vehicle, the bull, is cruel. Obviously these might have been the reasons which made him transfer his loyalty to Nārāyaṇa, despite the fact Siva taught Mārkandēya and others the path of Final salvation through Surrender to Nārāyaṇa.

Historically considered we find that this chapter on Mārkandēya is unique to the Bhāgavatam and is not found in the Mahābhārata and in the Mārkandēya Purāṇa to which Bhāgavata refers. Tirumaļīsai āļvār is placed in the 3rd or fourth Century, though some others incline to the sixth century. The Bhāgavata view being substantiated by Bhaktisāra, the Bhāgavata account presumably must have been widely accepted and Bhaktisāra must have discovered and spread the fact. As we know, the purāṇas had undergone great changes and editing at the hands of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava theologians. This unique account about Mārkandēya is well worth further investigation.

II

Tirumaļīśai āļvār has left us only two compositions: the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi and the Tirucchanda Viruttam. The first is written in the same metre as the Tiruvandadis of the first three alvars, and may be considered to be continuing the spirit of the first three alvars. The Nanmukhan Tiruvandadi declares the supreme causality of Nārāyaṇa, whilst the first three andādis are utterances of the vision of the Lord through transcendent knowledge, supramental devotion, through supramental supramental devotionalised knowledge. The gave the vision of the conjoint experience of the Mother and the Lord of the Universe. This unique experience of the primal causality of God Nārāyaṇa is stated by Bhaktisāra to have been first vouchsafed to him perhaps in the vision of the Lord as at Srīranga, as in the Milk-Ocean and as the Child on the Vata-patra. (1 & 3 N.T.). The Tirucchanda Viruttam is more metaphysical and enumerates the categories in such a way as to point out that all are of the One. The central mystical principle enunciated by both the works is that the Most Supreme Cause alone can be the Path, the Goal and the Means for man, either for liberation or for bliss, or for work or weal.

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1. Taking the Nanmukhan Tiruvandadi first, which can be deemed to be the earlier of the two works for the reason that it may well belong to the revelation-stratum along with the first three andādis, we are presented with the nature of God.

"Nārāyaṇa begot the fourfaced; the fourfaced one, being the first (creature), himself begot Sankara.

Being myself the first (knower), I have made known this inner meaning. Do thou know this without losing any part."

2. God is also the supreme Being. There is no second to Him. His transcendence is very great over the universe. This is the real meaning of reality. The real is that which lives by Him, who controls and creates and sustains it.

"If investigated (all knowers) will declare the Lord to be One only." "His Greatness none knows. This alone is the conclusive meaning of reality". (N.T. 2.).

The unity of nature, the purposiveness of order in the world and other such features, reveal the Oneness or unity of the Governing power.

3. The Lord is also the ordainer of all the fruits of tapas or Yoga. He alone is the granter of results of all actions, and this is a special characteristic of deity, though the law of karma that every action has its result, is by no means abrogated by this statement. Every cause is followed by an effect. This provides the mechanical link. It is this that is usually affirmed as the complete statement of the cause-effect relationship. But when the activities are by individuals who are seeking certain ends or results, it is seen that seen that these individuals have the 'awareness' of the results accruing from certain activities. This 'awareness' of the cause-effect roles. effect relationship itself cannot however yield the notion that there is a being a being a being a second or fixed the is a being or person who has destined or determined or fixed the appropriate fruits of the actions, or in other words, is the ordainer of fruits. It is this Being, that the mīmāmsakas affirm as not necessary, since the series of the actions, or in other words, and series of fruits. sary, since there is no need to posit the existence of God over and

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above the reciprocal relationship between causes and effects even in respect of supernatural fruits. In other words, they assert that the ritual causal-relationship is not different from the mechanical causal-relationship, even though we are in this case unable to perceive the link, and even though there is no immediacy in the consequences, and even though there is a lot of time-gap. This etheistic mīmāmsā-view is refuted by the ālvār here by saying that the Lord is the ordainer of fruits of actions, ritualistic as well as mechanical or natural and moral actions, for He is the master of all orders of existence. That is why he says:—

- "Fruits or effects of all actions of tapas of those who perform them, come finally from the Lord whose hand holds the discus (Närāyaṇa)." (N.T. 2).
- 4. The alvar, as already stated, declares the Lord to be the One person who is incomparably great, whose greatness cannot be known by anyone except by men like himself. Says he:
 - "Who knows, as I do, that the supreme causal substance of the world, the true substance enjoyable of all eternals, is the Incomparable Person in the waters, lying in the Ocean of Milk, and at Śrīranga and Who slept on the Leaf." (N.T.3).4

This verse intimates the enjoyable nature of God. God is knowable, enjoyable and is also the primal Being established in the waters. (Manu. I. 8). This primeval form is assumed in order to reveal the unity of the material and efficient causality of God. "God is all" "Thou art verily all this world. Verily their existence is due to thy grace. Thou art indeed the God of these gods of austerity" Thou art indeed the flaming fire, the big mountains, the eight quarters, the two lights (sun and moon) in the egg". God is thus the material cause since the whole universe is His body. It is this original causality that makes God also the supporter, rules, saviour and protector of the universe (N.T. 19). He has unequalled and unexampled greatness. It is His will that bring into being all beings. Tirumāl akaippu is most important. (N.T. 37). It is an echo of the upaniṣadic icchā which is not merely a

^{4.} Mārkandēya's Vision of Nārāyaṇa's Māyā at the beginning of this Manvantara (Cf. Bhāgavata XII. 8-12).

^{5.} N.T. 20: T.C.V. 55.

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will to be many but also a desire to save, to redeem and to land. It is not nature, $svabh\bar{a}va$, that makes the things manifest themselves. For it is not in the power of $svagh\bar{a}va$ to move backwards into its own unmanifest state, nor has it the power to grow. A clockmovement of winding and unwinding, abhivyakta, is not capable of going beyond the starting point, or beyond riere repetition. An independent or transcendant Being is necessary to bring it into existence as well as to withdraw it from existence. It is this that is implied in the rulership of God as well as creatorship. This of course cannot be proved by the Logic of intellect. That is why the alvar clearly says that he knows, since he has seen Him to be all the three forms.

- 5. In the fourth verse the alvar affirms that God Narayana is the sarva-vācaka-śabda. Every word ultimately denotes Him only. He is thus not merely the total cause, he also is the object denoted by all words.
- 6. The alvar then speaks of God as the creator of all gods, men, animals and plants (N.T. 5). In speaking of God as the creator, the alvar also speaks of Him as the Destroyer too of Hiranyakasipu. God is thus described as redeemer of all creatures, saviour of all souls in the same breath as creator. Thus in brief outline the first five verses describe the nature of the paratattva—the transcendent Godhead.
- 7. The alvar then mentions that men are misled about God's real nature, being, attributes, powers and manifestations. The alvar points out that whilst the supreme Deity Narayana owes His nature and others to Himself, and as such these are intrinsic to Him, the rest including the god-souls (dēvas) have their godhood or nature extrinsic to them. It is something granted to them for their austerity and devotion to Him. (N.T. 53). This godhood or divine status may be acquired even like the Rbhus, or may be permanently retained too, even like the immortality from which there is no fall. God is the supreme protector (N.T. 30). He is the destroyer of the evil and the restorer of the good. (N.T. 48)—a statement recalling this devotees. (N.T. 60). He is indeed the only or sole means to

^{6.} Cf. Svet. Up. VI. 1. Cf. T.C.V, 4,

realization. (N.T. 64), for it is due to Him and His creatorship and transcendence that we exist at all. To attain the transcendent is not possible by any other means such as knowledge or works but through His grace alone. (N.T. 30)⁸ Man's love of God is the supreme wealth, no other wealth has he. God alone is the treasure-house of man (N.T. 61). The path of surrender through wearing the feet of the Lord on one's forehead is the path of liberation

- 8. Having described the nature of God and the duty of man towards Him, it may be asked as to what the results of not doing one's duty (dharma) by God are? Not to do it entails all risks of misery of birth and death. Tapas (askesis) is of no use in this direction, for obviously it is a method of great privation and suffering undertaken to get over misery. What is requisite is the knowledge of the creatureliness of man and the knowledge of God whose creature man is. The alvar's main purpose is to reveal in broad and definite outlines the creatorship of God and to point out as to which god fulfills this criterion most satisfactorily. Secondly, in pointing out the creatureliness of all beings including in this cate gory all the hosts of heaven, the alvar clearly points out the possibilities of tapas (askesis), which can only grant godhood not liberation. (N.T. 6 & 53). Liberation could be granted only by that saving knowledge which rescues man from his karmic embodied existence. (N.T. 79). For in the verse 79 the alvar says that embodied existence is a disease,9 this despite the fact the alvar lived very long on this planet. He did not envisage an earth-immortality but only an immaterial existence in divine substance. Thus the nature of God, the nature of the seeker, and the means to libe ration and the goal of attainment have been stated.
- 9. The alvar feels the importance of the concept of God's nearness to man in his struggle to surrender to the Divine.
- 8. N.T. 53. "I have no other God except Rāma, the destroyer of Land of the asuras. Do not deem as fit to be attained Siva and others, who being cruel have not the Godly nature, though they have achieved god-state. Mr. Pisharoti wrote in his ed. of Mukundamāla that Rāma is not loved all by the earlier ālvārs except Kulasekhara, and that Kulasekhara ālvār was devotee of Rāma, thus proving that Rāma cult was later than the Kṛṣṇa-cul The above verse clearly disproves his assumptions. Cf. My. article "The Kulasekhara's Philosophy of Devotion, S.V.O.I. Vol. III. p. I.

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"Thou hast manifested thyself as Milk-white, Golden, Green and Black (in the four yugas).

Thou hast willed the destruction of both the Kuru and the Pandava armies, being the Commander (of the World)" (N.T. 24).

The alvar mentions the various descents of Narayana as Rāma.10 Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa, Narasimha, and Matsya.

10. The Philosophy of Descent is a unique exposition and its role in theology is inestimable.11 It is the most revealing fact about Hindu religion. It reveals the nearness and the dynamic redemptive act of God Himself. Aśrita-vātsalya, Saulabhya and Sauśilya are the prominent features of Providence.12 "By this means thou hast sought to relieve the (sorrows of) the refugees." (N.T. 25). The nature of providence is such that it reveals that the God's government is ultimately based on Goodness and truth. The concept of the avatar apparently reveals an inner contradiction. According to some thinkers it is inconsistent with the nature of God as Omniscient and Omnipotent. There is no need for God to descend when He could as well save without descending. The evil could be destroyed by a fiat and indeed evil need not be created at all. It is possible to conceive of a devotion without goodness, in which case it is necessary to justify the destruction even of the devoted as against the good or those devoted to the good. Again, what is

10. Rāma: N.S. 8, 53, 85: T.C.V. 32, 33, 39, 91, 94, 116. Varālia: N.T. 70. T.C.V. 25, 26, 32, 48. Vāmana: N.T. 70. T.C.V. 25, 26, 32, 105, 109; Trivikrama: N.T. 9, 15. T.C.V. 105, 109.

Kṛṣṇa: N.T. 16, 24: T.C.V. 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40; 41; 42; 43; 49; 71; 92.

Narasimha: N.T. 5, 18: T.C.V. 23, 24, 25, 63. Matsya, N.T. 22, T.C.V. 35.

11. An entire volume can be prepared on the Avatār concept. Cf. My contribution to SRI AUROBINDO JAYANTI VOLUME 1942 on Divine Evolutionism expounding Sri Aurobindo's view, pp. 11-24

12. Cf. Tiruvoymozhi. I. 8, 9, 10.

the criterion of the good? Is it that which means obedience to the laws of the society at any particular time or of some theology, or to a messenger, or is it any obedience to the inner voice or inner law, personal to the striving soul? Again if the avatār is to be conceived as a finite God, something in the manner of Ahura Mazda, has He to live a histeric life of suffering, or has He merely to veil His transcendence, of His own will by the form He assumes? Is His tenement a kārmic one or an unkārmic one, yielding to the transcendent plastic stress of His own superior status? Indeed does the body or form interfere with the transcendence, ominscience and omnipotence and His oneness or His manyness and omnipervasiveness? These questions have been the most important philosophically and theologically speaking and have vexed and taxed the ingenuity of all expositors of the doctrine.

The descent if it were to be fruitful, must be a total presence involving no dimunition of the greatness and glory, omniscience, omnipotence and omnipervasiveness of the descending Godhead. His form, whether it be of the lowest animals or the human or divine $d\bar{e}va$, whether He incarnates through a womb or not, is of divine substance and not of mere matter. He descends out of His own will and grace, and not out of any sort of compulsion. His course of activities are already fulfilled, but He enjoys them in time and space and creation. That which is the delight of eternity He makes a delight in History, because the many individual souls are creatures of History. He shows Himself as the creator of History and the Lord of historical growth and progress. That not a whit of His transcendent power is lost in the descent, the alvar reveals by saying

"Thou who destroyest Hiranyakasipu in a day, art also the being who created gods, men, animals and plants." (N.T. 5).

"Destruction is the lot of those who do not worship Thee". (N.T. 6 & 14).

God in this sense, if transcendent to matter and change, yet descends into them as their complete master. They are real and His descents are also real, and, yerily, for the purpose of associating with the souls more closely, accessibly and perfectly.

11. We may suspend for the present a consideration of the metaphysical implications of the avatār as this concept is accepted

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by the alvar apparently from the Pañcaratra literature which is clearly seen from his referring to the fivefoldness of the Divine in the Tirucchanda Viruttam. (17).13 The alvar is equally concerned with the Arca descent of God in the form of Image (pratima), for the sake of the human worshipper who has invoked Him through his prayers and chants and offerings? The alvar mentions in the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi the following sacred places (tirupatis) Śrīrangam (30, 36, 60), Mylapore (35), Tiruvallikeni (35), Tiruvēngadam (34, 39-48), Kumbhakonam (36),14 Yadoktakāri, Tiruvellore, Tirupperūr (36) Kilāmbi (36). This may not mean that other temples were not existent about this time (4th century), but only that the alvar had not either sung about them or visited them.

12. The largest group of hymns refers to Vengadam. alvar is almost love-sick with the Lord at Venkata.

"I shall call upon the Lord of Venkata to appear. draw a mystic circle¹⁵ on sand (for prophesying whether I shall) reach that Mountain in whose perpentive caverns stumble the elephants frightened at the falls which drown down sparkling stones." (N.T. 39).

This is the first utterance of any alvar of the beloved-lover relationship. It is this that has been developed to perfection by Śaṭakopa, Kulaśekhara and Āndāļ.

The nature of the Lord of Vengadam is to grant salvation.16

13. Rg Veda. IV. i. 7.

"Threefold are those supreme births of this divine force that is in this world, they are true, they are desirable: He moves there wide-overt within the Infinite and shines pure, luminous and fulfilling...."

Cf. Rg Veda. X. 53. 5. This is the very earliest reference to Pancarātra in Āļvār Philosophy. Therefore it is historically important.

14. T.C.V. 55-60 refer to Kubhakonam, 50-54 to Śrīrangam as also 119. 15. The omen-circle is drawn closing the eyes so that the line drawn by the hand completes the circles correctly. Or else concentric circles are drawn and then these are counted. If they are an cdd number then success is not predict. is not predicted. If even success is assured.

16. The above text might have been the original of Venkatanātha's Dayā-śataka.

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"I have always sung about Venkațācala when singing about a mountain. Thus have I secured salvation.

Steadily established I am meditating and lo! I have been caught in the net called the feet of the Lord of Śrī, who in turn is caught in the net called Vedic usage." (N.T. 40).17

The Lord cannot exist without love (dayā)

"O Lord of Ranga, Thou who art difficult to obtain through one's own efforts, Thou who art running after thy devotees...."

The Lord at Venkața's asterism is Śravaṇam. (41). He is the sin-abolisher (42). His transcendence is so great that the first born fourfaced Brahmā and the three-eyed Siva are offering. flowers at the altar of His feet and sing His praises at eventide. At eventide one could see, says the alvar, the two gods Brahma and Siva wending their way together to Venkata in the North (43). This particular use of the word "Lord of Venkata of the lofty heights of the north" definitely intimates the Northern limit of the land of the Tamils (vada-vēngadam).

The Lord is eternally a youth (kumāran). Those who worship the eternal Youth become eternally youthful (tridaśa).

"O youthful ones! Do you seeking refuge go to the Venkata mountain, in whose gardens is resident the eternal Youth (Kumāran), Who, when a child long ago, counted with His feet (toes? the heads of the punishable demon (Rāvaṇa)." (44)18

He is the treasurehouse of the freed and the bond (vāṇorkkum mannorkum vaippu) (N.T. 45).19

The Venkata-Hill is described as a wonderful Hill wherein elephants, lions, yālis, gold, precious stones, pearls and flowery trees, nine kinds of gems, forests and streams abound. Monkeys

18. The story is not traceable in any extant purana,

^{17.} The doctrine of the Mother is a truth of the Veda. Sri is the object of supramental intuition as the third alvar has shown. The play on the word nul' shows the thread of composition. God is the thread of unity in all the many Hymns along with the Mother.

^{19.} Chā. Up. VIII. 3. 2 where the Divine is described as Hiranyanidhi-

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and huntsmen (kuravas) dwell on it. (47). Indeed it was a treasure-mountain of all desires (46). Venkaṭa therefore is sought after even by the immortals (nityamuktas) as something to be attained for, it is verily capable of annulling all sins and curing all diseases It is Venkata which is the Mountain of Him who protects gods by destroying the demons with His discus (48). Having thus extolled fully the greatness of the Mountain and its Lord, the alvar deems himself to be highly fortunate. He even compares himself with the Lord: "Who is my equal? (51); not even God is my equal for I have a saviour whilst He has none.20

The means of liberation is the Lord Himself (N.T. 64, 83). He is the ready-means (siddhopāya), as the Vedāntic teachers say.

"The Lord who has the discus, Who appears as if having His love for His devotees itself as His body.21 granting to the devotees the pleasures of this world, as the protecting King God, Heaven, coolness, relations, Mother, and every other Himself finally makes him attain the supreme above". (N.T. 83)

This magnificent verse summarises neatly that the Lord grants everything. Attaining Him one attains the entire freedom of the Universe of God and all that it contains. The means in special measure is be adopted is surrender complete and total to Him alone and none other however great or exalted, even if perforce it be one's own earlier teachers. Man must know His Lord God and surrender to Him. This God is Nārāyaṇa.

14. Some thinkers consider that their minds are impediments to realization and seek to dementalise their minds. The alvar on the contrary holds, and this is most interesting from the point of view of sublimational psychology, that mind is not an impediment at all.22 It can be a most useful instrument of devotion. (81 N.T.) An easy way is the way of praise and prayer of the Lord by the mind, o(N.T. 52). He utters a stern warning against taking gifts of

^{20.} Cf. Tyāgarājasvāmi's wonderful song: అనాధుడును గాను ోనేను.

^{21.} Cf. Dayāśataka, 6. 22. Cf. Aryan Path: Vol. XIII. No. 2. (Feb. 1942).

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"Evil men become slaves for money: obtaining sins through gifts, experience them. They walk as human sacrifices in exchange for (another's) head.

Ignorant men not praising the Lord as He who drank the poison as different (that is as nector) from the breast (of Pūtana) experience sin." (N.T. 52).

The praise of the Lord is the intelligent man's way to salvation. It means exclusive mental devotion. The āļvār writes

"Let the mouth praise! Let the eyes adore! Let the ears hear Thee.

Do thou offer cool flowers bending thy crown low and with hands crossed (in reverence), thinking on the Lord adorned with Tulasī garland and High Crown, attached to me from beginningless time." (N.T. 11).²³

Again

"No mental suffering will visit if one but accepts Madhusūdana as sole refuge, for God is man's wealth." (61).

"Those who have meditated with devotion on the Lord Creator and are able to fix Him in their minds attain quickly." (79).

He appeals to his mind.

'O good mind! Hast thou not seen the supreme Being? Is He not always? Is He not dwelling in the hearts of all meditators? Know thou that the unequalled Lord is the protector of me and of those like me." (N. T. 86.).

"I have made devotion my vocation" (84) and "My whole time is taken up with the praise of God" (85).

"'I shall not withdraw my mind which has only desire for Thee." (60).

Asking himself whether there is need for any further individual effort (puruṣakāra) to supplement or augment the God's redeeming grace, the ālvār says that God's power is so great that it is not waiting on man's effort, which is puny, ignorant and frustrating

23. Cf. Kulaśekhara's Mukundamāla-stanzas, for they almost copy these ideas; and both may have got it from the Bhāgavata literature.

"Is it necessary to plant the seed of effort in the field of the ancient sāmsāra of the Tiller Who has killed the Bulls?"

"The moving water-bearing Cloud will reveal the black cloud-form of Nārāyaṇa." (N. T. 23).

There is no need for purusakāra once the offering of oneself entirely to God has been made. There is only praise to be done in order to keep the mind in constant attunement with the Divine Presence. God is the only doer and the only instigator of all things (kartā and kārayitā).

As I have already pointed out, the alvar says that this path has been already taught by Siva himself, Siva whom many others proclaim as the Highest Creator.

"Rudra of right austerity taught the four seers²⁴ under the shade of the banyan tree in the previous aeon the Way of His surrender to the Lord Who measured the world and is reposing in the Ocean" (Nārāyaṇa). (N.T. 17).

This fact is more explicitly stated in an earlier verse (N.T. 15).

"If you are but able to worship the Lord after offering flowers at the feet of Him Who measured the world, as the gods do, then could you know the manner how the bluethroated (Rudra) was able to retain the poison in his throat (Durda) was able to retain the poison in his throat, even as Mārkandēya did know." (N.T. 15).25

24. Agastya, Pulastya, Daksa and Mārkandēya were taught by Siva the path of surrender to Nārāyaṇa or Trivikrama in the earlier manvantara. Here the ālvār grants the epithet of "right austerity" in strange contrast to N.T. 53. T.C.V. 42. 113.

25. The above story points out that Rudra was able to retain the poison through His surrender to Trivikrama-Nārāyaṇa and that Mārkandēya who was saved from Yama in his sixteenth year by Siva knew this secret, and became the devotee of Nārāyaṇa. This was what made him immortal as the Bhāga-vata story XII. 8-12 says. This is what is to be inferred. This version will make other Saiva Purāṇas. Mārkandēya Purāṇa strangely does not have this later tion of Content in sectarian legend-making?

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Surrender to the Lord is the way to conquest over death. It is the path leading to eternal youthfulness, physical and temporal immortality even as in the case of Mārkendēya, whose life, as I have alreadly shown, the āļvār's life simulates.

15. Thus the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi of which an analysis has been given above lays bare the essential attributes of God, describes the avatār and arcā of God, points out the means to the realization of the Highest Bliss even here and now, and declares unequivocally that the Path of Surrender to the Highest alone is capable of sublimating the human, and that this was the path taught by seers like Mārkandēya and Siva Himself.

III

1. The Tirucchanda Viruttam is a more philosophical poerrothan the previous. It is also more closely packed. If the Paratattva and the Hita have been taught in the previous poem, here, in the latter, the cosmic elements or categories are dealt with at greater length.

The first five verses describe the categories of existence which are declared to have their source in Brahman—a doctrine adopted from the Upanisadic texts. The numerological description of the categories is the first of its kind in Tamil literature, and it is difficult to understand except with the help of commentaries. It also shows with preciseness the categories as accepted at the time of this ālvār.

Having become the five in the earth*
In the water the four, in the fire the three,
In the strong wind the two, In the above (ether) the one,
Becoming distinguished as different from these,
(Thee), Who can know thy being (as the One cause)?
T.C.V. 1.

Here we have the five elements as well as their qualities nearly stated, and that all these have their original cause in the One which is different from them.

2. The second verse represents the Form of God as, at the same time, the Object of meditation, of tapas (askesis,) of adoration and praise, as also as the giver of beneficence. Some things can be objects of knowledge but cannot be deemed to be the givers of

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same n and an be ers of beneficence, even like matter; some others can be considered to be beneficent but they cannot be objects of cognition (āśraya-śūnya). God in the āļvār's philosophy is śubhūśraya.

Being the six26 (karmas),

Being the six²⁷ (seasons),

Being the six28 sacrifices,

Being (worshipped by) the five (sacrifices)29 five āhūtis30 and the five (agnis),31

He Who is the excellent Two (qualities),32 the three33 the seven,34 the six35 and the eight,36 and having made distinct the knowledge,37

Being the True and the deluder,38

And is the (self of) the five,39

He, the Lord, is verily a magician (māyan).

- 26. The six karmas are adhyayana, etc.
- 27. The six seasons are vasanta, grīşma, etc.
- 28. The six yagas are agneya, etc.
- 29. The five are deva, pitur, bhūta, mānuṣya, and brahma.
- 30. The five ahutis are pranahati, etc.
- 31. The five fires are gārhapatya, āhava-nīya, daksināgni, etc.
- 32. The two qualities are god-knowledge and renunciation of all else 33. The three are lordship, liberation and realisation or parabhakti
- parajñāna and paramabhakti. 34. The seven activities are viveka, vimoka, abhyāsa, kriya, kalyāna and anavasada.
 - 35. The six are those qualities of jñāna, baka, aiśvarya, vīrya, śakti, tejas.
- 36. The eight are apahatapāpmā, ajarah, vimṛtyu, viśoka, vijighīsa, āpipāsa Satyakāmah and Satya-Sañkalpa.
 - 37. The good knowledge for the good and bad for the bad.
- 38. Revealing the good form to the good, and deluding the asuras. 39. He is the inner self or ordainer of the five elements along with their respective qualities of sparsa, sabda, rūpa, rasa and gandha, as stated in the

Venkatanatha explaining the presence of deluding doctrines in the world which are said to have been promulgated by seers like Brhaspati and Siva, whilst not at whilst not disputing their authorship, harps constantly on the point that wages of that wages of sin is sin itself, wages of evil cannot be good, for even the good appears to appears to them as undesireable and delusive. It is only when the activities that they gain a total and irretrievable defeat which makes them collapse and the gain a total and irretrievable defeat which makes them collapse and thereby makes them akincanyas, helpless, seized by kārpanya; God is here described as having the fullest Lordship of the world and the paths, and there is in Him nothing of evil. He is the transcendent and the immanent ruler of all things, activities, efforts, enjoyments. He is the teacher of duties and philosophies, and, even whilst teaching the true path, He deludes the evil spirits and hurls them down—even for the sake of finally winning them over.

3. The third verse deals with the five-fold powers of the Lord: "The five (elements), the five (senses), having made the five (motor organs), the five (tanmātras),

Having made the three (ahamkāra, mahān and sūkṣmaprakṛti) into one (manas), and becoming the Self of the soul in these,

Thee the Firse Cause, who art thus, Who can see in the world the five (transcendent forms), the five (sensorgans), the five (sound etc.,) becoming the five (sthānas).40

By the above verse are mentioned the absolute enjoyability and experienceability of the Deity.

4. The fourth then mentions that the deity is also the source of all vocables. God is sarva-vācakā-śabda. The Veda is His body So too the poet prays to the Lord to reveal Himself as his own Self (āvi).

losing their svabhāva of asuras—a state in which they too seek the Grace of the Divine. Cf. The Wicked Succeed: my article Scholar Annual 1934.

40. Bhogasthāna, bhogopakaraņa, and bhogāyatana, etc., cf. T.C.V. 77. Being the (self of) eight and eight and eight (i.e. 24). Being the One (support of) seven (dvīpas) and seven (Hills) and seven (oceans).

Being (self of) the eight and three and one (12 ādityas).

The Prime Lord, Those who make the eightfold surrender and speak the eight (lettered) word.

Affirm (Him as) the Supreme Abode.

Surrender is usually said to be sad-vidham and not asta-vidham. The two more elements may belong to the two nistas, ācārya or svanista, as these too constitute steps in the path of surrender. It is yet an interesting point to investigate whether the so-called six or eight types (vidhāni) are not merely six or eight parts or steps (angāni) as in the case of yoga which is said to have eight angas.

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BHAKTISARA YOGI AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

5. God is ail sarvam khalvidam Brahma—nirkiņṛa dellām neḍumāl.

6. The sixth verse reaches the peak of this statement of the unity of the material and efficient causality, as well as the teleological causality of God (upādāna-nimitta-pur uṣārtha-kāraṇatva). The description is intended to show mythologically the Selfness or supporterness (adhārakatva) of God.

The Mern that is supporting Heaven (nākam)

The Earth that is being supported by the directional elephants (nākam),

The Supreme Sky that is full of happiness (nākam),

The Supreme Abode (paramapada).

The flowing Gangā that is upborne by the sky (nākam),

The clouds supported by the sky, the fire, the incomparable five breaths—All these are supported by the One Substance.

7. So far we have the description of the categories and of the Deity who is the One substance behind all, supporting all, denoted by all words and names. The nature of the Deity in relation having been taught, the āļvār describes the Lord as He is in His own essence—svarūpa-nirūpita-višeṣaṇas.

Being the One and two forms.⁴¹
Being the Lord of both knowledge and ignorance
Creating the One and the two times,
Being the Lord of kārmic earth,
Making one and two fires,
Wonderful Lord born amid cowherds!
Can He who has three eyes know thee?

Even Siva cannot know Thy greatness and wonderful nature. The relationship between cause and effect is affirmed as subsisting between the souls and ignorance. The relationship of cause and effect considered as material causality is one between the sūkṣma-cidacid-viśiṣṭa-Īśvara and the sthūla-cidacid-viśiṣṭa-Īśvara. Or as

41. Cf. Viśvaksena Sam:—
Caturvidhasya bhagavān mumukṣūṇām hitâya ai |
Anyesām api lokānām sṛṣṭisthityanta siddhaye ||
Cf. Jayākhya Sam; which states these forms to be Satya, Acyuta and
Puruṣa as the emanations of the One.

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the commentator Peria-vācchān Pillai writes under the verse 8, the states of cause and effect are like subdued fire and flaming fire.

8. The Creator as already mentioned is a wonderful being-Māyan (T.C.V. 11). It is a wonder of wonders that the Utterly Transcendent is identical with the Person who creates Himself as the Descent (avatār); and what is still more wonderful is that He is born of the creatures (T.C.V. 12).

Mythological theology reveals two things, firstly the transcendence of God does not involve and is not opposed to immence.42 Creatorship on His part does not imply non-creationship of Himself through descent or self-manifestation. The descent is to use the very excellent expression of Sri Aurobindo 'a coming down of the Divine below the line which divides the divine from the human world or status'. This is the divine birth-janma karma ca no divyam ēvam yō vētti tattvatah—(BH.G. IV. 9). The creator exhibits all the fullness of His creatorship and lordship in the terrestrial scheme. The avatar is thus a profound mythological principle of descent of the creator, self-creating Himself for some purpose of delight which may be of the redemptive kind (dayā-svarūpa). Creatureliness is a play on His part, if indeed He plays that part.43 The apparent fatherhood and motherhood of creatures is due to the Will and Grace of the Creator so that the creatures may be granted the pleasure of a total experience which consists of infinite types of relationships. The fundamental note in all true relationships in respect of the creature to the Creator is to be totally conscious of their creatureliness, śēṣatva. That is why we should mark a radical distinction between the birth of the creatures which is their ordinary lot at the direction of God as a result, equal and opposite, of, of earned by, their own karma. Nor can the secret of the avatar be known except through His inimitable Grace, for the Lord's body is Love, beneficence, dayā itself as is stated in the Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 40. So also is the avatār.

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9. Mentioning the avatār, the āļvār correctly anticipates the supreme doctrine of descents or emanations of the Divine. The

42. Sec. 10 under Nānmukhan Turuvandādi in this paper.

^{43.} Cf. "Kulasēkhura's Philosophy of Devotion:" J.S.V.O.I., Vol. III. 1 Devakī-Kṛṣṇa, Kausalyā-Rāma, Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Daśaratha-Rāma relation 'ships are all of this 'inverted kind'.

Cf. Naninukhan, T. 40.

idea of a descending Divine into the scheme of Humanity and infrahumanity is always intrinsic to the idea of the Creator indwelling and entering into the created. The Rg Vedic statement of threefold births (Rg Vedic IV. i. 7), the statement that there are souls which had five-fold births (Rg Vedic X. 53, 5), the statement of the Upanisads on the Antaryamin doctrine, the Gita affirmation of the avatar as the most splendid exemplification of His Divine Nature even in and amidst the material-vital-mental and space-time scheme, and lastly the Pancaratra statement of the five-foldness of the Divine Para, all are grouped as it were by the alvar in the most luminous verse of the Tiruchhanda Viruttam 17.

"One Person.45 In all four persons.

Being thus the Enjoyable Being46 and the Person realized through merit,47 and the Person of (many) manifestational forms.48

O First Lord lying on the serpent in the Milk Ocean and beyond it, Thou art the Transcendent special Form.50

The four vyūhas are different from the other four, such as Arca Antaryāmin (punniyattin mūrti), Avatār (Ennil mūrti), the Vāsudeva (in the Milk Ocean) and the Āka-mūrti the Para-Nārāyana.

10. The theory of vyūha is a unique contribution of Agama literature to Theism. It confirms not merely the immanence and transcendence of God; in the universe it reveals the Deity operating widely in the several planes of existence. Vyūha is defined 'as a process which while bringing the product into existence leaves the

44. Cf. 29 and 48 verses.

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Vāsudeva—the all-pervader is the first.

45. The three persons are Samkarṣaṇa, Pradhyumna, and Aniruddha.

46. This is the immaterial form.

47. This is the form realized in liberation.

48. The form that is vibhava or avatārs like Pāma, Kṛṣṇa-vibhavajātīya.

49. He is vibhava or avatārs like Pāma, Kṛṣṇa-vibhavajātīya.

49. He is the Being in the Ocean—the first herein mentioned.

50. The utter. Being beyond all creation of which these are all anates. emanates. He cannot be known at all. It is this that the alvar considers himself to have seen even like Markandeya. N.T. 3.

The Vaikhānasa and the Kāshmirian Śaivism accept the vyūha-doctrine. It is most probable that the latter accepts this on the precedence of the Pāncarātra and Vaikhānasa āgamas,

source of product unchanged.'51 This is too wide a definition since it will apply to the *vikṛitis* of *Prakṛiti* in Sāmkhya unless we are prepared to consider that unchanged means absolutely unchanged, in which case the definition cannot apply to the *Sacchidānanda* even, for there is indeed a change. The doctrine of the Veda in respect of this *vyūha* is beautifully expressed by the text

Pūrņamadah pūrņamidam pūrņātpūrņamudacyate | Pūrņasya pūrņamādāya piīrņamevāvasisyate ||52

Here we have clearly expressed the theory that when the Divine incarnates as the Cosmic Deities of Samkarsana, Anirudha and Pradhyumna who are the adhiṣṭāna devatas of Buddhi, Manas and Ahamkāra of all creatures, as the antaryāmin of all souls, as the avatār incarnating in all strata of creatures and planes, and finally as the arcā, the Lord in material form which is yet a supramaterial existence, the Divine continues to be the All, transcendent to all and in each of His own incarnate and unincarnate Beings.

The Vaikhānasa theory of $Vy\bar{u}ha$ which is enunciated in their $Arcan\bar{u}kalpa$ has reference to the five-foldness of the deity similar to the Pāñcarātra view; but the forms are Viṣnu, Satya, Puruṣa Acyuta and Aniruddha. $Vy\bar{u}ha$ means a sundering apart (vi—Vuh). 53

Of what is this the sundering it may be asked? Pāncarātra says that it means the keeping apart, for the purposes of creative, redemptive, meditative and providential activity of the Divine, the several qualities, perfect and matchless in themselves, such as the six qualities of jnāna, bala, aiśvarya vīrya, śakti and tejas. When such a Brahman which is of the nature of knowledge and is endowed with all qualities, resolves Himself into the idea of splitting Himself into the many" without becoming separated from

51. Kashmirian śaivism: J. C. Chatterjee, p. 59.

52. Viśvaksena Sam: XI.

Samkarsana stu deveśo jagatśrastumanāśratah |

Jīvātattvam adhistāya prakrtēstu vivicya tat ||

Aiśvaryavīryasambhedād rūpam pradyumnam ucyate |

Purnasādgunya evayam acyutopi mahāmune ||

Cf. Ahir. Sam. Ch. V. 29-38.

Cf. N.T. 7.

53. Vyūha means also dispersal or removal cf. Īśā. Up. 16 vyūha raśmin samūha tejaḥ.

the Main and Original Unity or self-identity of His eternal nature, then we have the multiplanal or multidimensional or multi-personal manifestation of the One person.54 The manifestation proceeds in pairs, it is declared by Pancaratra,55 one of the pairs being cognitive and the other conative or volitive, or one being theoretical and the other practical or expressed in quite a different way, quietistic and dynamic. Thus Jñāna and Bala, Aiśvarya and Vīrya. Tejas and Sakti are the three pairs of qualities which are manifested under the triple personalities of Samkarṣaṇa, Pradhyumna⁵⁶ and Aniruddha. The manifesting of each pair is described by the Pāñcarātra as if successive at the beginning, till finally all the pairs are represented by the three distinct persons or entities or deities. It is however commended by all philosophical schools that this successiveness should not be equated with origination or creation of creatures, or that these parts are caused by their previous pairs, or that the qualities of the Divine could be taken away from the Divine Nature that is integral. Nor should it be considered that these qualities could be divested from their substrate, the Divine, so as to build up new souls or persons, for the obvious reason, qualities are not things.

11. Thus we have in all, three cosmic forms of the Self having two attributes each, the Lord of all creatures indwelling in all as Self, as Arca and as Avatār. The āļvār of Tirumaļiśai has shown that there is a running thread of unity of all in and through the Transcendent. The personalities of the three or five forms are not of the finite souls, independent and individual, but the continu-

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^{54.} Christian theology speaks about three persons: God before incarnation, Son during incarnation, and the holy ghost as that which takes of the son and carries in the son the son that which takes of the son and carries in the son that which takes of the son takes of the and carries it on to men. Power is God, Wisdom is son, holy ghost is love. They form one life, not three minds but one mind, not three substances but stances but one substance. Cf. Dean Inge: Personal Idealism and Mysticism, p. 36. The point is that they are represented to have here a temporal succession have been a temporal succession but not contemporaneous existence, though that is not by any means ruled out

^{55.} Introduction to Pāñcarātra: O.

^{56.} Cf. Mahāsanatkumāra Samhitas Vāsudeva creates from His mind the white Goddess Sarti, and together with her Samkarsara or Siva: Then from the left side of the control of of the left side of the latter is born the red Goddess Śrī whose son is Pradhyumna or Brahmā, the left or Brahmā, the latter is born the red Goddess Śrī whose son is a control or Brahmā, the latter again created the yellow Sarasvatī and together with the Aniruddha acceptable to Alvārher Aniruddha or Furusottama. This view is not acceptable to Alvar-

ous single continuing manifastative Self, infinite and indivisible and eternal Brahman.—ajayamānō bahudhāvijayatē. The āļvārs have shown that there is no difference between the Arca, and Avatā and Nārāyaṇa. In their Hymns they reveal the fact that they were conscious of this supreme continuity and inseparable identity of the One Supreme Self represented by various descents of His. The personalities of God are thus different in kind from those of the many souls. It is this fact that has to be remembered in connection with the view maintained by Rāmānuja that in the Pāñcarātra system the souls are not held to be created. This point is very important in the understanding of the metaphysics of Pāñcarātra which whilst distinguishing radically between the souls and Isvara, affirms the emergence or creation of the personalities of the Isvara which are initiated for the cosmic, individual, beneficial and redemptive purposes and evolutionary delight of extracting a harmony out of the many. God has to be conceived as the Unitas multiplex Reality, if not unitas quintuplex or septiplex.

- 12. God is described next (T.C.V. 19) as the most important Power, as the subduer of all creatures and as the Teacher of all The symbol of the Bird is used. Taking the form of a bird (pul) He moves with birds, slays birds evil in nature, and yet has a bird (Garuda) for His ensign, and yet the Great Being lays Himself down on the bed formed by a serpent which is the food of that Garuda. Before Him everything trembles. He is not inconscient in a bird-form. He is full of transcendent power and consciousness whatever form He takes, even though not the cosmic forms above mentioned. Nor does He tolerate evil amongst birds and beasts Evil is what He destroys or converts into pure Good and meed He elevates everything through getting their services. This is His enjoyment and love (kādal). God helps all creatures in every way, taking even lowly forms of tortoise (20), fish (30) Lion-man (Nṛsimha) (23) so that His devotees may attain immortality and progress in their life-aims (20). This same activity of Grace produces these infinite vibhavas or special births in and out of wombs God in every form and body incarnates without interference to His supreme Nature svarūpa svāţantrya.
- 13. After describing in the 22nd Hymn that God is the "Womb, Protector, Transcendent, becoming a Child rolling the seven worlds up into Nector," the āļār addresses God thus

"Thou restest on a fig-leaf. O Primordial God!

Thou who wearest the beeful tulasi-cool garland art with the Beautiful Lotus-born Mother in thy chest. Thou Lord of the Earth, whose body is blue like the Ocean! (24)

The alvar describes the greatness of the Avatar:

"Conjoining Womanhood with manhood (Thou createst), became the Lord of neuter too and the Ruler of all.

Becoming the inner ruler of all persons, thou maddest creation evolve from matter.

Thou became a cowherd who leves the cows:

Thou became false (to the wicked non-seekers) (and) Thou wert the Real (to the seekers);

Thou wert a bachelor (or rather livest in Brahman);

Thou are fit to be sought by the world as supplicant;

Thine form is complex. Who canst knew thy Wonderful Form ?"

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"Transcendent of the Transcendent!

Having the Ocean as bed, and enjoying the Supreme Lâdy in the chest, Thou loving, wert born in human wombs. Lord of the Form of Knowledge! None can know thy greatness as this,57 (29 T.C.V.).

14. God's accessibility is one of the most important experiences of the alvars. It is indeed the keynote of the Descent. Saulabhya goes along with niyāmakatva, rakkṣakatva, nāśakatva of the wicked. It also is bhogyatva. The āļvār laments

Can there be attainment of Him (Who is the ruler of the) ten (lords) of the ten (directions),

Being the One ordainer of the seven (notes of music) and nine (senti-

Who descended for the sake of the good of the fourteen (worlds) ten times into them and is the One (being)

Who has incarnated previously.

In all His descents His nature is Divine not material nor vital nor mental.

January Rhā, Gītā, IV. Janma-karma ca me divyam ēvam yō vētti tattvatah Bhā. Gitā, IV.

^{57. (}i) is the Fara, (ii) is the Vāsudeva in the Milk Ocean, (iii) is Aniruddha, says the commentator, (iv) Avatār, (v) Antaryāmin. The Arcā is also is also a form of knowledge even though in image-form. Cf. T.C.V. 79.

the bad faith of men, who ought to know that great accessibility of God.

"Milkwhite (in Krta), Copper-red (in Treta), moss-green (in Dvāpara) and (in Kali) of the hue of the blue-lotus enjoyed by the bees

During all these periods the hues taken by Thee will be hues of the ages.

The accessibility of Viṣṇu in all these periods not enjoying. What hue is it that the men of the earth have? (T.C.V. 44).

The bad and coil souls do not belong to any period, and indeed they belong to all periods and have a distinct hue or darkness (tamas) in their natures, a darkness that is incapable of enjoying the Divine who is accessible at all times.

And again the äļvār addresses the Divine:

"Thou who have taken up thy residence on the Earth whilst yet the Ruler of the eternals and art standing eager to help (thy devotees) (mayangi ninrenru), and art beyond all thought,

Thou who grantest visions to thy seekers and art distinct.33

O Thou the Cause of my good, seated on a serpent.

O Thou the most pure Being, adorned with tuluśi-garland (T.C.V. 45).

What Wonder!

Lest it be said that God being manifest in one Form will not be available for Worship in any other form, the alvar says (T.C.V. 47) that He has no limitation to His omnipervasiveness (vāsyatva).

15. The ālvār's praises on the God at Śrīrangam and Kumbhakonam breath the air of the accessibility of God and His extraordinary integral nature stretching from the terrestrial to the supra-terrestrial universes of God. The most important aspect of the Divine nature which usually fascinates and yet frightens is the

^{58.} Cf. T.C.V. 79.

⁵⁹ The haters of God are distant to God. "To those whose faces are turned away from Govinda, those minds are attached to objects (of senses), to them that Supreme Brahman is than the fair; to those whose minds are absorbed in Govinda, having renounced all objects, one should know that is near." Visnu Dharma 99. 14.

Cf. Isa-Comm. Vēnkaṭanātha on verse 4, J.S.V.O.I. Vol. III. 1. 1942.

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Ugrarūpa of God—the terrible-aspect of God. So much has been made of the ugra-rūpa of God as a necessary and fundamentally intrinsic nature of God, that it has been sought to be held as the real aspect of the Deity. Rudra is therefore declared to be the real Deity. Power, Fierceness, Violence and Dionysic frenzy are considered to be more the nature of the deity than the quiet, fascinating, redemptive and beneficent Apollonian Deity, and welcome to the human mind.

Tirumalīśai āļvār recognizes the importance of this ugra or ghora form of the Deity for is it not an essential part of the nature of the Deity as Śri Kṛṣṇa Himself revealed in His Viśvarūpa? form is terrible to behold, encompassing as it does all awe. Man feels his head reeling, threat parched and limbs trembling, and words are held up. In the 61st verse the alvar tries to synthesise the Ugra or ghora-rupa of God with the saulabhya and saukumāryarūpa of God. This is testified to by mentioning the Varāha and Simha forms which are forbidding and fierce to behold in the same breath as the Lord whose feet are being washed by the river Kāverī at Śrīrangam, girdling as it does the island temple. God is Keśava because He is the destroyer of misery and therefore is it that He cannot stand the misery of others. His fierce form is shown not indeed to frighten the devotees but to reveal that His power is illimitable. The Trivikrama-form is a wonderful aspect of the illimitable power of surpassing plenitude.—a power to be exercised against the foes of truth and light. Not only did the foes tremble before this form, it was strangely the form at which the devotees of light, the votaries and martyrs of humanity and divinities never quailed, for they knew that this was His Māyā, His essential power that revealed the magnificent Infinity of His Grace and transcendence.61 In the story of Mārkandēya in the Bhāgavata to which reference has been made, Mārkandēya prays to Nārāyaṇa to reveal to him His Māyā—and that was the deluge awe-inspiring and soulquaking. The Ugra-rūpa does not frighten, indeed does not destroy the knower, for it is also the manifestation of the Love and Saulabhya nature of God.

"Entering the hearts of those who with one-pointed mind seated through Yoga seek to attain thee, and residing

^{60.} Cf. Saivism in South India: C. V. Narayana Aiyar, Ch. II. Kva yauvanonmukhībhūta sukumāra tanur hariḥ | Kva vajra-kāṭhinābhoga Sarīroyam mahāsuraḥ ||

therein, Thou hast become difficult of perception. O Thou Dispellor of sorrows, Lord of Gods!

The ālvār finds in the descents of God as avatār (63b) the supreme mingling or fusion of both the fierce and ruthless and destructive effort in respect of evil, and the calm, benevolent, exalting and elevating love of the Good. Indeed if we could say that the destruction of evil is half good, if not the good itself, as some schools of thought contend⁶² then, the avatār such as Narasimha really typifies this happiness as achieved by man through His descent. But this is not all in the theism of the ālvārs, which holds that God does not stop short at the destruction of all obstacles to His devotees, but goes further to grant them the felicity of the supreme nearness to His supramental plane and presence (parama-pada).

This shows that man is the dependent, the instrument and servant, conscious and willing if good and knowing, and conscious and rebellious and obstructive if evil and blind—but all the same a helpless tool of God.⁶³ For it is this important fact that is usually missed by theists who descry in this failure of God to convert the evil, a finiteness on His part and even a helplessness on His part, and thus describe Him as an Ahura Mazda fighting His battles against His foe, or else as a finite soul apotheosised for certain exceeding virtues—a hero at best. God is then described as a Hero made Ideal, and nothing more. But what about His foes? Can there be foes at all and has He to struggle against them? Does He destroy them or do their evil deeds recoil on them and destroy them, even as the Bhāgavata explains the destruction of Sagara's sons?

These are important questions as any student of Religion will admit. Three important questions arise: Can God have hatred if He be all-love or beneficence? Can God be cruel if He be all-love? Can God lead to destruction any one, however wicked, if He be all-love? We know that if we answer these three questions in the affirmative then we shall be landed in endless confusion, since love is something that negates hatred, cruelty and destruction of any thing, except those pains inflicted surgically, those privations administered for correction. Non-violence, Ahimsa, is one of the

^{62.} Nyāya, Buddhicm and Sāmkhya contend that annihilation of sorrow is the final enjoyment. Sānti or peace is the resultant of the annihilation of sorrow and suffering.

^{63.} Bh. Gītā: XVIII. 60.

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most important attributes, just as much non-hatred (nirvaira) is of any spiritual soul. This is the essential meaning of the great instruction of love your enemies, deem your enemies also as belonging to the self, but not their wickedness. The path of conversion of the wicked from his wickedness to goodness is the necessity, and this is to be achieved only with the help not of bheda and danda or māyā or indrajāla but with the purest means of sama and śānti. Means must be appropriate to the end, and cannot be quite the opposite, for the proposition of thesis, anti-thesis to synthesis is not on a par with the ethical structure of the recognition of God as the indwelling self of all. The avatar of love would be quite different from the ordinary notions of God we know of. The naturallistically-minded theist stops short of the finite God struggling with his righteous weapons against the mighty unrighteousness or anti-christ, as H. G. Wells's Invisible King does and Prof. Laird has his Mind Deity and following This may lead to the emphasizing of the nature of God as perpetually 'creative', by which is meant more or less a God who is in the birththroes of creative struggle—not a God who is a masterwiller (sañkalpa-siddha). He would be a way-farer as Mrs. Rhys Davids will put it. Such a naturalistic theism distinguishes rightly between the Good and Evil radically, and postulates two adverse and opposed powers sustaining the two sides or armies. This view is also facilitated by the fact that some of the noblest children of God, seers and prophets especially in the West, had to pass through fire literally, and martyrdom was their lot however glorious. Whatever spiritual evidence of their successes they had, whatever might have been the social repurcussions and recoil that made their canonization possible posthumously, the fact of supreme concern remained that God was unable to come to their rescue at that critical and crucial historical moment on the terrestrial plane. This has been the most difficult part of the theistic postulate of faith in God or God Himself, and has been the target of atheistic thinkers throughout the History of Religions.

Ino India however we find that this crucial critical historical moment had always led to the descent of the Divine even in the form that may be requested. The challenge of Hiranyakasipu was to reveal God here and now, and anywhere and in a form that none could imagine. So indeed it is claimed that God manifested Himself. The could imagine and fanself. The puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories and fantastic do in the puranic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do in the puranic stories and fantastic stories and fantastic do in the puranic stories and fantastic tastic do indeed preserve the central fact of philosophico-theological

interest of an answering deity. Miraculous! Miracles are no arguments it may be said but being as real as brute facts they have to be faced and explained. It cannot be that God in the West was experimenting with penury and suffering and testing men with fire and torture, stake and inquisition, decapitation and mass-murder, whilst He was experimenting with love and intercession and teaching in the East. It is true that we have evidences of the self-same fierce and unholy hatred bred intolerance through non-perception of God as the self of all beings, between the sects such as the Jains and Lingāyats, and the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas which had also led to experiences of martyrdom. The deus ex machina theory that God helps those who are fit to be helped through some good act of theirs whilst He is impartially unmovingly looking on at the catastrophic moment, at those who have done nothing, or done anything inadvertently, and adversely leaving them to the kind or hard mercies of the mill of the natural law that grinds slowly but surely without any distinction of good or bad, is a fine calculus of cause-effect, but hardly capable of explaining the abiding conflict in the man's soul about God's ominpotent omni-benevolence. Special Grace is a special expression of the ever present general Grace, a fine inundation of His grace at the appropriate moment. This is what the alvars consider to be the result of an act of surrender and prayer to the Lord. The evil ones even are saved because of some good act of prayer they have done. The mechanical calculus of the ordinary life is not the calculus of God. Rigidly does the law of karma work, but its rigidity is qualitatively raised so as to appear very much relieved of its tension, by the apprehension by man of God's supreme Will. Obstruction is an indication, a sign of the disapproval of nature against man, which man has to overcome. The triumph over the obstacles to the attainment of God is the only important effort which will be achieved by a total surrender to God Pursuit of any others or any other objects such as pleasures of even of higher things like the path of the solar orb is of a low order or kind. These small ends are sinful and sorrow-producing (T.C.V. 67).

16. Happiness is the goal of all endeavour be it religious or secular. This happiness may be graded from the lowest to the highest according to the degree of permanence and satisfaction of the inmost nature. The āļvār raises an interesting but important proposition whether liberty or liberation, mokṣa, is higher than service of the Divine, and replies (T.C.V. 83) that happiness in the

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BHAKTISARA YOGI AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

state of samsāra can be, provided there is uninterrupted possession of the love of God. Happiness is the experience of the Love of God, and God inalienably.

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"O Lord, decorated with honeyful tulasi-garland!

Even though I attain the blessedness immeasurable on reaching Heaven on separation from your feet, the love of thee which bound my mind to thee with tenfold rope⁶⁴ firmly, will itself become my happiness.

Even if other bodies have to be taken, happiness will be ordained by the Lord through the love the devotee and surrenderer bears to His feet (T.C.V. 84) in any and every state—a note that is so often struck by the succeeding āļvārs like Kulaśekhara—and a note struck by those who profess to enjoy Jīvanmukti. Though this is the happiness, the āļvār says that all rest in the hands of the Lord, even to deny all love, all knowledge, all action. God's will is not capable of being prophesied. It is because of this incapacity to measure or calculate or anticipate the Will of God, there is fear. Against this fear, God alone can help. "The immeasurable Magician alone must help man." He alone can keep fear away from the breasts of His devotees (T.C.V. 91, 92) 17.

A general survey of the two masterpieces of this ālvār Bhakti-sāra shows clearly that he has represented the tattva, hita, and Puruṣārtha very luminously, and has shown that man should seek the Highest tattva alone, and not any tattva, thinking that that could lead to ultimate and integral happiness. The ālvār, despite the avowed sectarianism, really makes out a case for the acceptance of the very Highest Being, and paurānically so to speak, seeks to affirm the Supremacy of Nārāyaṇa who is Origin and sustenance and Destroyer of the Universe, who makes poison into nectar and who is Love itself as revealed in His manifold descents into the spatio-temporal scheme of the Human beings. In all the goal is to perceive "the Oneness in the manyness" of the Deity:

"Thou art the breath in the body, sleep along with wakefulness, the five-fold produce of the cow, and their purity is Thee.

The attractive products of the Ocean are thee;
The air that moves in the ether and the earth is thee. I too
am thee. Thou are Rāma too, my Lord! (T.C.V. 94).

64. The tenfold rope is stated to be Bhakti,

The sāmānādhikaranya doctrine is clearly mentioned here. He the Lord is always with the Mother of the Universe—this is a specific experience of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava seers.

"Though one attains the things of the world of Brahmā blest with undestroyable presperity, and the things of the world of Hara blest with power of all destruction, and the things of the world of the thousand-eyed Indra, and even the fullest happiness that is the sign of the Highest God,

Should not the mind seek out that Happiness of being United to thee alone? (T.C.V. 108).

The Highest goal and aspiration has been pitched by the āļvār on the Integral One Being of whom every one is a member and servant and disciple and votary. This is the siddhi, not the attainment of $\bar{l}\acute{s}varatva$ (divine existence, or godhood) nor yet aṣṭasid-dhis of even the Higher Gods.

Thus does one achieve the immortal in mortal existence, the secret of which was enunciated by the doctrine of service of the divine, kainkarya, and prayer and singing and ecstacy of living in Brahman. The general lines are thus well and firmly laid for the great proliferation of the later saints of bhakti. In Tirumalīśai ālvār, bhakti is dynamic, realizing and not merely ecstatic or resignatory or aesthetic. There is not the frenzied dionysian need for dance and song and tāndava-nṛṭya. Such is the significant contribution of the fourth ālvār to the stream of Divine Experience in South India

Editorial

OBITUARY.

Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) became the Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University College, London in 1892. He was engaged in excavation work in Egypt in the years 1880-1922; and among his principal discoveries the following may be noted: The Greek settlements at Naukratis and Daphnae: inscriptions of the Israelite war at Thebes; kings of the earliest Dynasties at Abydos; Hyksos camp; city of Onios and palaces of Memphis, Tarkhan and the Treasure of Lahun. Some of his numerous works are the following: -

'Stonehenge' (1880).

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Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh' (1885).

'Historical Scarabs', (1889).

'Ten years Digging' (1893).

'History of Egypt (1894-1923) in 6 volumes, with collaborators, bringing the history down to the middle Ages and containing an immense assemblage of facts and records invaluable to the student.

'Tellel Amarna' (1895).

'Koptos' (1896).

'Six Temples at Thebes' (1897).

'Religion and Conscience of Ancient Egypt' (1898).

'Syria and Egypt (1898).

'Diospolis' (1901).

Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties' (1901).

'Abydos I, II & III.'

'Methods and Aims in Archaeology (1904).

'Researches in Sinai' (1906).

Hylasos and Israelite cities (1906).

'Religion of Ancient Egypt' (1906). 'Memphis (1909).

'Egypt and Israel' (1910).

'The Labyrinth' (1912).

Formation of the Alphabet (1912). 'Heliopolis' (1914).

'Scarabs' (1917).

'Some Sources of Human History' (1919). 'Prehistoric Egypt' (1920). 'Religious Life in Ancient Egypt (1924).

Petrie became an F.R.S. and an F.B.A. His publications cover a very wide range, from the most technical to the relatively popular.

Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I. E., C.S.I. (1863-1942).

He served in the Indian Political Department from 1890, and took part in explorations in and Government of India missions to Manchuria, from Peking to India via Chinese Turkestan and on the Pamirs and in Hunza (1886-91). He was Political Agent in Chitral and was the special correspondent for the Times in the Chitral Expedition of 1895. After serving in Transvaal and Rhodesia and in several Indian States, he became the British Commissioner in Tibet, in connection with the mission of Lord Curzon. He retired from service as Resident in Kashmir. He developed into a religious mystic and was President of the Royal Geographical Society for a time. He was very sympathetic in his appreciation of Indian religious mysticism and took part in the Congress of Religions held in Calcutta recently.

Among his publications and writings the following are noteworthy:—

'Heart of a Continent".

"Relief of Chitral".

"South Africa of To-day (1898)".

"Kashmir" (1909).

"India and Tibet".

"The Gleam."

"The Heart of Nature".

"Wonders of the Himalaya" and "Dawn in India".

Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda

This great student of Indian Antiquity and Anthropology who passed away in May last, was the life and soul of the Varendra Research Museum of Raj Shahi, which he helped in starting about 1910 and to the building up of whose usefulness he made the most notable contributions. He also began the Varendra Research

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Society Publication Series with a small volume in Bengali, entitled "Gauda-Rajamala" Part I, in Bengali, and dealing with the political history of Hindu Bengal. In 1916, he brought out his well-known work—"The Indo-Aryan Races". He was entertained in the service of the Archaeological department in 1917 and in 1921 he became the Superintendent of the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum, wherein he did a remarkably striking amount of work in rearranging and developing the collection of Antiquities. He was also a teacher of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Department of Post-Graduate Studies of the University of Calcutta, through the discerning appreciation of the great Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, and became the head of the Department of Anthropoloy which was soon started therein. He was closely associated as member, Fellow and Anthropological Secretary, for a number of years, with the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His contributions to the series of memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India and of articles to the Annual Reports of that survey as well as to various learned, journal are very valuable. He attended the World Anthropological Conference held in London in 1934, after he retired from the Archaeological Department and he brought out a small volume entitled Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum, London, 1936, and helped the museum authorities in their task of rearranging the galleries of Oriental Religion. Government conferred on him the distinction of Rai Bahadur in 1925. He was busy in research work and in writing almost till the day of his death at Allahabad on the 28th of May last. His death is a great loss to the world of Indological scholarship.

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Reviews

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The Oxford University Press have laid the Indian public under heavy obligation by publishing a number of little books called "Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs." Indian affairs now occupy an attention which it has never before received either in the country itself or outside. Many are the problems that confront a seriousminded citizen of India, and no less those out of it who take an interest in the affairs of India. Owing to the present circumstances, the number of the latter class is very great indeed. The questions that relate to India are of many kinds and interest all classes of people from the statesman to the general reader. To these and to the average citizens of India, a certain amount of correct knowledge of the many problems calling for solution, has been supplied by the Oxford University Press with the necessary background of a little information upon these problems on the same model as their Pamphlets on World Affairs. They have supplied us with a number of these useful pamphlets for review.

Of these the first number is what they call a double number, and attempts to tackle the cultural problem of the country. Serious-minded people are in many ways troubled over the complexity of this country. The one question that dominates the minds of the thinking is whether the vast population of this country could be brought to a unity such as would enable the country becoming a nation. The actual of the problem form is whether it could ever become a nation, containing as it does peoples of various stages of culture from the most advanced almost to the primitive. Beyond that, the cultures of several important groups of people in the country seem to be irreconcilably opposed, for any kind of unity. The cultural problem of India is fundamental and is considered in this pamphlet by five thinkers, each one with a characteristic outlook upon the question.

The first Essay is by the well-known Indian Christian writer Mr. A. J. Appasamy, who set out to consider whether the different cultures of India could be brought into harmony. He begins by quoting an Indian Christian who said at a Conference, "My ideal

for India is one Indian society with one Indian culture." Mr. Appasamy's problem is whether, with such different communities in India as Hindu, Moslem, Parsee, Sikh and Christian to mention only the principal ones—any cultural unity is possible. In all these great varieties, Mr. Appasami would still find a certain underlying unity at least through the various communities grouped together under the big, broad label "Hindu". He recognises the intangible cultural unity among the Hindus. But when he turns his attention to the Mahomedan and Christian population, the question arises whether an attempt could be made to bring about any synthesis of religions. The votaries of these religions—Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs-could, as it is, never be brought to merge into one, notwithstanding the centuries that these religions were professed side by side in India. Such a synthesis will not come and it must be said will not be brought about as the one or two remarkable attempts made in this connection failed. The phenomenon that took place in America to bring about unity among the immigrants of different European nationalities that settled there could not be brought about in India, as the types of culture prevalent in India are very much wider apart than what prevailed in America. only possibility in India is not the synthesis of religion, but a harmony of different cultures, the differences being recognised. He wishes to bring about this much needed harmony among the various people by making them understand each others' points of view, and, while holding on each to its own particular culture, sympathise with that of their fellowmen. It may make the beginning of the desired cultural harmony. His idea seems to be a mere extension of what had actually obtained among the various classes and communities of the Hindus themselves. That cultural unity among the Hindus had been obtained by a diffusion of culture by various popular means, so that even the unlettered ignorant mass of people had some knowledge of the higher culture of the land. This can be brought about, Mr. Appasami hopes, among all the varieties of people in India understanding the culture of the rest.

The next writer, Sir Abdul Qadir, notes the differences among the people in point of food, dress and religion, but would see room for comit. for comity among these different peoples by means of the cultivation of literature, music and understanding of the differences in religion On a closer study, it would be found that after all religions do not differ so very much from each other in point of their real teach: real teachings, and he would therefore advise a frank recognition

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of the differences, external and internal. An effort to soften these by a sympathetic study of each others' points of view not only in religion, but perhaps in such secular directions as literature and music would, according to him bring about the desired result. He couples together the efforts of Asoka and Akbar, which we should say is rather unhappy, as what each attempted to do was very different from the other. Asoka's religious effort, if it could be so called, was one of reconciliation, while that of Akbar's was amalgamation. The best ideal, according to him, is "to seek unity in the midst of diversity and to recognise that diversity of religious thought is bound to remain."

The next writer in this symposium is Mr. R. P. Masani, who regards India's past as the melting-pot of cultures, and would emphasise the sense of fellowship and world community which he considers is latent in man. He considers the causes or influences that contributed to intensify the cultural differences in the last century and would draw attention to the principle of humanity According to him, "the gospel that can unite all human souls under one standard of universal religion is the gospel of humanity." This would be above religion and need not be coloured by it. He would draw attention to the Hindu philosophy of self-knowledge which culminated in the formula "Tatvam Asi", "That art thou."

We pass on to the next writer Sir Radhakrishnan who lays emphasis on the spiritual basis and insists upon God realisation as the basis of India's religion and culture. He points out that the principle of toleration had long been accepted in India and Hindu monarchs made it a point to patronise all differing religions, even down to atheism. The maintenance of Dharma was the principal duty of Hindu rulers, and that Dharma was elastic enough to respond to the changing needs of time.

The last writer in this group is Sir Jogendra Singh who begins with the impossibility of limiting culture by country or community. He fails to see cultural differences in various communities. While recognising that men and women could quarrel in many external details, there is a culture which is common for people of differing religions. Eighty per cent of the vast Indian population live in they live as good neighbours; almost as much could be said of the of culture, you find the interesting unity in a commonly prevalant

sympathetic feeling for other cultures. He quotes Sir Muhammad "Religion does not teach hatred Igbal: We are Hindees

Hindustan is ours."

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While material culture may bring about hatred, the culture of the spirit will only promote sympathy. Religion undoubtedly has the power to refine our nature. A proper understanding of religion will remove much that causes bitterness. He points out that the establishment of an impartial Central Government by the British in India, recognising merit wherever it existed, has done a good deal to bring about a certain amount of cultural unity. He would insist upon a storng Central Government and would have a democracy different from the exotic systems such as are too much in evidence at present. He is not for "discovering and demarcating cultural regions." He emphasises the cardinal principles of religion and good government as the only means to bring about, unity and would have the British government provide that.

This modern problem, as we are fain to regard it, was a problem which confronted the very early Hindu Emperor Mandhata. He succeeded to his father's empire, and brought into the empire other realms in rapid succession. He was confronted at once with wide and fundamental differences which could hardly be reconciled with one another. He understood the Dharma and, puzzled beyond remedy, he went to consult Indra the King of all. Indra could not solve the puzzle and appealed to Vishnu for assistance. The Mahabharata story is that Vishnu's spirit got into Indra and indicated to the human emperor that the solution of his difficulty lay in his not attempting at the unity he had in mind; but advised him to content himself with putting down, with a stern hand, what seemed to him grossly undesirable in the newcomers, otherwise providing the means for the various groups of peoples that constituted his subjects the jects the means to pursue life in thier own accustomed way. That was the later to flourish. was the basis upon which the Hindu Dharma was made to flourish, and all groups of people from the most primitive in point of civilisation up to the most highly cultured could live and thrive without molestation molestation. A late king, the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, described him. cribed himself as the 'gateway that prevents the entry of destructive creatures. creatures in the garden his subjects", which, with characteristic were to grant artistic expression, means that different group plants were to grow in their own way by being provided all the air and light that it and light that they required, and shutting out creatures that would

fain destroy. That, in short, is the fundamental principle that governed the vast and varied peoples of India, which may well govern the world of the future with benefit to all.

THE CRIPPS MISSION. By Professor R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford.

This is one of the important pamphlets issued by the Oxford University Press among their pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Professor Coupland who was in India studying the constitutional problem under the auspices of the Nuffield College, was about returning when the Cripps Mission arrived. He stayed at the request of Sir Stafford Cripps and watched with interest the work of the mission. He gives the results of his observation in the form of a connected account from the arrival of the mission down to its departure.

The author begins his account with a preliminary description of the conditions that developed in the political field from the August Offer onwards. He traces the causes of the distrust that had grown generally to a point of acuteness in India against the sincerity of Britain's promise to make India free and independent. He traces the position of parties, describing as well as he possibly could the attitude of the various important parties, the Congress, the Muslim league, the Hindu Mahasabha and other parties and organisations that came to the front in recent discussions, and, as an interested spectator, he notes the reactions of these various parties in respect of each particular move from the government in recent times. He points out that the Congress policy since the outbreak of the war has been one of complete non-co-operation, if not of active hostility. The provocation for this was that India was dragged into the war without her consent, and if the congress took an active part in the war effort, this would mean acquiescence in this humilitation. The congress, therefore, formulated a demand that the British government should immediately declare India independent. Then, they must provide for a new Constitution for India to be drawn up by Indians only, elected by India as a whole. This was followed further by a demand for a provisional national government in the Centre, such as would command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central legislature, and secure the co-operation of the governments in the provinces. This demand was met by what is called the August that well

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Offer, the promise of full Dominion Status and concession of the claim for constitutional self-determination. The offer was not accepted and the distrust in the sincerity of the British promises naturally grew apace. It was made worse by the statement of Mr. Churchill in September 1941 that the Atlantic Charter was intended primarily to apply to Europe. While this vated the distrust in the minds of the Congress and its sympathisers, it aggravated the antagonism between the Congress and the Moslem League which had already grown to be antagonistic soon after the inauguration of the Congress rule in the provinces. They now took a definite attitude of hostility to the Congress demands and formulated their own scheme of Pakistan. This in turn stiffened the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha who set themselves up against the Pakistan scheme. Apart from these three distinct well-defined parties, Indians in general were somewhat ruffled by India being drawn into the war without her consent. The menace of Japanese invasion did not seem to affect the antagonism among these parties. The advance of the Japanese made the Moslem League declare themselves ready to fight the enemy while not accepting the move for the national government. This naturally provoked the Hindu Mahasabha into declaring themselves against this threat of revolt. All these different parties wanted a national government without any of them defining what exactly they meant by the term. All that one could make clear from out of this was a desire that India should be declared free and that provision must be made for a national government which had the general support of the people and was responsible to the Crown. This was put in the Sapru proposals. In reply to this, Mr. Churchill pointed out the recent grant of Indian representation on the War Cabinet and on the Pacific Council.

It was in this state of affairs that Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India with a Draft Declaration. He had the commission to discuss this Draft declaration with the leaders of various parties, explain the purpose of the British cabinet and persuade these leaders and their parties to accept the Cabinet declaration. The Draft declaration made it clear that the British government proposed to take the earliest steps to create a new Indian Union on a footing similar to that of the dominions, and equal to them in every respect and in no monwealth of nations. They further made provision for the creation of a provisional government for the duration of the war. The Draft itself and the discussions that followed indicate clearly that

the British government had given the guarantee of Indian freedom after the war—the guarantee that is said to stand, even after the declaration had been rejected.

The discussion now began and proceeded on some of the details of the declaration about the constitution of the government There were three points which did come up for considerable discussion. (1) the provision for non-accession of provinces to the new scheme, (2) the position of the Indian states and (3) the provision for the protection of non-muslim minorities. These went on on familiar lines. The non-accession provision was objected to by the Congress and by the Hindu Mahasabha, as being in fact the concession of the principle of Pakistan. The second point of objection was that the complete ignoring of the ninety millions of people in the Indian States constituted a negation of democracy and selfdetermination. There were other points of objection from various parties. The non-accession proposals were objected to by several parties, as also by several others when Sir Stafford had to point out that the proposals must be accepted as a whole or rejected. On the question of defence, the proposals conceded the creation of a Defence ministry; but the position of the Commander-in-Chief and the need for single military policy for all the Allies proved the rock on which the negotiations broke. Finally, the Congress representatives declined to accept the declaration and demanded that the national government must be a cabinet government with full power. Congress President who made this demand stated that this should he considered to the "unanimous demand of the Indian people".

Such a demand was obviously impossible in the actual circumstances of the country. The British government, while definitely promising the independence of the country after the war, asked for a provisional government during the war which would be a national government as far it may possibly be, but subject to the governing consideration of the allied war effort and the Indian coperation that that effort implied. The creation of a national cabinet government was regarded as a task too complicated to be negotiated under the war emergency and could not be acceeded to

Professor Coupland's account presents a fair summary of the discussions that took place and the information regarding general opinion that he gathered, judging by what appeared in the public Press regarding the whole course of the negotiation. It provides a reliable summary, handy and useful to the general reader.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA CCUNTRY. By K. Gopalachari. Published by the Madras University.

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This book of a little over 200 pages consists of the research work carried on through the years 1934-36 by Doctor K. Gapalachari at the University of Madras. It deals with the early history of the Andhra country, and consists of the history of the country under the rule of a certain number of dynasties of rulers. It begins with the history of the Sathavahanas in a manner specially associated with the Dakhan, and follows up the story with accounts of the various minor dynasties which succeeded the Satavahanas, bringing up the history of the land to the seventh century A.D. We have to go for the beginning of the Satavahanas to a period almost immediately following the death of Asoka, the Mauryan Emperor.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the history of this important dynasty-the Satavahanas-taking up 124 pages out of the total of 216. The history of the period has to be built up chiefly from inscriptions and coins of the various dynasties that ruled over the country, and without the aid of other sources of information, Doctor Gopalachari has done the difficult work of piecing together the scanty information derivable from these sources into a connected account, exhibiting care and judgement throughout. He has had to make sure about every detail by a comparative study in Palaeography. He has made a fresh study of many of the inscriptions bearing on the subject and discusses details with confidence. Taking the Pauranic list of the Satavahanas, he divides them into the early Satavahanas and later ones primarily, a number of names in the middle being so far mere names and nothing else.

Of the period following the disappearance of the Satavahanas, he deals with it under the heads—the Ikshvakus, Brhatpalayanas, Vaingeyakas, Kandaras and Vishnukundins, bringing the account pallavas in the establishment of the Pallava power under the great criticism and discussion of moot points exhibit insight and impartiality. Although it is possible to indicate a few points of doubtful has done the difficult work with commendable care and impartiality. In guseful light upon the condition of the country during the period.

The work won for the author his Doctorate Degree at the University and the Doctorate was well bestowed.

A dozen plates to illustrate the work follow as a supplement and add to the value of the book.

THE DIN-I-ILAHI OR THE RELIGION OF AKBAR. By Makhanlal Roychoudhury, M.A., EL., Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941. Pp. xliii and 337.

This thesis on a most important theme is planned on a very intensive and comprehensive scale. It endeavours to probe into the inner strands of the great religious upheaval that marked the age of Akbar as they manifested themselves not only in India, but in other parts of Asia. The work shows how in the genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi, the Central Asian forces stretching back into early Mongol culture wound their course through the Semiticism of Arabia, filtered through the Monism of Iran and were ultimately Aryanised by the touch of Hindustan. The time at which Akbar's stage was to be set was marked by a spirit of Eclecticism prepared by Hindu Saints and Muslim Sufis and by other forces of liberal Islam.

Our author who commands a flexible, easy and flowing style, first deals with the Indian background and tries to maintain that the Muslim conquest of Northern India by the Turko-Afghans was never thorough as the Arab conquest of Persia was and the conversion attempted by the conquerors was superficial, piecemeal and never general. The eclectic tendency of Hindu teachers like Ramanand and Kabir and of Muslim litterateurs, like Amir Khusrau, Jaisi and Rajjabji, provided a favourable soil for Sufism Sufism adopted the Hindu doctrine of Guru-Shishya with all its technique of worship, while the widely prevalent belief in the appearance of the Mahdi and the growth of the sect of Mehdevis shook the faith in Sunnism and prepared the way for new doctrines to germinate.

Reacting on this Indian background, was that of Central Asia, where the pliable Mughals frequently changed their beliefs, stressing Buddhism in some areas, embracing Islam in others and retaining generally traces of Shahmanism. Even the great Timur was an enigmatic figure; and it has been held even by recent writers, like Harold Lamb, that the great conqueror was not a devout Muham.

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madan, but one who followed his own ideas, and he never accepted an Islamic surname. He and his Tatar followers were called half Muhammadans by their neighbours and often held to be as bad as heretics and Pagans. The Khalif in Egypt and the orthodox Sultan of the Othmanlis emphatically looked upon Timuras a Pagan. The Mongols were but newly converted and they were soldiers before they were Churchmen. However, Timur had always a great and mystic regard for Saints and Darwishes, and much sympathy for the learned. His lineal successor Babar, whose veins contained also the blood of Chengis Khan, was both orthodox and liberal. Humayun was equally proad-minded and accepted Shiah influences. He was specially instructed by Babar, on the eve of his Indian expedition, to refrain from destroying places of worship of any community and, in particular, from the slaughter of cows. Sher Shah's tone of administration was entirely Hindustani or Indian; his dream was the idea of a common Hindu-Muslim rule.

Akbar had an innate mystic temperament and inherited the broad Central Asian traits of his family; besides he was brought up in his youth under liberal Shiah influences. In spite of these however, Akbar could not for a long time outgrow the circle of the orthodex Sunni faith that clung to the Mughal court.

Prof. Roy Choudhury is of the opinion that till the time when the Ibadat Khana was built round the cell of Shaikh Abdulla Nyazi Sarhindi, and named specifically as the Ibadat Khana (i.e., the Worship Hall) and not the Iradat Khana (i.e., the hall of desire) nor the Iyadat Khana (i.e., the hall of sickness and sympathy) he was a deeply devout Sunni of the usual type. During the course of the discussions in the Ibadat Khana, Akbar was dismayed by the diversity of opinions and decrees given by the Sunni lawyers, and opened it to Shiahs, to Mehdevis and other sects. The author of the Dabistan fully describes the Shiah-Sunni dispute and the other subjects the shigh sunni dispute and the other subjects the shigh state of the ships and the ships are ships as the ships are the ships are ships as the ships are shi jects that were discussed in the worship Hall. All this took place at the time. when the powerful Shah Tahmasp of Persia was murdered, and Akhar became freed from the pretensions of Shiah Supremacy over him. About the same time the Muslim Empire of the C. of the Sunni Khalifa fell into disorder and weakness; and Akbar broceeded very cautiously to free himself from what our author calls the "ralic" the "religious hegemony of Rum." He ordered the Khutba to be read in his own name, in the manner in which it had been done by his great ancestors. Timur, Ulugh Beg and Babar. In order to make

his path as safe as possible, he assumed only the tittle of Khalifa-uz-Zaman; and he took also the rank and dignity of the Imam-i-Adil, at the request made by the Persian element in his court through a mahzar, which implied that the Mughal dominion in India was a separate entity, at least in the political sense. The book makes it quite clear that this mahzar of 1579 was a political document, both apparently and by implication, and it had no connection with the Din-i-Ilahi.

There is a note on the three paintings of the *Ibadat Khana* which are described in their detail, in an appendix to chapter IV. These latter make it clear that these discussions were participated in, among other representatives of different religions, by a Buddhist also.

Discussing the forces at work in Akbar's court, our author suggests that so far as Badauni was concerned, his venom against Akbar proceeded from a sense of personal wrong and non-appreciation of his merits. Personal motives should also explain much of the vituperation levelled against Akbar by the Sunni Mullas, whose failure to satisfy Akbar's mind induced the Emperor to give a favourable reception to Shiahs and Hindus, who were admitted to the Ibadat Khana, only at the third stage in the development of the discussions. While stressing on Akbar's political appreciation of Hindu help, our idea of the breadth of view of Akbar is limited by the statement that, in spite of his social eclecticism and Hindu sympathies, the Emperor was nothing but a Muslim (Page 147). The followers of each faith, Parsi, Christian and Siah, flattered themselves that they had converted, or nearly converted, the great Mughal and that he had ceased to be an orthodox Muslim. It was true, however, that after Islam, Zoroastrianism was the greatest influence on Akbar. Disucussing the evidence of the Christian forces at work, our author examines the motives that lay behind the Emperor's invitation of the Jesuit Fathers, and would find in them a combination of political incentive and religious urge; and this was certainly nearer the truth than the one-sided statements of the jealous English contemporaries and the equally partial and weighted view of the Portuguese Missionaries. The benefits accruing from the three Missions are explained.

Legislation of a social and quasi-religious character was given an entirely religious bias by contemporary historians, because Akbar attacked the interests of the Mullas from the secular point of view of the State An examination made into the charge that many of these regulations were anti-Islamic concludes with the view that the policy of universal toleration was the root explanation; Most of his Aims had an Islamic background and were justified by precedents in the actions of previous Sultans. "Others were allowed by the Shariat; 'for reasons of State' many more were necessitated by the social or economic conditions of the Empire and such changes were permissible in the Muslim dominions inhabited by non-Muslims. It is therefore, not proper to brand Akbar as an apostate because he promulgated those "Aims."

The Din-i-Ilahi is explained in the last chapters, both in regard to the circumstances of its promulgation and in its movement and growth. Its fundamentals as given by Mohsin Fani, in his famous Dabistan-i-Mazahib, in the form of a dialogue, stress purity of individual life and purity of outlook; and it is held to be mainly Sufi in character. How far this view approximates to the truth is open to further discussion. That it was a Sufi order with formulae found in the Quran and in the practices of contemporary Sufi orders, is put forward, and the particular formula on which stress was laid, that Akbar was the representative of God, is held to have been applicable only to the harem and not to have been necessarily opposed to the Kalima. The book has got an excellent bibliographical note, and covers very clearly the ground of many controversial points on the lines that should mark true interpretation.

C.S.S.

HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES. No. 13. A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions. Edited by P. Sreenivasachar, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Principal, S. R. R. College, Bezwada. Part II. Comprising Texts and Translations of Inscriptions with 56 illustrative plates. Published by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1940. Price Rs. 10.

This volume contains 56 inscriptions with their transliteration in English and a literal translation following each. Besides, the dates of these inscriptions have been calculated in an appendix Swamikkannu Pillai. There is also a tabular list of epigraphs contents with necessary remarks. This list is bound to be very

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useful even to the average student. An informative glossary of the special and technical terms and words occurring in these inscriptions and sumptuous illustrations of all the plates complete the volume. We are promised a monograph which would form Part I, and which would contain chapters on the history, religion and social conditions of the period covered by these epigraphs. The industry and accuracy displayed in the careful reading and transliteration and translation of these epigraphs is striking. We may mention the following particulars as illustrative of the high level of the remarks made about these records: (1) The existence of the general Nakharamu (functional groups or occupational assemblies) and of the five special Nakharamus Ciramatti, Anumakonda and other localities in the Kakativa kingdom. (2) Besides the achievements of Prola Raja, Rudra and other prominent rulers of the dynasty, we know something of the achievements of chiefs like Era, Kapaya Nayaka, the Malyala chiefs and various others. (3) We get an elaborate description of Anumakonda, the definite boundaries of Rudra's kingdom, the genealogy of the Kakati dynasty, the birudas of the kings, chiefs etc. (4) The flourishing of the Lakulisa sect, the distinction between Paradesi and Swadesi merchants, a number of details regarding the fixing of dues on commodities and the units of measurement, the Kampus, who are identified here with the classes now known as Telagas or Kapus, the instruments of the measurement of land, the different vrittis for which gifts of land were made, and the main purposes and details of temple worship and management. Specially important is the mention of musical instruments and types of musicians. Noteworthy among the Mrdanga, Ramdhra-puraka, are. Jalaja, Khala. Karamdavadaka. We eagerly await the publication of the introductory part.

C.S.S.

MAHMUD GAWAN—THE GREAT BAHMANI WAZIR. By Haroon Khan Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon). (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942). Pp. xiv and 267.

Mahmud Gawan was the greatest of the ministers of the Deccan Sultanate. A full-dress biography of this personage has been a long felt want and has now been supplied by Professor Sherwani in this very readable and instructive book. After details

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ing the condition of India about the middle of the 15th century in his learned introduction our author draws attention to the fact that in King Devaraya II's time the kingdom of Vijayanagar began to enlist Muslims in its army and taught its troops a better use of the bow and the arrow. The Hindu army thus become knit together as it had never been before, while Malwa and Gujrat played a most vital part in counteracting the fortunes of the Bahmani kingdom wedged in between them. In this political situation it was the genius of Mahmud Gawan that made good use of the shifting politics of India at that time, first to make Malwa impotent, next to strengthen the Bahmani hold over the Arabian Coast and then to extend Muslim dominion over the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula.

The minister's family and relations with Gilan are explained on the basis of his famous collection of letters—the Riādu'l-Insha. This latter discloses to us, in the letters that he wrote to the Sultan of Gilan, an account of the great cultural work that was being done by the Bahmanis in the Deccan, and gives us a picture of the righteous ruler's duties. Among the details of the civil and military organisation of the Bahmani kingdom we note a regular department of the army—ātishbāri, as early as 1366 and ātish khānah, mentioned in 1378. Prof. P. K. Gode in his paper on 'The use of guns and gun powder in India from 1400 onwards' (A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, Presented to Sir E. Dension Ross, Kt., C.I.E., on his 60th birth-day), makes a reference to the presence of musketeers and gunners in France and Florence even before the middle of the 14th century; the use of gun powder was current in Vijayanagar about the middle of the 15th century and Mahmud Gawan is shown by Prof. Sherwani to have made use of mines in his second campaign against Belgaum in 1472. Mahuan, a China-man in his account of the Indian ports, which were visited by a Chinese mission about 1406 A.D., says that guns were to be seen then in Bengal. Prof. Sherwani holds that the use of guns and gun-powder by the Bahmanis seems to be the first instance of the use of artillery in India. Our author has also shown how a careful study of the coins of the Bahmanis provides a decided corrective to the erratic genealogies given by Ferishta, and proves that the Burhān-i-Ma'āsir is more accurate in this respect.

The contest between the Northerners, who were of Afghan or Turki stock and settled down in the Deccan with their Habashi subordinat subordinates, and the newcomers from Iraq and Iran, which really caused the caused the downfall of the Sultanate is examined by our author. He

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OLDKENCE BOOK

comes to the conclusion that the latter were as much of the Deccan as the Normans in the time of Henry I of England were of England, and that it was unjust that they were called Cosmopolitans. The rivalry between the two parties became pronounced from the time of Ahmad Shah I and his Wazir Maliku't-tujjar. The Massacre of the newcomers at Chakan in 1447, poured oil on the flames of animosity between the two parties. The arrival of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar in 1452 was followed by his rapid rise into importance Gawan shows that the character of Sultan Humayun was not that of the cruel oppressor that Ferishta had painted it to be, and that he was a king who was a correct disciplinarian intent on maintaining a balance between the oldcomers, the newcomers and the natives of the land. Like several other Muslim sovereigns of India, he was unfortunate enough to be depicted in the blackest colours by historians. The minister's ascendancy became marked from 1466 and was the natural fruit of his moderation and balance during the years of the rule of the Triumvirate in the previous five years, closing with the murder of Khwāja-i-Jahān Turk (1466).

This event made the way clear for the final supremacy of Mahmud Gawan in the Bahmani system. He became the Prime Minister and signalised his assumption of power by ending the war with Malwa, of which, our historian says, the hatchet was never dug up again. Hubli, Konkan, the Malabar ports and the hinterland of Pelgaum, were all of them acquired in successive stages, with Sangameshwar and Goa as pendants to the whole bunch of conquests. Nor was progress in the east neglected.

The appearance of Yusuf Adil Shah in the forefront and Gawan's famous college at Bidar are noted as marking the zenith of the Minister's fame. More important than his campaigns and political achievements were his administrative reforms. The provincial administration was reorganised on a utilitarian and scientific basis and on the working of eight sar-laskarships, each one of them leaving certain tracts to serve as the Royal domain, whose efficials would be a strong check on the provincial governor. The latter officer should have under his direct command only one fort; and the other forts in his provincial jurisdiction should be under captains appointed by, and responsible only to, the central government. The jaghir system was also reorganised on a uniform basis of remuneration for the holders' maintenance of men under arms. A revenue survey, with a view to a just assessment and an accurate record of rights was undertaken also. Thus the work of Rajah

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Todarmal was anticipated by Gawan by over a century, and the tendencies to disruptive feudalism were checked. More important than even these reforms was the attempt of the minister to hold the scales evenly between the two parties in the State by distributing the provinces equitably and equally between them. The oldcomers were in fact even given a preferential treatment and a slightly stronger position. The tragic end of the Khwaja came in 1481 owing to a conspiracy of his enemies that was successful with the king. Exactly one year after he was martyred the miserable kings who ordered his execution died of shock and repentance.

The chapter on a retrospect of the Khwaja's personality is very instructive and, at the same time, sober and restrained in its estimates. His diplomatic and military encirclement of Malwa whose Imperial ambitions he so much dreaded is shown to have been such as would have done credit to the head of Machiavelli or Kautilya. His loyalty to his master was as intense as that of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria. His skill in military strategy was as great as any that could be achieved in the fifteenth century. His patronage and love of learning are remarkable and his own style of writing became a model of courtly letter-writing; his collection of letters is wellknown in Persian literature and has become deservedly famous, as well as a quarry of historical information. It is analysed by Prof. Sherwani on pp. 184 et seq., and he has included even a note on the philosophy of his life that can be gleaned from those letters. Praised by the great Sultan Muhammad II, the conquerer of Constantinople and by Jami, who wrote that, owing to the Khwaja's presence in India, that country had become the envy of Rum itself and described by the traveller Abdu'r Razzaq as being one among the world famed alumni of Gilan, it should be agreed to by the reader that Mr. Sherwani's estimate of him as a diplomat, soldier, administrator and man of letters has not been superfluous in praise or appreciation. The rapid disintegration of the Sultanate is sketched next, but we would have liked a fuller explanation of the factors that brought it about in spite of the good work done by our hero. A fall to be a spite of the good work done by our hero. A full bibliographical note on the authorities, particularly on the Khwaia, the Khwaja's Letters which are proved to bear evidences of authenticity both external and internal, writers both contemporary and later, including Ferishta and Sayid Ali Tabataba, whose Burhān-i-Ma'āsir, as we have pointed above is more accurate and fuller than Facility as we have pointed above is more accurate and fuller than Ferishta, as also secondary works, a synchronistic table of contemporary Indian sovereign between 1453-1481,

appendix which shows the loyalty of Kharan Singh and his family to the Sultans—these have greatly enriched the substance of the book. It is good that the last has been given as an episode showing the marked extent to which Mahmud Gawan was helped by the Hindus of the Deccan, many of whom were definitely friendly to the Bahmani regime. The book should be on the shelves of all students of Deccan History and one would be justified in holding it up as a perfect model of historical composition.

C.S.S.

HUMAYUN BADSHAH. By S. K. Banerji, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), Reader in Indian History, University of Lucknow. In two volumes. Vol. II. Maxwell Company, Luncknow. 1941. Pp. xvi & 444.

In our Journal for December 1938, we had the pleasure of reviewing the first volume of this work, which brought the narrative of Humayun's eventful life down to the battle of Kanauj, along with an explanation of the reasons for Humayun's loss of the Delhi throne and an evaluation from contemporary sources of his personality and character.

This volume which is somewhat fuller than its predecessor describes Humayun's fugitive life after his escape from Delhi; his occupation of Kabul and Qandahar in 1545, and his invasion of India, reoccupation of Delhi and his second period of rule. The work gives also sidelights on Baber's family, and the peculiar administrative institutions introduced by Humayun, the court, the nobility and the condition of the people under him, as well as a special chapter dealing with Akbar as he grew up under Humayun's tutelage.

Humayun's flight from the Punjab to Bhakkar, his negotiations with Shah Hussain Arghun, his marriage with Hamida Bani Begam of which we learn the difficulties were cleverly overcome by the mother of Hindal—the further adventures of the fugitive in Sehwan and in Rajputana—where he unfortunately missed the right moment for closing in with the offer of alliance with Maldeo, and the birth of Akbar at Amarkot, are all detailed in several chapters. We read that Jauhar confused the date of Akbar's birth with that of his tonsure ceremony which took place 40 days later, and our auther is inclined to support the view that the prince was

born on the night of 4 5 Rajab 949 A.H., i.e., on the night of October 14-15, A.D. 1542, on the basis of an examination of the evidence supplied by both Jauhar and Gul Badan Begam. The year that elapsed from Akbar's birth saw him fly from place to place, even from his own brothers, and at last drove him to appeal to Shah Tahmasp of Iran, by a letter, written in verse and full of humility, which has been summarised and given to us only by Jauhar, while the reply of the Shah has been given in full by more than one writer, including the courtly Abul Fazl.

Humayun is held to have gone to Persia more with a view to passing on to Iraq and Arabia, than with any definite object of getting material aid for the reconquest of his former territories or Afghanistan. His acceptance of the Shi'a faith was in fact no wrench on his religious convictions. Dr. Banerji would estimate the magnanimity of the Persian Shah at a high level, particularly as to his not insisting on the cession of Qandahar and did not mention his generosity in his own memoirs. This Persian alliance of Humayun led to a deeper penetration of the Iranian language and culture into the Mughal court and Indian society, and it threw Turki, the mother tongue of the Mughals, more and more into the background, and led to a larger body of Iranians settling in India. Humayun's occupation of Qandahar was continuous from the date of its capture by him in spite of his promise to give it to his new ally, and the Persian Shah's invasion of it only in 1558, has naturally raised questions of delicate detail regarding Humayun's faith, the Shah's contentment with Bairam Kahn's governorship of the city and an attitude of duplicity adopted by both sides. The story of the fortunes of Qandahar in the 16th and 17th centuries as an ill-used buffer between the Mughals and the Persians is a tedious and complex one. While it has been held that it was Shah Tahmasp who started the game of duplicity which converted the question of the occupation of Qandahar into a trial of strength between the rival empires, and while Humayun might have been culpable of breach of promise towards the Shah, our author would strike an even ground between Humayun and Tahmasp and would not wholly condemn the one, nor charge the other with duplicity when he political are one, nor charge the other with the political recapture the place in 1558, because from realistic political considerations, Qandahar was equally important for both the Mughals and the Iranis.

Humayun's subsequent occupation of Kabul and Badakshan probably a prelude in his mind to an attempt for the re-

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covery of perhaps his family's lost dominion in Turan. The loss and recovery of Kabul could not entirely dislodge this ambition from the king's head. From 1548 onward when Humayun entered Kabul as conqueror for the third time, the alternative of an advance to India was open before him. But it so happened that he could not proceed further than the river Balk in the north on account of the continued truculence of Kamran, but had to turn his attention to India. On this subject Abul Fazl's remark may well be noted, that if this trouble with Kamran had not appeared the conquest of Transoxiana would have been undertaken.

The character that Humayun displayed in his continuous struggle with Kamran shows him as being above all petty meanness and personal prejudice. His energetic campaignings in these years of crisis and his frequent consultations with the Ulama and the nobles show him off to great advantage, though perhaps he was to some degree blind to practical realism.

The final invasion of India was facilitated by Islam Shah Sur's policy and actions which, though successful for the time, produced an unfavourable reaction, and in the anarchy of the reign of his successor, Humayun found a favouring factor. But the weaknesses of his own side had also their effect. The general observations made by Prof. Banerji at the end of the chapter on Humayun's invasion of India are worth careful perusal as showing the real operative forces of that difficult year 1554-55, which gave back the Mughals their Indian Empire. Humayun's tomb is claimed by him to have set a new model and a new standard in the building art-of India, as it suggested "new principles, wider possibilities and greater flexibility and showed out the receptivity of the Indian artists." The traditional belief in Akbar's formal illiteracy is supported by by Dr. Banerji and we read this perhaps startling idea, that "if Akbar's reign is the Golden Age for art and literature, it was because his two predecessors had placed them on a high pedestal." The view that Akbar was totally illiterate is however, not accepted by our author, who says that according to the evidence of the Akbarnamah, he could compose Hindi and Persian poetry and was well versed in the niceties of poetic diction. A chapter on Baber's family with a detailed treatment of some of the verses of Humayun that do not occur in any of the modern works and a description of the prominent ladies of the Imperial family and of the age, most creditable feature—make a good phase of the treatment. The innovations and regulations of Humayun's reign, which inform us s and

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that he is to be credited with the introduction of a crude form of the mansabdari system and some improvements in the land revenue department as well as a plan for decentralization, may strike our attention. We can also well appreciate the stress made on his attempt to bring the Iranis and Turanis in India together. A study of his monuments and of his personal piety and scholarship with a note on his other general virtues and defects is supplemented by an account of the difficulty that marked his position as ruler, torn as it was between the Central Asian ideal of primus inter pares and the Persian ideal of absolute rule. Similarly the nobility had not yet become organized in any definite relation to the monarch. The saints and the learned men who played a principal part in court life are detailed, but we are referred to a paucity of material concerning the life of the people, whose indigenous religious leaders are however outlined in fair detail.

On the whole the author is of the opinion that Humayun was as ruler, an unfit instrument for moulding the destiny of medieaval India, and, though he promoted humanism, he could not organize the administrative or military system. The bibliography, documentation and other equipment are full and lack nothing. The sifting of evidence and the weighing of arguments on either side are of the same high level as those which marked the previous volume.

C.S.S.

HAIDAR ALI. Volume I, 1721-1779. By Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta 1941). Price Rs. 5. Pp. iv and

This monograph on Haidar Ali takes account of the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources, the bulk of which were not available to Colonel Mark Wilks, the great bis work pioneer historian of Mysore. In the Preface to the first volume of for his work and claims that he had extensive opportunities of whose transactions formed the staple of his work, and that in of the Mackenzie Collection, he endeavoured to trace peculiar and third volumes of the original London edition of his History, enjoyed access to the records at the India Office and to the

Journals and Accounts of Sir Henry Cosby, Colonel Allan, Sir John Kennaway and Colonel W. Kirkpatrick. Wilks's work has been justly described as "an enduring monument of his fame" and as displaying "a degree of research, acumen, vigour and elegance that must render it a work of importance in English literature."

Dr. Sinha has now brought out a very clear account of Haidar's life, as "a study in biographical form of a typical figure of eighteenth century Indian History", which concentrates its main attention on the military and diplomatic activities of its hero and does not claim to be a pure biography. It has utilised almost all the sources of information that became available subsequently including Portuguese (e.g. the Brown Ms. of Peixoto), French and Dutch sources, and matter embodied in the Indian languages. The bibliographical note at the end of the volume is most instructive and gives us instances as to why the versions given of particular incidents in Haidar's career should not be accepted as true.

Wilks's account is valuable not so much because of the written authorities which are still available to us, as because of the evidence that he derived from living characters, which enabled his presentation of one aspect of inner history, namely, the -criss-cross of personal rivalries and antagonism that might otherwise have remained unrevealed. Dr. Sinha's succinct estimate of the value of the work of Wilks in these words, "we may be better informed about data, but Wilks gives us a living picture", cannot be improved upon. The fortunes of Haidar in his youth traced in the first chapter, in spite of the fulsome accounts given of them in some chronicles, cannot blind us to the lack of advantage of either birth or wealth from which he suffered. The second chapter outlines Haidar's rise to prominence in the formative years 1749-55. At tention is rightly drawn, by our author, to the lack of authority for the statement made by Bowring that Haidar even went on one occasion to Pondicherry and there he came to be strongly impressed by the discipline of the French troops and the skill of the French engineers; he had plenty of opportunity of observing French skill elsewhere than at Pondicherry; and we do not at all come across any contemporary account mentioning Haidar's visit to the French settlement. Again, there is in reality very little information to show that Haidar learned in the operations round Trichinopoly the secret of Maratha success in attack, as he was then too much dazzl ed by the "spectacular efficiency" of the European trained sepoy and fighter.

Haidar's appointment as the faujdar of Dindigul is shown to have been at the time most necessary for the interests of Mysore in keeping hold of the marcher region between Trichinopoly and Madura. The conquests of Haidar at Dindigul, this subsequent march to Seringapatam, despatch of the Malabar expedition and participation in the palace politics at Seringapatam have made Dr. Sinha estimate that Haidar was in no way less adroit than the tyrants and usurpers of Ancient Greece in the employment of force and fraud. His usurpation of power in the state and subsequent destruction of the party of Khande Rao that opposed him are explained as constituting thrust and counter-thrust of unscrupulousness in which neither side could claim any credit for fair play. The analysis of Khande Rao's ability and character given on p. 57 is very revealing and instructive; but it is perhaps slightly different from the estimate of Khande Rao given in the new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer (Vol. II; p. 2485). The Gazetteer editor holds that a study of the records at Fort St. George has served to throw new light on the character of the Mahratha offices, and on the part he played in the war against Haidar and that in the new light Khande Rao is shown to have been neither the servant of Haidar nor guilty of any treachery to him; but he was a keen soldier and outmanœuvred Haidar in military abilities though he was no equal to the latter in the art of dissimulation.

Dealing with Haidar's capture of Bednore, which could have, but did not, put up a strong resistance, Dr. Sinha stresses the political significance of its use by the conqueror. Ever afterwards Bednore was regarded by him as his Swarajya, distinct and separate from Mysore where he ruled only in the name of the king; and here he asserted the royal prerogative of striking coins in his own name. We may be permitted to remark here that in the kingdom of Mysore itself Haidar never assumed the external appendages of royalty, which were continued in the ruling family, uninfringed in any manner, though Peixoto describes some occasions when he practised violence on the Raja. He is held to have declined to accept the theory that Mysore was under a Muslim government under him. It was reserved for Tippu to assume the tittle of Sultan, claim his de jure rulership.

Haidar's relations with the Marathas are detailed at some easy terms imposed on Haidar Ali, mainly due to the desire on the

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part of Raghunath Rao to enlist the support of Haidar for the furtherence of his own personal ambition. We greatly value the analysis of the motives of the second expedition of Peishwa Madhaya Rao who did not on this occasion actually contemplate the entire subversion of Haidar's authority. In tracing the relations of the British power with Haidar in the years 1760-67 the Bombay Government's friendly attitude towards him is stressed and explained In the account of the first Anglo-Mysore War, Dr. Sinha is at some pains to explain away the British failure, in the lack of mobility on the part of the British troops, the consequent limitation of their theatre of operations, the improper and mischievous civilian interference with the military, and the dishonesty and corruption of the Madras Council. In that war the attitude of Peishwa Madhaya Rao was one of uncertainty; but not such as to incline to the view that he really intended to help Haidar against the British, as there was in reality, at the time, a much greater clash of interests between Haider and the Marathas than between him and the British. In the succeeding Maratha expeditions against Mysore in 1769-70 and in 1770-71, Haidar was totally on the defensive. Dr. Sinha carefully indicates that the Maratha victory of Chinkurali was a gain only from the point of view of military tactics and strategy, but was not productive of fruitful consequences to the victors. When peace was concluded in July 1772 Haidar found that he was not entirely lost, but had to work hard to recover lost power. The Marathas had then an idea of marching to the relief of the miserable Tanjore ruler, who was hard pressed by Muhammad Ali; they had also a similar plan on their political anvil in 1774-5. It is interesting to trace how slowly Haidar's bargaining power with the Maratha government increased.

The capture of Gooty and the end of Murari Ghorepade constitute an event of great importance in Haidar's political career. The diplomatic changes in the Deccan politics in the years 1775-79 pushed Haidar definitely to the side of Raghunatha Rao and enabled him to make annexations up to the Tungabhadra and the Krishna After 1775 Haidar was certainly prepared for a rapprochement with the Marathas. The numerous causes of ill-will that tended to grow show that Haidar's anti-British policy was most carefully calculated and pondered over before it was definitely acted upon. Upto May 1778 Haidar's pre-occupation with Maratha politics did not give him any opportunity to face the problem of his attitude towards the British. Through his relations with the English, Haidar showed

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himself a realist and he always held, in the picturesque language of our author, that it was "not possible for him to throw two bridges across, one to Poona and another to Madras." When he finally ended the anti-Maratha phase of his attitude, he as firmly became definitely anti-British. Haidar's conquest of Malabar and his relations with the European powers on the coast are treated in the last chapter, in which is traced his experiment at ship-building activity. In this particular his chief difficulty seems to have been the securing of proper commanders.

The great care and balance marking the treatment of the subject of the work, are its most commendable features, and would make it one of the most authoritative presentations of the career of Haidar. The book stops rather abruptly; and the chapters on the Second Mysore War up to his death could have been added to make the biography complete in one sense. We eagerly await the publication of the succeeding volume, having nothing but unqualified praise for the clarity, carefulness of treatment, and the shrewdness and balance of conclusions marking this book.

C.S.S.

PRACHIN BANGALA PATRA SANKALAN. Edited by Dr. Surendranath Sen (Published by the Calcutta University 1942.

The Government of India authorised the Keeper of Records to publish the records in oriental languages in his custody, through private agencies. The Calcutta University have now published the Bengali records. The Bengali introduction is fuller and more detailed. For those not acquainted with that language, the learned editor has given a brief introduction in English together with English synopses, biographical and geographical notes.

The records in this volume deal with British expansion beyond the eastern limits of Bengal. The first of the eastern states to accept British hegemony was Cooch Behar. The circumstances which led to this are given. Next we are treated to the position of Assam on the eve of its becoming a part of British India. The in charge of five officers who enjoyed quasi—sovereign powers Government. Lord Cornwallis sent Captain Thomas Welsh to While the Captain's efforts were almost successful

he was recalled and the old troubles began with greater force. It was not until 1826 Assam was relieved of her unwelcome masters,

Then the records tell the tale of Cachar and Manipur. These were small principalities unable to stand against the aggressive neighbours. These appealed again and again to the Government of East India company to help them. The British were not anxious to plunge into the politics of these states and pursued a policy of non-intervention. But it was the Burmese aggression of these territories that compelled the Company's Government to actively interfere and launch a definite North Eastern frontier policy. A bibliography is also appended. These records throw more light on the internal conditions of the eastern states of Bengal, which necessitated British interference and ultimately their annexation. To this extent it is a valuable publication, and we are grateful for Dr. Sen for this useful work.

V. R. R.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SINDH UP TO THE ANNEXA-TION—1843. By P. N. Khera-Minerva Shop-Lahore, Price Rs. 3-12-0.

The annexation of Sindh by the British in 1843 has generally heen condemned by historians as an act of wanton aggression on a set of chiefs who did not give any cause for offence and who were genuinely anxious at all cost to remain at peace with the neighbouring powers. "The Amirs wished for peace till the last moment" says the author on Page 62. They had remained peaceful even in the face of the gravest provocation, as for e.g. when they accepted a new treaty even after Sir Charles Napier destroyed Imamgarh the desert fortress of the Khan of Khairpur-described as the Gibralter of Sindh without any cause or without any formal declaration of war. Mr. P. N. Khera has not deviated from the position taken w by many writers on this episode in the history of North West India It will indeed be madness, on ethical grounds at least, to challenge the position taken up by the author of the act himself, Sir Charles Napier, who described it blatantly as "a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality." Mr. Khera has categorically stated that though one cannot deny Napier's claim to have done good to the country, it is a different matter to say whether Napier had any right to annex the country. On moral or ethical grounds the annexation is the same of the tion is therefore undoubtedly "a blot on the English national escute. It sters. These essive ment xious cy of these ively 7. A ht on cessithis . Sen EXAhore, erally on a were bournent" en in ted a h the ralter on of en up India. lenge arles iseful tated

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cheon". Prof. Khera has however pointed out that it was a political necessity. Sindh had an important part to play in the scheme of defence to provide an outer and an inner barrier against Russian designs on the North West. Persia after 1828 had begun to lean towards an alliance with Russia—though, for this, the British themselves were to blame when they had refused to help the Persians in their war against Russia in 1826 and had obtained release of their treaty obligations of help to Persia by paying the Shah a small subsidy. The inner barrier of the states was to consist of Lahore, Bhawalpur and Sindh and the outer of Kabul, Herat and Persia. Both the British Government and Ranjit Singh were casting covetous eyes on Sindh and were suspiciously watching each other's movements. To the English, Sindh was of great strategic importence also because it served as a buffer-state between the Punjab in the north and the English in Bombay. To Ranjit Singh also, it was of importance because its possession would provide him with an outlet to the sea (Note: Page 8.). In any event the Amirs would have found it difficult to maintain their independence. Sindh had already assumed the role of the "Sickman of India" receiving fresh leases of life for short periods because of the difficulty of arriving at an understanding among the parties regarding the division of the spoils. 'The Amirs themselves were aware of the fact. One of the Bilochi soldiers in the service of the Amirs had declared even as far back as 1831 at the time of the despatch of Burnes's mission to Lahore. "The mischief is done. You have seen our country. Alas! Sindh is gone since the English have seen the river which is the high road to its conquest." It was therefore a question of annexation by Ranjit Singh or the British. When the latter became definitely aware of the designs of the Sikh ruler and when they found that Sindh was no longer likely to be a buffer, it was as well that the British moved first and forestalled Ranjit.. The British Co. tish Government was for long pursuing only a policy of non-interference and "wait and see." The British Government would have preferred to respect the intergrity of Sindh and would have been content content with the securing of commercial advantages and some kind of diplometric diplometri of diplomatic control. It was Ranjit's designs clearly manifest in his conversations with the representatives of the British Government which ment which included even a proposal to launch a combined Anglo-Sikh expedit Sikh expedition against the Amirs in 1831 and an invitation to the British Course British Government to assure neutrality at last, if they were not of positive of positive aggression and eventual annexation. This would be very

clear from the protracted diplomatic negotiations that were carried on with the Amirs and Ranjit Singh by the British Government which form the subject matter of the bulk of the book and which have all been thoroughly substantiated with extracts from authentic records. The hostile designs of the Amirs towards the British, the violation by the Amirs of all their treaty obligations, their crude primitive and despotic system of administration may be pleaded in extenuation but can by no means be convincing reasons for the drastic step of annextion. It is these points of view that have been stressed by the author in this book, in detail and with commendable skill. He has shown considerable ability in the handling of historical material and the presentation of the gathered-up matted in a thoroughly convincing manner. The book is fully documented and bears ample evidence of scholarship. Prof. Khera has to be congratulated on his thoroughness and also on the commendable success he has achieved in performing the very difficult task of dealing "with a highly controversial subject in a highly judicious and balanced manner."

V V.

RIG-VEDA WITH SAYANA'S COMMENTARY IN FOUR VOLUMES WITH A FIFTH CONTAINING SUPPLEMENT Vol. III.

The Vaidika Samsodaka Mandala, Poona, has placed the lovers of Ancient Indian Culture under deep obligation by the publication of an up-to-date, critical and reliable edition of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sayanacharya. Volume III of the Rig-Veda comprising Mandalas, VI to VIII is before us. The Rg-Veda, being the earliest extant record of the literary and cultural activity of the Aryans in India, a study of its forms the bedrock for a correct understanding and real appreciation of any type of later Sanskrit Literature. The two complete editions of the Rg-Veda with Sayana's Bhasya—the Bombay edition and that of Max Mullerare now out of print, and hence, to meet the increasing need of scholars, a fairly cheap, handy and reliable edition of the Rg-Veda has been a desideratum. This learned Mandala have rightly felt this urgent need and taken up the noble task of popularising the Rg-Veda by its publication. The Mandala is doing the same kind of critical work with regard to the Rg-Veda that is being done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in regard to the publication of a critical edition of the Mahabharata.

The editors of the Rig-Veda have, in the present volume, as in the previous two, utilised with caution and discrimination the printed Bombay edition as well as that of Max Muller, adopting readings therefrom after considering their relative merit, and, in a few cases, suggesting better readings on the strength of new manuscript material. The method followed is as the editors admit, that chalked out by Max Muller. A wealth of manuscript material in Devanagiri, Grantha and Malayalam scripts from India and outside has been profitably pressed into service. This has rendered the present edition most critical and up-to-date enabling the editors to give variant readings as foot-notes, selecting and adopting the best reading and suggesting new ones. It is clear from the Introduction that for the IV, V and VI Astakas which contain Mandalas VI to VIII as many as 15, 21 and 20 manuscripts have been consulted. This has eliminated the possibility of error and ensured the maximum of accuracy.

The notes following the Sanskrit Introduction give readings adopted differently from those of Max Muller. They also contain the manuscript-variants, and correct readings are suggested in the place of readings adopted incorrectly, as it would be seen by Sayana. The words in the Vedic texts, differently reproduced by Sayana, are noted and the actual words in the Pada-patha given. Moreover, references differently quoted by Sayana,, are noticed and original readings given. Those that cannot be traced to their sources are also mentioned. In the Samhita and pada-texts the editors have rightly followed the traditional recitations.

The following features of the edition specially redound to the Mulland the editors. An attempt, on the lines adopted by Max Muller, has been made to trace the references quoted by Sayana from Train from Vedic and other branches of Sanskrit literature to their original sources. The successful tracing of some quotations which could not be traced by Max Muller is a piece of valuable research.

The full The full commentary of Rig-Veda VIII. 79.7 (it is not VIII. 79.3 as mentioned where Max mentioned in page X, line 13, of the Introduction) where Max Muller L. The mani-Muller has left a partial lacuna is a useful contribution. The manifold natural transfer a partial lacuna is a useful contribution. fold nature of the manuscripts has, no doubt, rendered the task of filling up the lacuna less difficult by the adoption of existing or suggested readings. The inclusion, for the first time, of a new commentary (ascribed to Sayana) on the 11 Valakhilya-hymns (RV. VIII 40 Words in the (RV VIII 49 to 59) is really a valuable addition. Words in the

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original verse reproduced in the commentary are marked 'V' for distinction, and are given without any Sandhi change (unlike in the Pombay and Max Muller editions)—which makes for clarity and easy reference (compare Bhasya on VI. 6.75 in the three editions). Quotations are clearly marked out by being put within inverted commas (a procedure not adopted in the Bombay and Max Muller editions). References to other Vedic texts given as foot-notes in the Bombay edition and put between two lines in Max Muller's edition, are here enclosed within brackets. Discretion has been used in putting fullstops only where the sense is complete. The B. edition gives less full-stops, while M.M's edition gives more of them than are needed. The present edition holds the balance between these two. (Compare the Bhasyas on RV. VI-1-1 in the three editions).

The work under review is a distinct improvement on that of Max Muller, facilitated evidently by the availability of a greater number of manuscripts for comparison. While Mandalas VI to VIII in Max Muller's edition extend to 806 pages, the present handier edition runs to 966 pages of smaller size including the newly acquired commentary on the 80 verses contained in the 11 Valakhilya hymns.

The printing and get-up are excellent. The price Rs. 16 which exceeds that of the previous volumes by Rs. 4 is still moderate in view of the economic conditions brought about by the war. The present edition which is up-to-date has supplied a real want and leaves very little to be desired. We eagerly await the publication of the IV Volume completing the work. It is now incumbent upon all those interested in Ancient Indian History and Culture to lend their generous help and co-operation and expedite the progress of this noble task to its early completion.

C.S.V.

(In publishing the above review with great pleasure, we wish to join in extending our own appreciation of the valuable editorial and publishing work of the Mandala and the scholars associated with it. Very recently, Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford pointed out in his contribution to the work "Cultural Heritage of India", that European scholarship has achieved the task of tracing the meaning of the words of the Rig-Veda, and that it is left open as yet to successfully trace the meaning of the passages in their actual context. This is a call for a further study of the Rig-Veda which cannot be done without a good edition of the work easily accessible to those who would take up the

study. It is a matter for gratification that that essential need is being supplied. It is held that Sayana and his collaborators were alone responsible for the commentary on the Veda. There are a number of references to the Veda being commented upon-not only the Rig-Veda but the other Vedas as wellthereby indicating that this monumental commentary is by no means the first. It is probable that they were not written commentaries, although we have no warrant for saying so, except for the fact that no written text has so far been forthcoming. There are, however, indubitable inscriptional references to these Vedas and Brahmanas having been taught with commentaries. Once of the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise for election to village assemblies is ability to comment on one of the Brahmanas. The Bhatta teachers were often expected to be able to comment and teach two Vedas, the Veda to which he was born and an other Veda of his own acquisition by study. The possession of a correct text of even this commentator of the fourteenth century would certainly be a valuable aid to a correct expounding of the meaning of the Veda, and the work of the Vaidika Samsodaka Mandala is quite a distinct service to the correct exposition of the vedic text, which the learned Professor wants. We would add our quota of grateful commendation to the scholars of the Mandala, and would bespeak their goodwill for the early completion by issuing the fourth Volume of the text and the commentary and the fifth Volume of supplementary matter. -Ed. J.I.H.).

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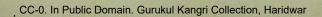
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Journal of Indian History

Some Historical Illusions

By

JAGAN NATH, M.A., Oriental College, Lahore.

In the Journal of Indian History Vol. XX pp. 249-74 Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee has published an article 'Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu'. In this paper he has arrived at certain conclusions which are based on misinterpretation of evidence and it is proposed to examine these points in the present note.

1. Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vīrasena.

This inscription belongs to the reign of Candragupta II but Mr. Mookerjee contends that it should be assigned to the reign of Candragupta I. He gives the following argument. "It is wellknown that the Allahabad inscription is not a posthumous one. Hence the undated Udayagiri inscription belongs on palaeographic grounds to the reign of Candragupta I." One fails to understand the logic involved in this argument! If the characters of Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription are similar to those of the Udayagiri inscription, how does it follow ipso facto that the Udayagiri Cave inscription belongs to the time of Samudragupta's father Candragupta II? Supta I and not to the time of his son and successor Candragupta II? As a matter of fact there could have arisen no appreciable difference in the roign of a ence in the characters in so short a period as one single reign of a monarch, and it is useless to attempt to determine the exact date of the inscription on palaeographic grounds in the present case. The second argument of Mr. Mookerjee is that the name of Candrasupta's minister in the Udayagiri Cave inscription is Virasena while the name of the Dayagiri Cave inscription is Sikharasvämin. the name of the minister of Candragupta II was Sikharasvāmin. Therefore he concludes, that "It follows clearly that it was Candragupta I who will be concluded in the conc Supta I who started on his mission of 'digvijaya.' Mr. Mookerjee has repeated the same statement at p. 267. This shows that he resards it as indisputable evidence which proves his case conclusively.

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It is really surprising that it did not occur to Mr. Mookerjee that there could be more than one minister of the same monarch. The Udavagiri Cave inscription tells us that Vīrasena was a sandhi. vigrahika (minister of Peace and War.). On the other hand Sikharasvāmīn mentioned in the Karmadande Lingam inscription was a Mantrin (Councillor). He did not hold the portfolio of Sandhi. and Vigraha which therefore must have been in charge of another minister. That the ancient Indian monarchs had more than one minister cannot be disputed, for there are numerous references to the council of Ministers (mantri-parisat). Thus the mere fact that Sikharasvāmin was a minister of Candragupta II does not preclude Virasena's being another minister of the same monarch. As has been pointed out by me in a previous article,1 there is definite epigraphic evidence showing that Vīrasena was a minister of Candragupta II, and could never have been a minister of Candragupta I. In the Udayagiri Cave inscription it is stated that Vīrasena had acquired ministership by virtue of heredity (अन्वयप्राप्तसाचित्यः) It means that his father also was a minister and held the portfolio of Sandhi and Vigraha (Peace and War). Now, from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta we learn that his minister for Peace and War was Kumārāmātya Mahādandanāyaka Hariṣeṇa son of Kumārāmātya Mahādandanāyaka Dhruvabhūti. Since Ministerships under the Guptas were hereditary as is clear from the statements made in the Udayagiri and Karmadande inscriptions, it is reasonable to infer that Dhruvabhūti must have been the minister of Samudragupta's father and predecessor, Candragupta I, and held the portfolio of Peace and War. It is therefore clear that Dhruvabhūti and not Vīrasena was the Sāndhivigrahika of Candragupta I. Virasena, was evidentally a son and successor of Harişena. He was therefore a minister of Candragupta II and the Udayagiri Cave inscription can be assigned only to Candragupta II's reign. In passing we may also take note of another statement of Mr. Mookerjee. He says. "For reasons already stated it will be seen that it was Candragupta I who erected the temples of Visnu and Siva while on his mission of 'digvijaya' after which he assumed the title of Vikramāditya (Candragupten kīrtanam kīrtitam paścad Vikramāditya rājyam²)". This is a purely gratuitous supposition. The cave-temple of Siva was constructed by Virasena, out of devo-

^{1.} Some observations on the character and achievements of Chandragupta II', J.I.H., Vol. XIX p. 162 f.n. 13 and N.I.A., Vol. II. p. 638 f.n. 11.

2. Amrte cave inscription, I.A. XII, XIII, (1884) p. 185.

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tion to the deity. There is not the slightest indication that it was done at the instance of Candragupta or on his behalf. As regards the inscription in the Amrta Cave quoted above, the language is rather curious and has been translated by Dr. Fleet thus: "the temple was caused to be made a temple by Candragupta. Afterwards (there was) the reign of Vikramāditya." This inscription is apparently an attempt on the part of its author to give the history of the Cave. It is also clear that he had no definite information and he sought to ascribe great antiquity to the shrine by saying in vague terms that the Cave had been built by Candragupta at so early a date, that even the rule of Vikramāditya was posterior to it! We are not at all justified in drawing the inference that Candragupta who built the cave-temple afterwards assumed the title of Vikramaditya. The language of the inscription does not admit of such an interpretation. Moreover the Amrta cave does not at all appear to have been built by any of the Gupta emperors; for on grounds of style and art the cave is much later in date than all other Gupta monuments at Udayagiri.3 Mr. Mookerjee has further remarked, "Candragupta II had no occasion to start on a mission of conquering the whole earth" and therefore the inscription must refer to the reign of Candragupta I. But I have shown in a previous article4 that Candragupta II had to carry out a virtual reconquest of various parts of the empire. The defeat of Rāmagupta had given such a blow to the prestige of the Guptas, that there was disorder in all quarters and in order to consolidate the empire Candragupta II had to undertake a digvijaya. Mr. Mookerjee's suggestion that the conquest of the whole of the earth described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription was achieved by Samudragupta as a Crown Prince, is to say the least, purely hypothetical. The Allahabad inscription contains no-hint to this effect. On the other hand it clearly shows that the dominions of Candragupta I were of moderate extent confined ^{to} Magadha, Sāketa and Prayāga, as described in the Purāṇas.

2. Performance of the Aśvamedha Sacrifice by Candragupta I.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "After the 'digvijaya' with the help of the Crown Prince Samudragupta, Candragupta performed the Āśva-medha sacrifice." In support of this he quotes Samudragupta's

^{3.} Cf. General Cunningham, "Judging from the more highly decorated git group of Caves." A.S.R., Vol. X, p. 53.

1. N.I.A. Vol. II.p. 693 f. and J.I.H., Vol. XIX, pp. 158-170.

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epithet चिरोत्सच अमेघाहता and says, "The work of the Āharta is to overcome the foes and rescue by force the horse and collect materials for the sacrifice." This is indeed a very ingenious interpretation of आहता; but unfortunately it is entirely erroneous. Of course one of the meanings of the verb आ। + ह is 'to bring' but with reference to sacrifice the verb gives an entirely different meaning, viz., to perform a sacrifice, and आहता means, one who (himself) performs the sacrifice, and not 'he who helps others in the performance.' The following examples of the use of आ + ह from standard classical writers will make it quite clear.

- 1) आहतां ऋतुनाम् । Kādambarī, p. 8, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press ed.
- (2) तस्या एव प्रकृतिसखा यत् कतूनाजहार | Raghuvaṃśa, XIV, 876.
- (3) स विश्वजितमाजहे यज्ञं सर्वसदक्षिणम् । ibid., IV, 86 ab.

In 2 and 3 above Rāma and Raghu, themselves performed the sacrifices and did not assist others by rescuing the horse or collecting the materials. Thus आहता means, he who performs a sacrifice. In the आ + ह has been expressly used for the horse and in the context of the cases of Vasumitra and others quoted by Mr. Mookerjee, the verb simply means 'to bring back,' or 'fetch'. Moreover we find that in no inscription Candragupta has been credited with the performance of an Aśvamedha, while Samudragupta is invariably styled as चिरोत्सत्तश्वमेथाहर्ता. It would be rather strange to imagine that the drafters of the Gupta inscriptions conspired to keep silent about it, while giving the entire credit to Samudragupta who merely helped his father. Even if it be argued that Candragupta I's remote successors did not care to record the former's perfomance, we should reasonably expect a reference to it in the Allahabad inscription of his son. If Candragupta I had performed the sacrifice with Samudragupta's, help, Harisena must have recorded this achievement of his patron's father, if for no other reason but that of eulogising Samudragupta. Harisena could never have missed such an opportunity for showering praise on Samudragupta. But there is no reference at all to the performance of an Asvamedha, in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. We can hardly admit the suggestion that the words अनेकगोहिरण्यकोटिप्रदस्य contain an allusion to it. event was too important to be treated so curtly. It means that even Samudragupta's own performance was posterior to it.

Mr. Mookerjee's interpretation of the numismatic evidence on the point is even more astonishing. He says that the Aśvamedha. er-

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and Lyrist types of coins so far attributed to Samudragupta were really issued by Candragupta I on the successful completion of the sacrifice. But no one who has any knowledge of these coins would agree with Mr. Mookerjee. On the obverse of the Lyrist type we have the legend māhārājādhirāja Śri-Samudragupta. How could Samudragupta be described as a Mahārājādhirāja in the coins issued by his father Candragupta I? Even on the assumption that as a Yuvarāja Samudragupta might have been associated with the work of administration, we cannot explain the application of the title Mahārājadhirāja to Samudragupta, when his father was still ruling! Evidently these coins were issued by Samudragupta after his accession to the throne and they commemorate the emperor's exceptional skill in and fondness for music as stated by Harisena in the following words

निशितविधम्धमतिगान्धर्वेळिळैतेत्रींडित त्रिदशपति गुरु तुम्बुरुनारदादेः ।

As regards the evidence of the stone horse in the Lucknow Museum, it is almost impossible to attach any value to it. All the inscriptions of the Gupta period, official as well as private, Hindu, as well as Buddhist or Jain, and the legends on the coins, are in Sanskrit: There is not a single inscription of the Gupta age in Prakrit. The inscription on the stone horse in question being in Prakrit, cannot belong to the Gupta period at all. Moreover the clearly legible portion of the inscription simply gives us The first part of the name is lost. How can then we produce this imperfect piece of evidence as a proof for Candragupta I's performance of the Asvamedha? Similarly the inscription on the Nagwa horse is very uncertain. It is by mere ingenuity that we may make it to be श्री चन्द्रग्रसः Further this horse image is so crude in workmanship and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy, that no one can ever regard it as the production and so clumsy. duction of the Gupta artists—much less claim it has as a royal

3. Ghatotkaca and the Gaddavila King.

Mr. Mookerjee identifies the Gaddavila King mentioned in the Kālakacārya-kathānaka with Mahārāja Ghatotkaca of the Gupta dynasty, and holds him responsible for the rape of Saraswati whom he subsequently made his queen. Then he says, "This seems to explain the Tribate of Sarah." to explain the Hindu and Jain tradition of the great Vikramaditya being the son of Gardhava, Gadharāja, Gandhapāla, Gandharūpasena, Gandharva etc., i.e., of Gaddavila King (evidently a predecesof Gadaphara or Gondophares of Sam 77—A.D. 20) and the non-mention of the name of the mother of Candragupta I in Gupta inscriptions."

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There is not even the slightest phonetic resemblance between Gaddavila or Gardabhilla and Ghatotkaca, and only Mr. Mookerjee could have the courage to make such a statement. The identification is entirely fantastic. In the Puranic account of local dynasties we find mention of eight Gardabhillas, and this king Gardabhilla or Gaddavila, as Mr. Mookerjee puts it, apparantly belongs to this dynasty. These Gardabhillas flourished long before the Guptas as is evident from the sequence of the narrative in the Purānas. The Gardabhillas are mentioned along with the Sakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras etc., and in this list they occupy the first place. Then come several other local dynasties, then the Nāgas are mentioned and then the Guptas.

Moreover according to the Jain tradition, Gardabhilla was king of Ujjayinī, while the early Guptas, belonged to the Gangetic plain—Magadha and Sāketa. Ghaṭotkaca was not a ruler of Ujjain. The Western Kṣatrapas were ruling there at this time. Mr. Mookerjee has called Gardabhilla, a predecessor of Gondophares. It is difficult to understand in what sense he regards him as a predecessor. The Kingdom of Gondophares never included Mālwa or, Ujjain. Moreover he was a Parthian. Does Mr. Mookerjee mean to suggest that Gaddavila, and for that matter Ghaṭotkaca also, were Parthian?

That the Vikramāditya of the Kālakācārya-Kathanaka cannot be Candragupta I nor Gaddavila can be Ghatotkaca is clear from the account of the work itself. According to it the dynasty of Vikramāditya was uprooted by another Saka King who established his own era 'when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed.⁵ That means that the Gupta dynasty was uprooted in 135-57=78 A.D. while even according to Mr. Mookerjee the Guptas continued to rule up to 167 A.D. This clearly shows that Vikramāditya mentioned in the Kalakācārya-Kathanaga cannot be Candragupta I. It is futile to seek the help of the Jain tradition to prove that Candragupta I is the founder of the Vikrama era. It is more ridiculous still to suggest that the name of Candragupta I's mother is not given in the inscriptions because she had been married by force! The inscriptions do not mention the name of the mother of Ghatotkaca also. As a matter of fact, those familiar with the Gupta inscriptions, know that in reality the Gupta genealogy as found at present was

^{5.} उणतीसे वाससए विकससंबच्छरस्स वोलीणे परिवहिकण ठिवओ जेर्ण संबच्छरी नियओ । CII; Vc¹. II. pt. I, p. XXVII. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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drafted in the reign of Samudragupta for the first time. Others are described with reference to Samudragupta—either as father, grandfather and great grandfather or as son, grandson etc. The details with regard to his remote predecessors were therefore omitted. The name of Candragupta I's wife was mentioned because she was the mother of the reigning king and also because she had greatly added to the power of the Guptas.

4. Simhascna and Samudragupta.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "Candragupta I had the title of Vikramāditya as well as Simha Vikrama. Thus Samudragupta might well be called 'Simha Sena', son of monarch Candragupta in the Jain tradition." It is curious logic, and according to it proper names would lose all significance. Simhavikramah was an epithet of Kumāragupta I also. It occurs on his coins. So according to Mr. Mookerjee's method of reasoning, Kumāragupta I's son may quite well be called as Simhasena. Therefore Skandagupta and Purugupta have an equally good claim to be styled as Simhasena! This shows the utter absurdity of the suggestion.

5. The Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription.

In line 6 of this inscription, Mr. Mookerjee proposes the reading शानेन in place of भानेन। and asserts that the pillar was set up by Śāba, at the instance of his master Candragupta I. But in trying to improve upon the text Mr. Mookerjee has got confused. He says. "In several coins of Candragupta and Samudragupta, the letter "S" is found like '\(\mathref{4}\)' and the letter 'bh' is written like '\(\mathref{4}\)' So that it seems that the letter 'n' got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel and looks like 'a'. The interchange of the two b's (b and v) is common in Gupta inscriptions especially when we remember that 'Sāba' was his nick-name." One fails to follow this reasoning. If 'the accidental slip' of the chisel has changed the Original Time accidental sup of the Original Sup of the Origin the original reading was वावेन. How does he arrive at शावेन by this process? The first letter looks like छ, and Mr. Mookerjee should have shown how a was engraved in place of w. of keeping to the point he is talking of a and a and a. That we have got a q instead of q by a slip of the chisel is easily intelligible and

^{6.} Allan's Catalogue of the Coins of Gupta Dynasty, p. CXIX.

in place of धावेन we can propose भावेन, but it is difficult to imagine how an 'accidental slip' can change a म into च of the Gupta period, which cannot be confused with any letter except ग of the same period. The correction is therefore not only unwarranted, but would seem ridiculous.

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Candragupta II's conquest of the Western Kṣatrapas.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta we know of his defeat of the Sakas which must have included the Western Saka Ksatrapas. In that case Candragupta II's conquest of Surastra and Malava is out of the question." Once again Mr. Mookerjee has confused the issues. From the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, we can clearly see that the dominions of the Western Ksatrapas had not been annexed to the Gupta empire. The Sakas are mentioned amongst those foreign powers which maintained friendly relations with Samudragupta by sending him presents or by forming matrimonial alliances. It is therefore quite wrong to say that the Sakas had been conquered by Candragupta I. Had Mālava and Surāstra been conquered by Candraputa I, how could we find the Sakas still ruling there in the time of Samudragupta? Again we find from the Girnar inscription of Skandagupta that Surāṣṭra was a Gupta province. That means that it had been annexed before Skandagupta's rule. The conquest has therefore been rightly attributed to Candragupta II who, according to the Udayagīri Cave inscription had set out on the conquest of the whole earth.

As regards the 'Ramagupta episode' Mr. Mookerjee himself admits that "this killing of the Khasa chief in the guise of Dhruvasvaminī by Candragupta II has nothing to do with the tradition of Great Vikramāditya defeating the Sakas." It is rather strange therefore that Mr. Mookerjee still insists on the authority of this very episode, that Candragupta's conquest of Western Kṣatrapas must be earlier than A.D. 380! The Allahabad Pillar inscription clearly shows, that the Sakas had not been dispossessed of their territories, and their overthrow must have been accomplished by a successor of Samudragupta and not his predecessor. The numismatic evidence is quite in accord with this suggestion. The last date on the Kṣatrapa coins is 310 (Saka)—A.D. 388 and the earliest date on Candragupta II's coins found from Surāṣtra, is 90 (Gupta Era) = A.D. 409. The Sakas were therefore overthrown between 388 and A.D. 409.

7 The evidence of the Lankavatarasutra.

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Mr. Mookerjee quotes verse No. 786 from a chapter of the Lankāvatārasūtra called Sagāthakam wherein the Guptas are mentioned and argues that since the Sūtra was translated into Chinese in A.D. 443 the Gupta rule must have come to an end long before A.D. 443. But Mr. Mookerjee's objection is devoid of any force, for the Chinese translation of the Lankavatarasutra made in A.D. 43 by Gunabhadra does not contain the Sagathakam. It is a later addition. The version of the Sūtra as translated into Chinese in AD, 443 seems to have been expanded later on, three new chapters being added on to it, namely the first, the ninth and the tenth. The chapter called Sagathakam is of complex origin and it cannot be assumed that the verse which mentions the Guptas is definitely earlier than A.D. 443. With regard to this chapter I may give below the opinion of an eminent Buddhist scholar Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. He says. "The Gāthā section called 'Sagāthakam' presents peculiar difficulties. As the earliest Chinese translation of Guṇabhadra does not contain it, it is highly probable that it was not then included in the Laikā text." "In fact, the Sagāthakam is a curious mixture where subjects, not at all referred to in the prose section are in juxtaposition with those that have no proper bearing in the Lanka....And then there are some passages in the Sagathakam which may be regarded as later additions. The Sagathakam requires more study from the point of text criticism."7 Is it advisable to rely on such an uncertain text?

Again Mr. Mookerjee is wrong when he says that all the Gāthā verses were taken from the body of the Sūtra and collected in one place by Bodhiruci who prepared a second translation in A.D. c. 513. In this connection also the remarks of Suzuki who has made a sepcial study of this Buddhist text, are worth quoting. He are found in the Sanskrit there are 884 couplets. Of these over 200 are found in the main text itself. Therefore about 680 gāthas are cally excluded ones. In Sikshanand these repetitions are systematiting is thrown in and with something more." In view of these is earlier even than A.D. 513 the date of the second translation by The present Sanskrit text agrees with that of the third

^{7.} English translation of the Lankāvātāra by Suzuki Introduction 8. Studies in the Lankāvātārasūtra by Suzuki, p. 21,

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version in Chinese made by Sikṣānanda A.D. c. 700-704. Even if we may concede that the verse which mentions the Guptas was added at the time of the second translation by Bodhiruci, we can easily explain his knowledge of the decline of the Guptas and the rise of the Mlecchas according to Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. It is almost certain that the Guptas had been dislodged from their imperial position by Toramāṇa about A.D. 510. That means that by A.D. 510 the Gupta power had been broken and the Mlecchas had become supreme in North-Western India. Is it then impossible that Bodhiruci should know about it in A.D. 513? In those days a continuous stream of merchants, pilgrims, scholars and ambassadors flowed from China to India and vice versa. The journey did not take more than a year by land or by sea. It was therefore not impossible in A.D. 513 for Bodhiruci to know about the events that had taken place in India c. A.D. 510. He might be responsible for adding this verse.

8. Contemporaneity of İśānāvarman and Kumāragupta.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "whichever date of the Haraha inscription is accepted two mahārājādhirājas come out contemporaneous in the same locality." But it is hardly a matter of surprise. The contemporaneity of Īśānavarman with a Gupta king named Kumāragupta is not only indicated, but definitely established by a statement in the Aphsad inscription.9 That this Kumāragupta was a powerful monarch, and was not a vassal of Īśānavarman, is also clear form the fact that Kumāragupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Īśānavarman. 10 So long as Kumāragupta was alive Isanavarman could not claim overlordship over the whole of the Gangetic plain. It is clear, that up to this time the Maukhari supremacy was confined to the western part of the Gangetic valley and the Guptas were still independent masters of Magadha and the adjoining districts in the east. Irrespective of the fact whether Kumāragupta of the Aphsad inscription is identical or not with the monarch in whose reign the Damodarpur Copper Plate dated 224 was issued, 11 this is obvious that there was a Kumāragupta, who was an independent monarch and a powerful rival of Isanavarman.

^{9.} Fleet, C.I.I., III. p. 200.

^{10.} Cf. भीम: श्रीशानिक्षितिपतिशशित: सैन्यदुग्धोदिसन्धुई क्मी संप्रापिहेतु: स पि विमिधितो मन्दरीभूय येन | Fleet, C.I.I. III. p. 203. 1. 7.

^{11.} Dr. Dandekar has suggested rightly that this copper-plate belongs to the reign of Kumāragupta of the Aphsad inscription, 'History of the Guptas' p. 171.

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Moreover there are other instances in ancient Indian history, when two mahārājādhirājas have ruled contemporaneously in contiguous territories. Prabhākaravarddhan, father of Harṣa, was a mahārājādhirāja. Contemporary with him was Avantivarman, who also bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja. 12

9. Date of Kṛṣṇagupta.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "We should remember that about A.D. 443 the first later Gupta King Kṛṣṇagupta of 'good family' was ruling." But he forgets, that there is no evidence to prove that Kṛṣṇagupta ruled definitely about A.D. 443 and not later. Kṛṣṇagupta's date is an unknown fact, and cannot serve as a test for other historical theories. His date can be ascertained only approximately and a reasonable estimate would be c. A.D. 500 as shown below. From the Aphsad inscription, we know that Īśāṇavarman Maukharī and Kumāragupta were contemporaries. For Īśāṇavarman we have the date A.D. 554. Kumāragupta was the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇagupta. We may assign a period of 54 years¹³ to the three predecessors of Kumāragupta. This will give us c. 500 A.D. as the date of the beginning of Kṛṣṇagupta's rule.

10. Use of the Saka Era by the Maukharis.

Mr. Mookerjee says that the dates 54, 55, on the coins of Isanavarman and 58 on the coins of Sarvavarman, are to be referred to the Saka era with omitted hundreds. But it is ignored by Mr. Mookerjee that the Saka era was never in general use in Northern India. Particularly, in the Gangetic plain there instances of its use in inscriptions before, or during, or immediately after the rule of the Maukharis. coins, The earliest instance of its use in the United Provinces belongs to the ninet the ninth century A.D. In the Deogadh inscription dated Vikrama Sam 919, the Saka date 784 is also given. But even here the Saka date 784 has been mentioned only as an equivalent of the Vikrama date 784 has been mentioned only as an equivalent of the Vikrama date. It is not an instance of the independent use of the Saka era. We must also bear in mind that in the only known offidated inscription of the Maukharis it is the Vikrama era that has been used, and not the Saka. If the Maukharis had adopted

^{12.} Nālandā Clay Seal of Avantivarman, E.I. XXIV, p. 283 ff.

13. This is by no means an unreasonable estimate. Mr. Mookerjee

Anantavarman, at p. 272 J.I.H., Vol. XX.

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the Saka era as the official system of dating, the Haraha inscription must have been dated in that era. But it is not. The dates on the coins, therefore may be referred, with greater justification to a system of regnal years commencing from the accession of Harivarman. Isanavarman had three predecessors—Isvaravarman, Adityavarman, and Harivarman. A period of about 50 years may be assigned to these three predecessors of Isana. The date 54, would therefore fall within the reign of Isanavarman.

11. The Emperor Yue-ai of Chinese Accounts.

Mr. Mookerjee says that according to Chinese accounts-he does not mention the exact source15—Yuegnai king of Kiapili sent an embassy to China in A.D. 428. On the authority of Captain Wilford, he identifies Yuegnai with Yajñavarmā Maukhari. While Captain Wilford had taken Kiapili as a name of the river Ganges, Mr. Mookerjee identifies it as Gayāpuri. On this score, he contests the accuracy of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era, for while according to Fleet, Kumāragupta I was ruling over Magadha in A.D. 428, the Chinese account seems to prove that it was Yajñavarmā. Not only are Mr. Mookerjee's identifications quite incorrect, but the original names of the Chinese accounts also, have been wrongly quoted. The name of the Indian emperor is not Yuegnai, but Yue-ai which means 'Moon-loved' and may represent the Sanskrit name Candrapriya or Candravallabha;16 and Kiapili is Ka-p'i-li, which is not the same as the city of Gaya, but the Kapili valley in Assam, which abounds in remains of the Gupta period, as revealed by the researches of Mr. R. M. Nath. The Kapili valley is the ancient kingdom of Davāka,17 mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a frontier state. There is nothing strange, if Yue-ai King of Davāka, sent a friendly mission to China in A.D. 428. I quote below the relevant portion of Watters's article that has enabled me to point out these errors of Mr. Mookerjee.

"In the year 428 an embassy from Yue-ai (Watters has given the name in Chinese script also) Moon-loved king of Ka-pi'-li coun-

evidently the article of Captain Wilford, in the Asiatic Researches Vol. IX. (1809). This article is full of mistakes, which have been taken over by Mr. Mookerjee.

^{16.} The Chinese often translate proper names literally, e.g., Adityasena has been called 'Sun-Army' Life of Hiven Tsang, Beal, Introduction p. xxvi. 17. Cf. K. L. Barua, Early History of Assam, pp. 46-47, and R.M. Nath, I.C. Vol. VI. p. 460.

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try arrived in China. This country—that is its capital—was described as situated on the side of a lake to the east of a river and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks."18 This statement of Watters is based on the Chinese authority Sung-shu, chapter 57.

12. The name of the ruler in Damodarpur Copper Plate dated 224. G.E.

In this record the first part of the Kings' name is lost, only the last part एवं is legible. Dr. R. G. Basak; who edited the inscription pointed out that the damaged space could have contained only two syllables and he proposed to restore the name as Bhanugupta. 19 Some other scholars prefer to substitute Kumāragupta. Evidentally it is a mere matter of how we choose to fill in the blank; and there can be no absolute certainty about the true original reading. Mr. Mookerjee adopts the reading Kumārāgupta and identifies him with Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal. But Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal cannot be placed so late as 224 G.E. He is evidently identical with Kumāragupta mentioned in the Sarnāth inscription of the Gupta year 154,20 and he was therefore a predecessor of Budhagupta. The Damodarpur Copper Plate in all probability, belongs to the reign of the later Gupta monarch, Kumāragupta, as suggested by Dr. Dandekar.²¹ Mr. Mookerjee considers it 'a serious blunder' in as much as it would mean that 'during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman, another Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta was also ruling. But we have shown above that the Aphsad inscription clearly proves that Kumāragupta was an independent contemporary and a powerful rival of Īśānavarman, and Dr. Dandekar's suggestion does not involve any incongruity. Another argument advanced by Mr. Mookerjee is that in the undated Damodarpur Copper Plate of Budhagupta's rule, the name of the nagarestering is Ribhupāla, and in the Damodarpur Copper Plate dated the managaraśresthin is Rbhupāla. But that cannot prove that the monarch ruling in 224 G.E. was a descendant of Budhagupta. Two different persons can have the same name, and it is not essential that DL1 tial that Rbhupāla mentioned in both the copper plates is one and the same the same person. Even if, for the sake of argument, it may be

^{18.} J.R.A.S., 1898 p. 540. Evidently this description of Ka-pi'-li can not apply to Gaya. 19. E.I. Vol. XV, p. 142, f.n. 1.

^{20.} It has been shown below that Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription the be Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription thas been shown below that Kumāragupta of the Samuela A History of the Mr. Mookerjee wants us to believe. 21. A History of the Guptas, p. 171.

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conceded that Rbhupāla of both the plates is one and the same person, it can not prove that the second plate dated 224 belongs to a king of the same dynasty. A person who was a nagaraśresthin in the reign of the Imperial Guptas, could have continued in the same position in spite of a change of government. The nagaraśresthin was not a government servant who must have gone out of office. with the fall of the Imperial Guptas. He was a man selected for his importance in the public life of the town, and he acted as a non-official advisor of the government officers. It is no wonder therefore that the same man continued to be nagaraśresthin in spite of a change in the government. To give a parallel from modern history, we may refer to the recognition given to the Zamindars of Bengal by the British East India Co. Those persons who used to collect the land revenue for the Moghuls, were not only allowed to do that work for the British East India Co., but were made the virtual owners of the land, for undertaking to pay a fixed amount of land revenue to the treasury of the East India Co.

13. Purugupta or Budhagupta?

Mr. Mookerjee asserts that the name of the son of Kumaragupta I, so far believed to be Purugupta is really Budhagupta! In support of his contention he quotes the opinion of Mr. S. K. Saraswati, who has proposed the reading Budha instead of the previous reading Pura on the Hoe specimen of gold coin.22 The correction proposed by Mr. Saraswati is entirely unwarranted. wati says that the upper letter has a 'horizontal top stroke' and is therefore b not p. But the question is whether this 'horizontal top stroke' is merely a top-mark or is it the upper bar of the square of b? Carefully examined it appears to be a mere top-mark which has been slightly lengthened. The top mark when lengthened, joins the right hand vertical, and gives the letter p the appearance of a b. This has happened in several inscriptions of the Gupta period, e.g., the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samuoragupta lines 20 and 21; the Eran Boar inscription of Toramāṇa lines 1, 3, 6 and 7; the Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yasodharman line 7. As regards the laws laws gards the lower letter on the coin, it can not be confused with di-It is clearly a straight vertical line with a top mark. Now dh of the Gupta period has no top mark at all. The earliest examples of dh with a top mark belong to the last quarter of the sixth century, and What Mr. tury, and are to be found in some Maitraka grants.

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Saraswati has taken to be the right hand curve of dh is in reality a curve of a letter in the marginal legend. It is clearly detached a curve of a letter in the marginal legend. It is clearly detached from the vertical line. Our lower letter is therefore simply r with a nail-headed top stroke. Even without going into the merits of Mr. Saraswati's suggestion we can maintain that the name of Kumaragupta's son on the Bhitari Seal is Purugupta. Puru (not Pura) gupta, is the clear and unmistakable reading in the Nālandā Clay Seals of Narasinhagupta and Kumāragupta II.²³ There is further evidence of a decisive character. Amongst the Nālandā Clay Seals, there is one belonging to Budhagupta. From this seal²⁴ it is clear that Budha was not the son of Kumāragupta I, but a later descendant.

It is quite futile to rely on Hiuen Tsang's statement according to which Sakrāditya, identified with Kumāragupta I was immediately succeeded by Budhagupta, nor should we attempt to reconcile such statements with epigraphic evidence. Hiuen Tsang's Sakrāditya flourished 'not long after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. Are we then going to assign Kumāragupta I to 400 B.C. or 500 B.C.? It only shows a curious lack of critical outlook, to hold that every statement of Chinese accounts must be the whole truth and nothing but truth.

Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Image Inscription. dated 154 Gupta Era.

Mr. Mookerjee identifies Kumāragupta of the Sarnath image inscription dated 154 Gupta era, with Kumāragupta I, and says that Kumāragupta I died in 155 Gupta era. Evidently Mr. Mookerjee seems to be taking the position that Kumāragupta I had not died in the year 136 G.E., as believed so far by all historians, but had only abdicated in favour of Skandagupta; and that from 136 to 148 G.E., the empire was governed by Skandagupta, but Kumārasupta was again attracted by the glamour of royalty and came back up to 155 G.E. when he died! The suggestion is absolutely un-

tor General of Archaeology. In my note published in the Proceedings of the Is Purugupta, not Puragupta. The seals have since been published by Is Epigraphic Material' pp. 65-66.

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tenable. We know that from 136 to 148 G.E. Skandagupta ruled not as a Yuva-mahārāja, but as a full fledged emperor who bore the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, and Mahārājādhirāja, and struck coins in his own name. That clearly shows that he was not carrying on the government on behalf of his father. If Kumāragupta had abdicated in 136 G.E., there could be only one reason for his abdication, namely the desire to lead a quiet life in the hermitage. Such a practice, prevailed in ancient India.24a But having once renounced the world, why should Kumāragupta come back to occupy the throne after a period of 12 years of retirement? Skandagupta had given such a glorious account of himself. He had defeated the Hūṇas, and kept the empire intact. What justification was there for Kumāragupta, now an old recluse, advanced in years, 25 to ask his son to drop the sceptre which he had so deservedly held? Apart from all these considerations, we have the definite epigraphic evidence in the following verses of the Girnar inscription, that Skandagupta had ascended the throne in 136 G.E. after the death of his father.

नृपतिगुणिनकेतनः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथुश्रीः
चतुरुद्धिजलातां स्फीतपर्यन्नदेशाम् ।
श्रविनमवततारियः चकारात्मसंस्थां
पितरि सुरसिवत्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्मशक्तया ॥
तिसन्नृपे शासित नैव कश्चिद्धम्मीदिपेतः मनुजः प्रजासु ।
आतों दिरद्रो व्यसती कदयों दण्डेन वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् ॥
एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां भग्नाग्रदर्णान् द्विशतश्च कृत्वा ।
सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तॄन् संचिन्तयामास बहुप्रकारम् ॥
स्यात्कोऽनुरूपो मितमिन्वतीतो मेधास्मृतिभ्यामनपेतमावः ।
सत्यार्जवौदार्यनयोपपन्नो मोध्यदाक्षिण्य यशोऽन्वितश्च ॥
सर्वेषु भृत्येष्विप संहतेषु यो से प्रशिष्यान्निखलानसुराष्ट्रान् ।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥

²⁴a. Cf. Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṃśa III, 70, vii, 76; Śakuntalā, iv. 20, vii; 20; Vikramoraśī, V. 17.

^{25.} He must have been over 70 in G.E. 148.

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From the words स जिल्हा etc., no doubt should be left in our mind that Parṇadatta's appointment was subsequent to all the wars which Skandagupta had fought, and that he had ascended the throne after the death of his father. Now from the same inscription we learn that in the year 136 of the Guptas, the embankment of the Sudarshana lake had been damaged by the floods, and was repaired in the year 137 under the supervision of Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta. That means Parṇadatta had been appointed governor before 137 G.E. We have already shown that Parṇadatta's appointment took place after all the wars and conquests of Skandagupta were over, and after he had ascended the throne after the death of his father. It is therefore established that Kumāragupta I had died before 137 G.E., and it would be a blunder to assign the Sarnath image inscription dated 154 G.E., to his reign.

15. The Evidence of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

Mr. Mookerjee says, "Somadeva only abridged Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā and wrote his Kathāsaritsāgara wherein Skandagupta's victory over the Hūnas is mentioned. Now Guṇādhya is placed by Bühler Keith, Levi. V. Smith and others in about the 2nd century A.D. This shows that Kumāragupta and Skandagupta flourished before the 2nd century A.D." The whole of this statement is full of inaccuracies. The Kathāsaritsāgara does not mention either Kumāragupta or Skandagupta, nor does it mention the Hūṇas. Instead it mentions the victory of Vikramāditya,—who may or may not be identical with Skanda, over the Mlecchas. As regards the date of Guṇādhya, Mr. Mookerjee has simply made the statement on secondhand information without any definite knowledge about his authorities; and he has virtually misrepresented the views of Dr. Keith, as will be clear from the following extracts.

"Guṇādhya's work is of very complex art and uncertain date" we can fairly claim that Guṇādhya is not later than A.D. 500 but to place him in the first century A.D., is quite conjectural." Reith in support of the date A.D. 200. Mr. Mookerjee also contends

The list of names is evidently taken from Krishnamachariar's History 7. Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 417, f.n.

that Somadeva has not made any changes in the original, and quotes the following verse²⁸;—

यथा मूळं तथैवैतन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः । औचिन्त्यान्वयरक्षा यथाशक्तिर्विधीयते ॥

However the मूलं of Somadeva may not necessarily be the original Brhatkathā. Dr. Keith has shown that Somadeva did not base his work on the original Brhatkathā but on a later version. I may quote the relevant portion of his arguments. He says,

"The older view that the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Brhatkathāmañjari were directly drawn from the Brhatkathā cannot be retained, in view of the discovery of the Ślokasamgraha. The Kashmirian recensions show themselves at once as vitally similar in contrast with Nepalese and leave no option but to assume that they are derived from one source and not the original Brhatkathā. The date of this form of the Brhatkatha is clearly impossible to decide beyond that it must have been considerably before A.D. 1000. Nor can we say who the author was or by what process the work assumed form. It may have been the outcome of a continued process of change if the story was regarded as specially attractive. All that can be conjectured is that the work received its final form through two main processes. In the first place the essentials of the legend of Naravāhanadatta were extracted from the original of Guṇāḍhya and abbreviated. Then the account was expanded and completed by inserting as satisfactorily as possible other great legend complexes which were popular in Kashmir, making a work essentially different from the original Brhatkathā."29

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It is thus clear that whatever may be the date of the original Bṛhatkathā, all the stories of the Kathāsaritsāgara, cannot be assigned to the age of the original. It therefore cannot be argued that Skandagupta flourished long before A.D. 200.

^{28.} J.I.H., XXI. p. 42.

^{29.} Keith History of Sanskrit Lit. p. 275 (Italics are mine.)

Muhammad I, Organiser of the Bahmani Kingdom

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By

H. K. Sherwani,
Professor, Osmania University.

Importance of the Reign.

When 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh ascended the throne in 748/1347 there were three major factions in the Deccan all trying to get the best out of the turmoil, namely, those who stood for an independent Deccan under the new dynasty, those who were partisans of the Tughluq faction and thirdly local chiefs and muqaddams who were for their own aggrandisement. 'Alāu'd-dīn was successful in coping with all antagonistic elements and leave the kingdom to his son Muḥammad Shāh as peaceful as was possible under the circumstances. 'Alāu'd-dīn had kept up fairly good relations with the Rāyas of Tilangānā¹ and Vijayanagar² and while the chiefs of Tilangānā were so friendly as to be invited to the marriage of the Crown Prince, the Rāya of Tilangānā had shown his inclination towards keeping with the Bahmanīs on terms of friendship by sending as a present a priceless ruby which 'Alāu'd-dīn's successor affixed to a bejewelled humā or bird of good omen which he set up on the top

^{1.} The Rāya of Tilangānā was Kanyā Nāyak who had at one time aided of the Bahmanī Dynasty (Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute, Reddī Kingdom, (Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938, 2. 0.

^{2.} Our Persian chroniclers almost invariably call the Rāya of Tilangānā these chroniclers composed their works after the brilliant rule of Krishna that they considered his personal name to be a generic name for all his the Bellary district, Madras Province; 15°29' N. 76°28' E.

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end of his royal umbrella.3 The land was, however, still infested with non descript thieves and robbers and Muhammad took care to stem lawlessness by ordering the governors of his newly created provinces to give no quarters to those who were interfering in the peaceful evolution of the kingdom. It is related how the heads of thousands of such thugs and dacoits were sent to the capital in the course of six months. Naturally this cuuld have only one effect, and when Muhammad died he left the kingdom entirely peaceful and law-abiding.4

Government Machinery.

If the credit of proclaiming the independence of the Deccan goes to Nāsiru'd-dīn Isma'āl, and if 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan was the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, Muhammad I was the organiser of the kingdom and the founder of its institutions. As the centre and apex of the new kingdom he was careful enough to clothe his own person with all the paraphernalia of royalty and made his daily darbar as resplendent and ceremonious as became the ruler of a mighty state. Every day except Fridays carpets of silk of the highest order were spread and shāmiānās of cloth of gold erected for the reception of all and sundry. The king arrived at the darbar hall when an eighth part of the day (one pahar) had expired and was at work till the call to after-noon prayers, i.e., about an hour after the solar noon. In the beginning of his reign he was content with the silver throne bequeathed to him by his father, but this was replaced on 21-3-1363 by the magnificent Takht-i Fīrōzā or Turquoise Throne sent to him by the Rāyā of Tilangānā.5 This throne was made of ebony and was three yards long by two yards broad. It was called the Turquoise Throne as it was originally covered with an enamel of turquoise hue, but each new Sultān after Muḥammad I added fresh jewels and ornaments to it till there was nothing visible except precious stones.6

^{3.} Ferishtä, Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, Lucknow, 1281 H. During the later part of his reign Muhammad used an umbrella covered with a portion of the cover of the Ka'bah brought to India by his mother; Fer., I. 285.

^{4.} Fer., I. 295.

^{5.} The king sat on the new throne on the Naoroz or Persian New Year following the autumnal solstice in 764 H; Fer; I. 282. Sir Wolesley Haig is wrong in giving the date as 21-3-1365; see Cambridge History of India, III, p., 381. 381.

^{6.} Fer., T. 288.

MUHAMMAD I, ORGANISER OF BAHMANI KINGDOM 175

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This throne was placed in the Aiwān-i Bār-i 'Ām or hall of public audience. The new Sultan was jealous of his prestige even with those who had been the coadjutors of his father, so when his own father-in-law Malik Saifu'd-din Ghōrī saw his inclinations in this respect he excused himself from taking a seat in the royal presence, and henceforward no one dared to sit in the darbar. Besides being a former colleague of 'Alau'd-din Ḥasan Bahman Shah and the fatherin-law of the king, Saifu'd-dīn Chōrī was also the man who put down the principles of royal government in the brochure named Naṣaīhu'l-Mulūk.⁷ This brochure, after the fashion of the early Musim writers, was a kind of compendium of advice which had been proferred to his royal master and kinsman. It is addressed to the king himself and gives the qualities requisite for a successful monarch, the place and conditions of counsel, the need for appointing the best man possible to every post, high or low, the division of officers into men of "Sword and the Standard" and men of "Knowledge and Pen," and the qualities pertaining to high civil officers such as the Wakīl (Prime Minister), Wazīr (Minister), Dabīr (Secretary), military officers such as Sarḥaddār (Warden of the Marches), Qil'ahdār (Commander of a fortress), Bakhshī (Paymaster), judicial officers like Qādi (Judge), Muftī (One who interpreted the Law), police officers such as Kötwäl (Commissioner of Police), Muhtasib (Censor of public morals) and others.8

As regards the King himself Ghōrī says that he should be lucky enough to come in possession of the Kingdom while still young, should be able to discern hidden qualities in men as well as the true bearing of the ways of his enemies, should not take unfortunate occurrences too much to heart, should be good to others, have high moral standards, and at the same time should be ready to support the poor and the learned and be an adept in

^{7.} I have not been able to lay my hands on the original work, but there is an Urdu translation in extenso in 'Abdu'l-Jabhār Khān's Tazkira-i he had an original copy with him when he translated the work but, along with the Mūsī river on 1-9-1326 H. He says that it was this brochure which was reign which I have not been able to trace. Naturally under these circumstants.

stances little can be said about the authenticity of the pamphlet.

8. The nomenclature of most of the offices mentioned is nearly the same sultanate of Dehli. For the latter see I.H. Qureshi, Administration of the Dehli, Lahore, 1942, Ch. 5 and 7.

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diplomacy and have other qualities which might go to make him respected and exalted. He should do everything which would make the army loyal to him and should try to bring the hypocrites and the half-hearted over to his side or else, if he is not successful in this, should dismiss them in such a manner that they may not be able to create disturbances in the land. He should avoid those fond of ease and comfort and those who are prone to be too free with him for their own gain. He admonishes the King to be ever ready to take counsel of those who are learned and fit to advise him. He further addresses the Royal Majesty and says that he should appoint only such persons to various offices as should be fit for them both in their general character and also in their efficiency, for "experts of bad character as well as honest men who are ignorant of the duties they have to perform both bring the Kingdom to utter ruin."

The brochure was thus a compendium of the ideal of Kingship and of the way in which the more important offices of State were to be filled. He had been appointed Wakil-i-Saltanat, or Prime Minister by the first Bahmanī and had retained his post partly because of his tact, illustrated by such facts as when he excused himself from sitting in Muhammad's darbār, as also perhaps owing to his acting upon the precepts laid down in the Naṣāih. The brochure, however, can best be regarded as containing the ideals of a Prime Minister rather than the constitution of the kingdom as accepted by the king himself. It is, however, of some value as describing the perquisites of the high offics of the Bahmanī kingdom.

It was, however, no doubt with the advice of his chief minister that Muḥamad I organised the administration of the kingdom which kept on practically right up to the end of the Bahmanis. As has

9. See Siddiqi, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī (Transactions of Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 701 ff.,) where an attempt is made to regard the brochure as the definite constitution of the kingdom. Also see Siddiqi, Organisation of the Central and Provincial Governments of the Deccan under Bahmanides, (Mysore Oriental Conference, 1935, p. 463).

10. It might be remarked that Ferishtā is the only authority who mentions even the name of this minister, while Burhān-i Maāṣir, Tabaqāt-i Akbarī and the rest are silent about him. The strange part of it is that he is not mentioned by the contemporary 'Iṣāmī in his Futūḥu's-Salātin, Agra, 1938, who otherwise gives details almost to a fault, but it might have been due to the fact that the Malik had not attained eminence in 'Iṣāmī's lifetime.

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been remarked elsewhere 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh's reign had seen an extension of the kingdom from Māṇḍū to Rāichūr and from Bhongir to Dābul and Goa while the Rāyas of the Krishna country as well as the Rāya of Tilangānā were tributaries. 11 During the early years of the Sultanate most of the time of the Sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the country was governed more or less under martial law. Muhammad I, however, put the administration on a semi-civil basis. He divided the kingdom into four atraf or provinces centred round Daulatābād, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga, entitling the provincial governors respectively as Musnad-i 'Ālī, Majlis-i 'Ālī, A 'zam-i Humāyūn and Malik Nāib. The province of Gulbarga, which included Bijapur, was regarded the most important of all and was usually given to one who commanded the confidence of the king to the greatest degree, and hence was called Malik Nāib or Viceroy. 12

The Army.

The military forces were likewise organised. The Commanderin-chief was henceforward known as Amirū'l Umarā and a group of officers called barbardaran created whose duty it was to mobilise the troops in time of need. There were, besides, two hundred men who were called Yakkā Jawānān or Silahdārān who were in charge of the personal arms of the king. Besides these there was a wellequipped force of four thousand body-guards of the king who were

11. Sherwani, Establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom (Journal of Indian History, Madras, December 1941, p. 288). 12. Fer., I. 282. We find the office of Malik Nāib at Delhi as well;

Qureshi, op. cit., p. 10.

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 $M_{and\bar{u}}$, situated on the summit of a flat-topped hill in the Dhar state, 2079 ft., above see level; 22° 21' N., 75° 26' E. Raichur, herdquarters of a district in the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab;

16°12′ N., 77°4′ E.

Bhongir, headquarters of a taluqa in Nalgondā district, H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions; 17°35' N., 78°57' E.

Dābul, modern Dabhōl, a port in the Ratnagiri district in the Bombay Province, 17°35' N., 73°10' E. Daulatābād, hill fort in Aurangābād district in H.E.H. The Nizam's

Bidar, headquarters of a district in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, 17°55' N., 73°2' E.

Alsanabād-Gulbargā headquarters of a subāh in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, 17°21' N., 76°51' E.

called Khāsah-khēl. Under the Sultan's orders fifty Silaḥdars and one thousand of the Khasah khēl had to attend the royal person every day.¹³

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About this time a new article of war, gunpowder, had crent into the Deccan and we read of the use of cannon and muskets being used in the siege of Adoni in 767/-1366. It is expressly mentioned that the cannon were operated by Rūmiyān wa Firangiyān ("Turks and Franks") who were put under Muqarrab Khan, sons of Safdar Khān Sīstānī. As will be seen later fire-arms were used by the armies both of the Bahmanīs and of Vijayanagar in the campaign and this was eighty years before the "pyrotechnics" at Vijavanagar mentioned by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq and forty years before the Chinese traveller Mā-Haun described fire-arms in Bengal in 1406.14 The discovery of gunpowder and fire-arms revolutionised the whole conception of defence almost in the twinkling of the eye, and large fortresses sprang up with extremely thick walls, strong curtain walls in front of the gates, pigeon holes for fixing muskets, battlements and towers for gun turrets, double walls with the socalled "covered ways" one of the walls 'covering' the shot fired from without, and various other appliances suited to the new circumstances. It is remarkable how the new structures then built in the Deccan have a great similarity with fortresses built in Europe about this time, and this is no doubt due to the fact that so many "Turks and Franks" were in the service of the Bahmanis. Such a structure was no doubt the fortress called Panāh-i Islām or the 'Refuge of Islām.' built by Badru'd-Din Hilāl surnamed Malikush Sharq at Bhingar in 776/-1375 a few furlongs from where the fort of Ahmadnagar now stands. The inscription which is now affixed to the wall of a mosque to which obviously it has no relation what

13. Fer., I. 282. Ferishtā says that some of these offices persisted in the 'Adil Shāhi dominions even up to his own day, 1016/-1608.

Adoni, headquarters of a Taluqa in Bellary district, Madras Province; 15°38′ N., 77°17′ E.

^{14.} Fer., I. 290. This is the first time the Europeans are mentioned. For gunpowder see Gode, Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India (Denison Ross Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1939, pp. 117 ff.) The pyrotechnics at Vijayanagar are mentioned in Matla'u's-Sa'dain, (Elliot and Dowson, History of India as fold by her own Historians, Vol. IV, p. 117). The use of artillery is heard of for the first time in the siege of Baza in Spain by Isma'll b. Faraj, Muslim king of Granada in 1325.

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ever, says that the fort was built in the reign of Muḥammad I in order to keep the local chiefs in check. 15

Architecture.

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There are two large monuments at Gulbarga which are still almost intact, i.e., Jāmi 'Masjid in the fort and the Shāh Bāzār Mosque, one clearly showing foreign and the other Tughluq influence. Both according to tradition and external appearance the erection of Shah Bazar Mosque may be placed in the reign of Muhammad I. Its gateway is structurally extremely similar to Muhamad's tomb with its square dome, its corner bouquets and its thick, tapering "Tughluq" walls, and taken by itself without the enclosure of the mosque which protrude from both sides it might have been a structure meant to hold the remains of a royal personage.16 This building is in strong contrast with another sacred building, the Jami 'Masjid inside Gulbarga fort situated a few furlongs off, for here we see the hand of the foreigner, Persian and Turk, who, in conjunction with Hindu influence, revolutionised the Deccan architecture which finally cast off its Tughluq influence in a very short time and developed into what was later called the Deccani style. The chief architect was himself a native of Qazwin, Shams son of Mansur, who built the mosque in 769/1368.17 Unlike almost any other mosque in India, the whole of this mosque is entirely roofed, and the inspiration for this kind of building, so chriously unsuited to Indian climate, must have come from Europe, where the covered parts of Spanish as well as Turkish mosques can accommodate thousands of worshippers, and which have only comparatively small open courts attached to them.

Bhingar, a town in the district of Ahmadnagar, Bombay Province; 19°6′ N,.

Quzwin, a town at the foot of the Elburz mountains about 60 miles northwest of Teheran in Iran.

^{15.} Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1934, p. 4. Dr. Nazim rightly says that as Muhammad died in 776 H., so the building of the Fort must have commenced in his reign ed in his reign and completed in the next.

Ahmadnagar, headquarters of a district on the left bank of the river Sena in the Bombay Province; 17°5' N., 74°55' E.

^{16.} Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1335 F., p. 5.
17. Epign. of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, Arch. Dept. 1 17. Epigr. Indo-Mosl., 1907-8, pp. 102. Report of Hyd. Arch. Dept. 1335 p. pp. 3-5. The mosque was erected in 1367 under the supervision of Rafi, who came from the region of Elburz in north Persia.

The roof of this building, 216 ft. east to west by 176 ft. north to south is divided into a number of gables and arches, the latter showing off in the form of domes. The domes have shaken off the flat Tughluq shape and are built over high basements. These domes are not of uniform dimensions, those over the Mihrab and the gates being much larger than others and the stilted appearance of the arches which was so much in favour with the later Bahmanis, has already made its appearance in them. The interior of the mosque has a peculiar appearance. Three sides of the building i.e., northern, eastern and southern, are supported by very wide arches, adjoining which, parallel to the north and south wings are seven corridors all leading to the central Mihrāb in such a way that a votary sitting in any part of the vast enclosure should be able to see the Imam standing on the pulpit or leading the prayers. This method has produced another pleasing feature that in spite of the completely covered court, there is a free flow of air from all sides, thus partly counterbalancing the Indian heat which would otherwise have been the uncomfortable feature of a completely covered mosque in India.

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Before we proceed to the purely political history of the reign of Muhammad I mention should be made of two facts, one being the "munhiyan" or secret service agents of the Deccan at Delhi who were probably appointed to report any fact which might be of interest to the Sultan, and the other a humane element introduced in the laws of war by Muhammad I. The secret service men at Delhi proved their worth when they reported that the Raya of Tilangānā was communicating with Sultān Fīrōz of Delhi promising him that if he attacked the Deccan he would be thrice welcome and would be joined not only by the Rāya of Tilangānā but by the Raya of Vijayanagar as well. 18 In the domain of International Law, he decided after the sanguinary Vijayanagar campaign of 767/-1366, that only those actually in arms should be put to death and the life of prisoners of war should be regarded as sacred, and thus set an example not only to his successors but to his enemies as well.19

Fer:, 290. Firoz Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi, 1351-1388.
 Fer., I. 292.

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II.

Muhammad's Accession.

Muhammad had been appointed heir to the throne by his father in his life time, 20 and he peacefully stepped into his place as the Sultan of the Deccan on his father's death. He immediately crdered that the court should go into deep mourning which was kept up till the third day when he ceremoniously ascended the throne on 3-3-759/13-2-1358.21 He used to go to his father's grave every Thursday and it is he who built a mausoleum, however modest, for him. The mausoleum is about two furlongs from the southern gate of the fort of Gulbarga on a platform 46 ft. square, and what is remarkable is that although the new kingdom had been founded as a challenge to the Tughluq Empire, this as well as many other monuments at Gulbarga are built on the orthodox Tughluq pattern, with sloping walls, flat domes and bouquets on the four corners of the roof.22

The magnificence of the new kingdom can be estimated by the pilgrimage which the Queen Mother undertook to Mecca in 761-1360. With a large retinue of nearly a thousand persons she started for Dābul, one of the chief ports of the Bahmanī kingdom on the western coast, and embarked there on a special Bahmani ship on 10-10-761/24-8-1360 landing at Jeddah on 16-11-761/28-9-1360. While she was in the Hijāz she got as many as four thousand couples married and defrayed all their expenses from her own pocket.23 This was not all, for she came into communication with the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt Al-Mu 'tadid bi'l-lah24 and took his formal sanction for the use of the Khutbah and Sikkah, i.e., the right of being

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^{20.} Fer., I. 289.

^{21, &#}x27;Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh ascended the throne on 24-4-748 H; see Sherwani, Antecedents. The date of Muhammad's accession as given by Fer., is 1-3-705. Fer., is 1-3-795 H., which makes his reign to extend for 10 years, 8 months and 5 days mile. and 5 days which is less than the duration, 11 years, 2 months and 7 days, given in Tabaset. given in Tabaqat-i Akbarī and Bur., by about 4 months. But in this matter Bur., is not reliable as it is inaccurate (p. 31) about the date of Muham-mad's accession able as it is inaccurate (p. 31) about the date of the mad's accession putting it in 758, and Tab. does not give dates either of the accession or of the multiple of the decession or of the multiple accession putting it in 758, and Tab. does not give dates entire ling on 1-3-759/11 2 1070 may therefore take it that Muhammad became ling on 1-3-759/11-2-1358.

^{22.} Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept., 1335, F., p. 1.

^{24.} Not Qāim as in 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, op. cit., p. 237, Mu'tadid, 753/1352-163/1362. Qāim, 854/1450—859/1455.

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mentioned in Friday sermons and the right of coining money for his son.25 Although the so-called Caliph had no temporal power and very little spiritual power left to him and was in fact a prisoner in his own palace in Egypt, still he was much revered in the Muslim lands as the possessor of the mantle of the Apostle of Islam and the Muslim rulers of India were always happy to be invested in his name especially if they had to withstand opposition from any quarter.26 It seems that there was a danger lest Sultan Firoz Tughluq of Delhi should make an attempt to attack the Deccan at the instance of the Raya of Tilangana and this sanction coupled with the commendation by the Caliph to Fīrōz not to shed the blood of the Muslims of the South probably eased the situation.²⁷ Muhammad was naturally much impressed by what his mother had done to strengthen his hold on the newly acquired territories, and when the old lady was on her way back from Dābul to Gulbargā more than a year after she had left the capital, he went as far as Kalhar to receive her. The Queen lived but a few months after her return and lived all the time in a room built for her near her husband's mausoleum. She died in 763/-1362 and was buried next to her renowned husband.28

Coinage.

Before we proceed further, mention should be made of Muhammad's coinage. The coins current in the Bahmanī kingdom are of absorbing interest, especially as some of the conclusions derived from their study run counter to the statements contained in such of our authorities as Ferishtā.²⁹ We gather from Ferishtā that the

25. These two were regarded as the chief emblems of royalty; see Qurëshi, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

26. This topic is well discussed by Qureshi, op. cit., Ch. 2. Even the nominal Caliphate of Egypt became extinct with the conquest of the country by the Turkish Sultan Selīm I in 1517.

27. 'Abdu'l Jabbār, quoting Mulhiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri, p. 210 and p. 287. have an idea that even without such a recommendation, circumstances as well as the humane temperament of Fīrōz Tughluq would not have allowed him to venture on Deccan campaign.

28. Fer., I. 285. This tomb is described in Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report, 1335 F., p. 2 where the king's name is wrongly given as 'Alāu'd-din Husain Shāh, it does not mention the existence of the queen's grave and only says that there are three graves below the dome.

29. For a general discussion of Bahmanī coinage see Sherwani, Mahmid Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr, Allahabad, 1942, pp. 52-58.

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first Bahmanī did not strike any coins at all and that the first king who coined gold and silver was Muhammad I. He is explicit that on one side of the tankā (the silver coin which was of the weight of one tola and thus equal to the modern rupee) was impressed the Kalimah or the Muslim Creed, together with the names of the iour apostolic Caliphs, while on the other side appeared the name of the reigning king and the date of the coinage. We also learn that at the instigation of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and Tilangānā the Hindu goldsmiths melted off the silver and gold coins which fell into their hands and replaced them by the baser coins current in Hindu states namely hōns and pratāps. It is related that it was only after dire punishment had been meted out to the culprits and their associates and most of them had been replaced by the Khatrīs of Delhi that the Bahmanī coins were allowed a free scope.³⁰

This is what Ferishtā says. But if we were to go into numismatic evidence we would find that the basis of Ferishta's argument was mere hearsay and mostly very faulty. The Bahmani coins, though no doubt scarce, are still discovered in treasure troves in the Deccan and have been dealt with by a number of scholars,31 and they entirely falsify Ferishta's statements. The Hyderabad Museum contains the coins of practically all the Bahmanīs including 'Alāu'd-din Hasan Bahman Shāh, and not one of them, either of silver, gold or copper, has the Muslim Creed or the names of the apostolic Caliphs embossed on it. As a matter of fact the form and even parts of the inscriptions are merely copies of the earlier Tughluq coins, and this explains why even before the formal permission to coin money was given by the Abbasid Caliph to Muḥammad I we find 'Alāu-d-din Bahman Shāh embossing the legend "Right hand of the Caliphate, helper of the commander of the Faithful" on his coins. It is strange, however, that Muhammad's coins have reference only to his being the "Defender of the religion and

the names of the four Caliphs on the margin, but the inscription he quotes has other so this cannot possibly be the Bahmanī Muḥammad-i Maḥmūd" on the 31. Gibbs: Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmanī Kingdom (Numismatic Ch., 1881); Codrington, Copper Coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty (Num. Bahmanī Kings) (Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, Syderabad-Dn., 1935, pp. 268-307); Sherwani Antecedents, p. 53, note 35.

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the apostle of the Merciful God" and not to the Caliph at all and it seems that this was due to his feeling that he was strong enough to withstand his enemies without any reference to a nominal Caliph in distant Egypt.

As regards the story about melting, although there are not many gold tankās extent in the same way as there are not many silver sub-divisions of the hons available, still the fact remains that at least the earlier hons are of a much finer quality, as fine as the Bahmanī gold and it is difficult to understand why Ferishtā should have fixed upon Muhammad Shāh's reign as the period when "bad Vijayanagar hons drove off the Bahmanī gold tankās from circulation."

Adjacent States.

From the reign of Muḥammad Shāh almost right up to the end of the Bahmanī kingdom there were constant quarrels between the two great adjacent states, the Deccan and Vijayanagar. It is easy enough to base the cause of these quarrels on the religious antagonism between the two, but it must be borne in mind that rulers are always wont to annex the authority of religion to cover their own personal desires and court chroniclers are even lavish in their encomiums on the real, presumed, supposed or imagined number of infidels of the opposite camp who were killed during the encounters.³³ A learned historian of the South has rightly attributed this

32. Aḥsanābād is, of course, the name given to Gulbargā by the first Bahmanī. The Fathābād mint, where Muḥammad I's tanka was struck, long remained a mystery; it was identified as Dharūr in Report Hyd. Arch. Dept., 1329 F., pp. 52, 53, but the difficulty was that Dhārūr was not known as Fathābād till Shāh Jahān's reign. There are other places known by that name but all are improbable. The difficulty in the way of identification of this mint was solved by the first time in Sherwani, Maḥmūd Gawan, p. 58, note 44 where it is definitely laid down that Fathābād was the name given to Daulatābād according to Bur., 17. There are only eight Fathābād coins existing, two in the Hyderabad Museum, two in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and four in the British Museum, all belonging to the reign of Muhammad I.

Dhārūr, now a small industrial town in Gulbargā district, H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions; 19,7' N., 76°49' E.

33. This is not only in the East but in the West as well, and the so-called Wars of Religion in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries are cases in point. Rulers took the fullest advantage of the preaching of Protestant reformers to gather as much power as possible in their own hands at the expense of the

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antagonism more to economic and political than to religious antagona. He refers to the fact that the territory which was so long the cause of quarrel i.e., the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, had been the bone of contention between the Western Chālūkyas and the Rashtrakūtas as well as between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas, while with the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and the Vijayanagar Raj history is only repeating itself with changed names. It is, however, not so true to say as he does that the lands south of the Tungabhadra were economically richer than those round about Gulbargā, for even if the testimony of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq and Nunēz about the wealth of Vijayanagar were taken as cent. per cent. reliable, we have evidence that the royal treasury at Gulbarga was no poorer, and the author of the Mulhigat-i Tabagat-i Nasiri says that it contained as much as four hundred maunds of gold and seven hundred maunds of silver bullion besides lacs of prataps and hons and jewels worth crores.35 No doubt when there is political antagonism between two kingdoms any excuse might be sufficient to kindle the fire, and the victor is bound to collect as much booty from the vanquished as he can; but to say that economically the

authority of the Pope, and when the clash came, were applauded by their co-religionists for their victories which, while they were for their own aggrandisement, were given out as having been won in the cause of the Faith. This is perhaps even more true of the opposite side. In the case of the Bahmani wars against Vijayanagar Ferishtā raves at the number of Hindus killed in actual battles or massacred in cold blood, but the fact remains that if the numbers thus related be given credence there would hardly be a Hindu left in the Deccan. And after all these "casualties" and "massacres" perpetrated by the sald. by the soldiers of the Deccan, the Muslims continued to form only a very small proportion of the Deccan, the Muslims continued to form to-religionists from Persia and overseas. If anything is certain it is that without such without such an influx it was the Muslims not the Hindus who were perhaps in danger of J. in danger of dying out, especially as we do not come across any noted conversion to Islam till the last years of the Bahmani rule.

34. Gurti Venkata Rao, Bahmanī-Vijayanagar Relations (Proceedings of Indian Historica) the Indian History Congress, Allahabad, p. 264 ff.)

35. The work was contemporary with Muhammad I and is freely used by bdul-Jabhan D. Abdul Jabbār Khān, op. cit., p. 231, who says that he possessed an original which was a Weight was destroyed in the flood of the Musi.

Weight of a maund. The Ahmadnagar man is of 40 seers (not 1631/4 lbs bewell puts it Amendix B, p. 402) and as Sewell puts it, A Forgotten Empire, London, 1900, Appendix B, p. 402) and the possible Fericles. it is possible Ferishtä may be thinking of that. But we must remember that the Madras man is 120. the Madras man is 12½ seers and the Bombay man of 14 seers. In Hyderabad also man for sugar 12½ seers and the Bombay man of 14 seers. We must the man for sugar is 12½ seers and the Bombay man of 14 seers. In 11½ also take Ferishts 12 seers and for other commodities 40 seers. We must also take Ferishta's habit of exaggerating matters like this.

Bahmanīs were far inferior to the Vijayanagarīs is a matter of exaggeration.³⁶

The breach of peace emanated not from Muhammad Shah but from Rāyas of Tilangānā and Vijayanagar. It was in the early years of the Sultan's reign that he received simultaneous messages from Kanyā Nāyak of Tilangānā and the Rāya of Vijayanagar which. were virtually ultimatums and which the Sultan could not be expected to accept. Bukka's message was to the effect that from times immemorial the territories adjacent to Rāichūr and Mudgal as far as the river Krishna had been under the southern state and should be handed over to him if the Bahmanī wanted a continuation of his kingship. The demand of the ruler of Tilangana was in a different vein. Kaulās had been presented to 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh and now the Rāya sent word that his son wanted to wrest the fortress from the Sultanate against his own wishes. The Sultan received the envoys of these two rulers in the best of spirits and commanded the Prime Minister, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī to address suitable replies.37

War with Tilangānā.

When the Sultān's message, which of course was in the negative, was communicated to the two rulers their reply was to join hands in their effort to force his hands. The Rāya of Tilangānā sent his son Vinayak Dev³⁸ from Warangal with a large army consisting of infantry as well as cavalry, towards the fortress of Kaulās; while Vijayanagar sent twenty thousand troops to Kanyā Nāyak's help. Against these the Sultān sent the Amiru'l-Umarā Bahādur Khān, son of Isma'īl Mukh, A'zam-i Humāyūn and Safdar Khān Sīstānī along with the army of Berar and Bidar. This movement was covered from the south by the Velama chief Anapōla of

36. Gurti Venkata Rao, op. cit., p. 265.

37. Fer., I. 283. For succession to the Vijayanagar throne see n. 43 below. Kaulās, in Nizāmābād district of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, 15°20' N., 76°28' E.

"Times immemorial" could only have meant the foundation of Vijayanagar less than 40 years before! [The Raichur Doab was a debatable land between the Dakkan and South India for centuries before. A change of dynasty did not and could not change this. Ed.]

38. Thus in Gurti Venkata Rao, op. cit., p. 264. Fer., has "Nagdes"
For the name of the ruler of Vijayanagar see note 43 below.

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Rājakonda who attacked the levies of Kanyā Nāyak from his fast-The main royal force met the allied army near Kaulas, defeated it and pursued it as far as the gates of Warangal. Kanyā Nayak was forced to pay one lac of hons and hand over twenty five elephants as indemnity of war.39

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But this was not the end of the Tilangānā affair. As has been previously mentioned Muhammad was a man of stern temperament and was greatly jealous of his dignity. Soon after the arrangement with the Rāya, i.e., in 763/-1362 he heard that some dealers in horses had been to Warangal, and although they had given out that certain special steed had been reserved for the Bahmanī Sultān, the restive Vināvak Dev had forced them to give them up for a low price. It is possible that the story of the reservation of horses for the Sultan was merely a concoction on the part of the dealers, but Muhammad was touched to the quick as he thought that his dignity had been wounded. Moreover it appears that Vinayak would not accept the arrangements recently made between his father and the Sultan and was for further adventures. Anyhow the Sultan made up his mind to avenge the slight he thought had been done to him. Vināyak was then at Pālampēt, and Muḥammad now sent some of his confidents dressed as merchants who pretended that their property had all been stolen and they were virtually beggars. In the wake of this advance party the king proceeded to Tilangana himself and there was a terrible hurry-scurry at Pālampēt when he arrived and the pseudo-merchants began to fight with hidden arms. Vināyak was arrested but when brought to the king he was desperate and intentionally used words which were highly insultive to him and Muhammad had him put to death.40 The Andhra popula-

^{9.} For Anapota see Venkataramnayya, Velugotivari Vamsacarita, app. 4. Anapôta see Venkataramnayya, Velugotivari vanta-Vijayanagar Ouled from 1344 or 1346 according to Venkataramnayya, Vijayanagar, Origin of City and Empire, and from 1357 to 1371 according to Dr. Rama Do. Dr. Rama Rao, Chronology of the Reddis of Kondavedu, Indian Oriental Conlerence, Trivandrum 1937, p. 734, ff. Anapōta had succeeded Prolaya Vema who had ruled from 1327 to 1353 according to Dr. Rama Rao. Kanyā Nāyak actually captured Warangal later; ibid., 118.

Warangal later; ibid., 118.

H. The Nizza a small town in the district and division of that name in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, 17°58' N., 79°37' E.

^{40.} Fer., I. 285-286. The name of the place used differently is "Filam-Petani, "Belampatam" and "Vellampatam" which is no doubt Palampet an Belampatam" and "Vellampatam" which is no doubt rarange town in the Mulag Taluqa of the Warangal district. This has been to be mixed to the Mulag Taluqa of the Warangal district. Tomehow mixed up with a coastal town, Velampallam in Cambridge History There is no evidence that the army of Muhammad reached the There is no evidence that the there is no evidence the there is no evidence that the there is no evidence the there is no evidence that the there is no evidence the the there is no evidence the there is no ev lever reached the Eastern coast. Palampet is still rich in ancient temples;

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tion was evidently greatly enraged against the Sultan and when he retraced his steps to the capital by way of Bidar he was harassed by the guerillas from tree tops and roofs of old buildings so that out of four thousand cavalry which had left Gulbarga barely one thousand five hundred reached the capital. Muhammad was himself wounded by a musket, ball⁴¹ and had to be carried in a palanquin to Kaulas where he met the forces sent by Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī which escorted him back to the capital.

Early next year, 764/-1363 news arrived from the secret service agents of the Deccan stationed at Delhi that the Raya of Tilangana had approached Sultān Fīrōz Tughluq requesting to ask "those in authority in Malwa and Gujerat" to attack the Deccan and promising to aid the invaders by his own armies as well as those of Vijayanagar.42 The Sultan now lost no time to invade Tilangana in full force and ordered his cousin Khān Muḥammad to collect the army of Daulatābād and bring it to "Qutlugh Khān's tank" situated in the Balaghat of Daulatabad, while Safdar Khan Sīstānī and A'zam-i Humayūn were also called to the capital. He gave over the charge of the administration to the Chief Minister, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, and on arriving at Kaulās sent A'zam-i Humāyūn with the armies of Bidar and Māhūr to Golconda. He ordered Şafdar Khān Sīstānī to go to Warangal with the army of Berar and marched right up to Warangal, the capital of Tilangana. Kanyā Nāyak was all the while expecting help from the Rāya of Vijayanagar, but it seems that there was some turmoil regarding the

see Memoirs of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, No. 6, by Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta, 1922. It is wrongly mentioned there that Palampet is forty miles North-west of Hanamkondā, the administrative headquarters of Warangal division, as the Mulag Taluqa where it is situated is to its North-east. Palampet (Palliampet on the Survey of India map 56 N/S.E.) is on 18°16' N., 79°51' E., and is about 50 miles north-east of Hanamkonda. A good metalled road has now been constructed from Mulag in continuation of the road from Hanamkondā. Palampet was once the headquarters of a province of the Warangal state according to Bur., 31.

41. Fer., I. 287.

42. Mālwā and Gujarāt were yet nominally dependent on Delhi, although the weak government of Firoz Tughluq allowed the governors a free hand. Guiarat did not declare it Malwa Gujarat did not declare its formal independence till 1396 and Malwa till 1406. It is possible that formal independence till 1396 and till 1406. It is possible that Vijayanagar also sent help to Tilangana and Vijayanagar forces marched as far as Kotta Konda; 1364, see Sewell and Ayyangar Historical Epigraphs of South India p. 203.

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succession to the throne of Vijayanagar⁴³ and as there was no hope of any help from that quarter he begged Bahādur Khān to solicit of any help from that quarter he begged Bahādur Khān to solicit with the king saying that what he had done in the past against the with the king saying that what he had done in the past against the Sultān was because he had been persuaded by the Rāya of Vijayanagar to take his side, and now he fell on the mercy of Muḥammad Shāh. He accepted all the conditions imposed upon him and had to give to the Sultān thirteen crores of Hōns, three hundred elephants, two hundred horses as well as "the town of Golconda with its dependencies." Golconda, now for the first time a part of the Sultānate of the Deccan, was put in charge of A'zam-i Humāyūn. The Sultān received the envoys bearing the indemnity at Bīdar with all the respect and honour due to them and loaded them with presents for the Raya. He fixed the international frontier between Tilangānā and the Sultānate at Golconda "for all times to come." It was on this occasion that the envoys surprised their royal host

43. There is a clear indication in Fer., I. 287 that "Dev Rāi" died about this time. We are told, however, that Bukka reigned up to 1378 or 1379, but we also know that there was some squabble over the throne of Vijayanagar, the parties being the first Rāya Harihara's two brothers Kampa and Bukka and after Kampa's death his son Samgama II. We find from a Nellore inscription that Kampa was Rāya at least till 1355 (Hultzsch, Epigraphia Indica, II. 1). There is another inscription at Nellore which alludes to Samgama as Raya on 3-5-1356. On the other hand we find that Bukka regards his reign to have commenced in 1343 and he died in 1379, i.e., a year after Muhammad I's death. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, London, 1900, p. 28 infers from these that the succession to Harihara was disputed and when Bukka got the upper hand he claimed to have succeeded Harihara immediately. What seems probable is that after Harihara's death in 1343 the throne was occupied by Kampa who reigned till 1355 and was succeeded by his son Samgama who died towards the end of 1362 or the beginning of 1363. It was only then that Bukka could ascend to 1363 as one could ascend the throne, but he regarded the period for 1343 to 1363 as one of usurpation of usurpation and ante-dated his rule to 1343. Ferishtā, therefore, probably alludes to Kampa's death when he says that "about this time (764/-1363) the Rays of Kampa's death when he says that "about this time (101) Rays of Vijayanagar died.". C.H.I., III, p. 378, does not mention Kampa and Saingama II. Sangama II at all. Dr. Venkataramnayya, Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī, (Indian History Congression) History Congress, Hyderabad-Dn. 1941) says that probably 764 H., in Newal Rishore edition kishore edition Ferishtä is a misprint for 774 H., which would place the peace between Tilangāna and the Deccan in Mujāhid's reign. But even the conundrum of the co the conundrum of the death of a ruler of Vijayanagar would not have solved as Bukka died somewhere between 26-12-1376 and 24-2-1377. I feel that the of the of the somewhere between 26-12-1376 and 24-2-1377. Mahur, now question is only possible if my surmise is accepted. Māhūr, now a market town in 'Adilābād district of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions 20°51' N., 78°56' E. 44. Fer., I. 287.

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with the present of the Turquoise throne which they had brought from Warangal packed in a large wooden box, so that no one knew of its contents before it was opened out and actually presented. The king arrived at Gulbarga just before the autumnal equinox and sat on the throne for the first time when the sun was supposed to pass from the constellation of Taurus to the constellation of Aries on 21-3-1363. There were great rejoicings lasting forty days when it is said that "all restraints of Law and Custom were given up" during that period.45

War with Vijayanagar.

As can well be imagined, the Sultan was not very happy over the conduct of the Raya of Vijayanagar, and now that accounts had been settled with Tilangana, he wanted to give his southern neighbour a lesson. It was perhaps in order to ascertain his attitude 46 as well as to test his political superiority that Muhammad had recourse to a cynical ruse which otherwise would be incomprehensible. What he did was to draw a formal cheque on the Vijayanagar treasury for the payment of the wages of about three hundred cawwals on musicians from Delhi who sang to music, among other compositions, the poems of Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Ḥasan The qawwals had probably come to attend the marriage of Prince Mujahid with Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī's daughter which was celebrated about this time.47 The cheques were sent to Vijayanagar forthwith but when the bearers of the cheque arrived at the capital of the southern kingdom, Bukka, who was now sceure on the Vijayanagar throne, made capital of the occasion by making them ride an ass in the streets of Vijayanagar. He was greatly incensed by the insult offered to him and immediately started to conquer the Bahmani kingdom with eighty thousand cavalry, nine lacs of infantry and three thousand elephants, making Adoni his headquarters. Bahmanī armies of Berar and Bīdar had gone through an arduous

46. Gurti Venkata Rao, op. cit., p. 266.

^{45.} Fer., I. 288. This can only be an exaggeration of the usual pattern on Ferishta's part. If all restraint of law and custom were given up, surely Government and Society when the time Government and Society would have crumbled to dust, and that at the time of a disciplinarian of Mulh of a disciplinarian of Muhammad Shah's calibre! This method of expression is often used by Forishta is often used by Ferishtä.

^{47.} Fer., I. 288. Ferishtä quotes Mulla Dawud Bidrī the author of their Tuhfatu's-Salātīn who says that he was present at the marriage and was then 12.

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campaign in Tilangana recently, so the Sultan allowed them some respite and ordered Khāṇ Muḥammad to go'south with the army of Daulatabad. Before starting himself he sent Prince Mujahid with a fifth part of the booty from Palampet to his preceptor Shaikh Siraju'd-dīn Junaidī requesting him to distribute it among the Syeds, the pious and the poor at his own discretion and begged him to pray for the success of the campaign he was now to undertake. In the meantime the Raya had crossed the Tungabhadra captured Mudgal which had been garrisoned by barely eight thousand soldiers, putting to the sword men, women and children who came in his way. It is related that out of eight thousand only one person was able to fly to Gulbarga to tell the sorry tale.48

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The Sultan was much perturbed at the report, and after formally proclaiming his son Mujāhid heir to the throne and giving Malik Saifu'd-din Ghōrī "full powers over the country and the treasury" crossed the Krishnā. The very appearance of the Sultan at Mudgal was enough to put the Vijayanagar army to flight and the Sultan entered Mudgal triumphantly. It is related by Ferishta that he killed seventy thousand of the enemy, and he adds quoting Tuhfatu's-Salātīn, that he captured two thousand elephants, three hundred gun carriages, and seven hundred Arab steeds and one be-jewelled throne—all this besides the booty which fell to the nobles, 49

The Sultan spent the rainy season there after which he moved southwards with a large army and crossing the Tungabhadra entered the territory of Vijayanagar. This campaign is remarkable as it was the first time cannon and fire-arms were freely used by the Bahmanis. The artillery was evidently in charge of "Turks

^{48.} Fer., I. 289. This method of recounting hardships at the hands of an enemy is often met with in chronicles.

Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī; came to the Deccan in the time of the first Bahmanī who acknowledged him as his religious preceptor. It was he who girded the sword of state to Muhammad I and his successor Died at Gulbarga in 70% of state to Muhammad I and his successor Died at Gulbarga in 781/-1380 and was buried there. His tomb, a landmark of Gulbargā, is known as Mazār-i-Shaikh.

Mudgal, now headquarters of a Taluqa in Raichur district, H.E.H. the Mizam's Dominions; 16°1' N., 76°26' E.

^{49.} Fer., I. 290. This seems another exaggeration on Ferishta's part as the Vijayanagris had captured Mudgal only a few weeks before and it is difficult to believe that captured Mudgal only a few weeks before in a precarious cult to believe that they had accumulated all these riches in a precarious fortress in such a short interval.

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and Franks" this being the first time when mention is made of Europeans serving on Indian soil and the whole department was placed under Muqarrah Khān, son of Ṣafdar Khān Sīstani. Bukka hearing of this movement, gathered together practically all the fighting forces of his kingdom, and placing his maternal nephew in charge of the fort of Adoni came out himself to give battle to the Muslims. He appointed Bhōjmal Rāi commander-in-chief of his forces which amounted to forty thousand cavalry and five lacs of foot-men. This officer was so sanguine of his success as to ask his master whether he should bring the Sultan or dead, whereon he got the formal permission of the Raya to kill him if need be and bring his body to the foot of the Vijayanagar throne! Muhammad crossed the Tungabhadra near the present town of Siruguppa with fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, out of which he ordered Khān Muhammad to advance forward with ten thousand cavalry, thirty thousand infantry and the whole of artillery when the opposing forces were barely 12 kroh from one another. The battle was engaged somewhere near the village of Kowtalam on 14-11-767/20-7-1366. The centre of the Bahmanī army was led by Khān Muhammad, the right flank by Mūsā Khān Afghān and the left by 'Īsā Khān Afghān. The two flanks were in great danger when both these commanders were killed by musket balls and it seemed that the Muslim army would soon be routed. Muhammad Shāh, however, appeared with three thousand cavalry at the nick of time. The tables were now turned The two forces came to close grips and there was a terrible hand to hand fight, when Khān Muḥammad's elephant, Shēr-i Shikār, advanced into the enemy lines killing the commander-in-chief, Bhōjmal Rāi outright. The battle ended in a defeat of the Vijayanagarīs.50

After spending a week at Adoni mopping up the remnant of the Vijayanagarīs, the Sultān marched to the city of Vijayanagar

Siruguppa, a market town in Bellary district, Madras Province, 16°54' N. 77°38' E.

Kautalam, a few miles from the above, in the midst of a plain; 16°9' N.: 77°4' E.

Krōh or kös, a measure of length of 3,000 miles; 5 K=8 miles.

^{50.} Fer., I. 290-291. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 37, says that Bhōjmal Rāi's real name was Mallinātha and supports, this by Rice's recension of certain inscriptions of 1355-1357.

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itself. The Raya now had recourse to guerilla warfare in which the Deccanis had been a failure in the last Tilangana campaign, while effectively defending his capital in full force. The Sultan was so hard pressed that he preferred to retreat rather than follow up a campaign which might end disastrously. He was, however, afraid of the consequences which the acceptance of defeat might create on the army, so he feigned illness and inability to lead the forces. The retreating Muslims were hotly pursued by the Rāya's forces the guerillas sometimes actually entering the mobile columns and cutting them to pieces. But when the Sultan was in his own land after crossing the Tungabhadra, he ordered the army to stop and attack the Raya's camp in full force where he was engaged in music, dancing and drinking. In an instant, it is said, the Hindu camp was full of cries of Allahu Akbar and the Raya had to retreat not stopping till his capital was reached.51

Bukka now called together the chiefs of his kingdom and took counsel from them. They were unanimous that just as his predecessor was on friendly terms with Bahman Shāh so it would be far better if he were to have friendly relations with the present Sultān. Envoys were, therefore, sent to the Sultān's camp requesting for peace and appealing for brotherly relations between the two neighbouring states. On hearing this the Sultan smiled and said that he did not wish more than that the salary of the Delhi musicians should be paid from the Vijayanagar treasury and the draft which he had signed should be duly honoured!⁵² The musicians also had something to say to this, and after begging the Sultan's pardon they suggested that the massacres committed by the Sultan were entirely against all the precepts of Islām as many women and children dren were also put to death by those who called themselves votaries of that sublime faith, and this was not allowed—far less enjoined by Islam. The king was greatly touched by this appeal and ordered that. dered that in any future campaign engaged on behalf of the Bahmanis only the actual combatants should be put to death and no prisoner of war should ever be molested.53

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^{51.} All this in Fer., I. 291.

^{52.} It is remarkable that except for the booty captured the Sultan did not exact any indemnity at all. He had in fact achieved what he had wanted and Vijayanagar was now regarded by him as a tributary state.

Bahrām Khān's Rebellion.

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Immediately after this campaign, Muhammad had to face the rebellion of Bahrām Khān Māzendrānī, governor of Daulatābad As has been noted above practically all the army of Daulatābād was away on Vijayanagar campaign, and seeing his chance, Bahram Khān, who "had been like a son to 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh" conspired with the Mahratta Kumbh Dev and certain other chieftains of Berar and Baglana and taking possession of bute of the Mahratta province rose against the The Sultan was at Vijayanagar and when he heard the news he immediately sent Syed Jalal Hamud and Shah Malik to Daulatābād admonishing the recalcitant amīr to desist from his malefactory acts. But this was of no avail. When the two envoys returned to Gulbarga the Sultan had just been back, and without taking any rest he set off for the north-west within the week, sending Musnad-i 'Alī Khān Muhammad in advance. Bahrām Khān advanced, as far as Paṭan, and it seems that when the two armies were face to face, some of the royal troops changed sides with the result that Khan Muhammad had to beat a retreat to Sheogāon.54 The king, who was then at Bīr, hurried towards Paṭan. When he was four krōhs from there the Rāja of Bāglānā took to flight while Bahrām Khān retreated to Daulatābād. The fortress was, however, beleaguered by the royal troops, and it was only in the darkness of the night that he and Kumbh Dev stole out and went straight to Hadrat Shaikh Zainu'd-din who advised them to fly to Gujarat at once.55

The king was much annoyed as before the culprits could be caught they had already crossed the Gujarat frontier and remem-

^{54.} Fer., I. 293, says that Bahrām Khāṇ bribed some of Khāṇ Muhammad's soldiers.

Patan or Paithan on the Godavari, once the capital of Western Chalukyas now headquarters of a taluqa in Aurangabad district, H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, on the Bendsara river; 18°59' N., 75°46' E.

Sheogaon, 13 miles from Bir.

^{55.} Fer., I. 294. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 494, says that it was a result of this rebellion that it was as a result of this rebellion that the principality of Khandesh was founded by Malik Raja, but I have not be Malik Raja, but I have not been able to verify this statement.

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hered that it was Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn56 who had absented himself from attending the court when all the holy men had been called to pay homage to the king when he had ascended the throne. Shaikh had then made his excuse by saying that as the Sultan indulged in wine and other things forbidden by the Law it was impossible for him to accept such a person as his sovereign, and had further admonished that it was necessary for a Muslim king to act according to the example of the Apostle of Islām. The king now insisted that the Shaikh should pay homage to him either in person or in writing. On receiving this message the Shaikh related the story of a Syed, a learned man and a sinner who were captured by idolators sand ordered to make obeisance before an idol as otherwise they would be beheaded. The Syed and the learned man duly made obeisance while slowly reciting the "Verse of Laudation" from the Qur'an,⁵⁷ while the sinner said that his collegues were pious men he himself had nothing to show God and preferred rather to be beheaded than bow before inanimate objects. The Shaikh remarked that while others were like the first two, he was like the sinner and preferred to suffer rather than present himself before a Sultan like Muḥammad Shāh. The Sultan thereupon ordered his immediate withdrawal from the city of Daulatābād, on which he put his praying mattress on his shoulders, retired to Shaikh Bahāu'din's tomb⁵³ and sitting at the foot of the grave challenged if there was any one who could remove him from that place. The Sultan now saw that he had to face a person of an extraordinary character and sent Sadaru'sh Sharif with a message of goodwill to him. The Shaikh replied that if the Sultan left off drinking at least in others'

^{56.} Shaikh Zainu'd-din Dāwūd, born at Shirāz in Persia in 701/-1302 and arrived at Daulatābād when the capital of India was shifted there from Delhi 1327 in 1327. One of the greatest and most outspoken saints of the Deccan. Nasīr Khān Faruqi named Zainābād in Khandesh after him. Died on 25-3-771/12-10-1369 and was buried at Khuldabad.

Bur., 33 gives a different version and says that when Baḥrām Khān betook himself to Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn the saint advised him to beg the Sultān's pardon. The Sultan actually pardoned him but ordered him to quit the kingdom.

^{57. &}quot;Verse of Laudation," Qur'an, XXI, 87.

He said: "There is no god save Thee. Be thou Glorified. I have been wrong-doer," "There is no god save Thee. Be thou Glorified. I have been Thus We save half

^{58.} Hadrat Shaikh Burhānu'd-din Gharīb, a great Deccan saint, preceptor of Shaikh Zainu'd-din. Burhānu'd-din Gharīb, a great Deccan saint, part Daulatābād III. Born at Hānsī near Delhi, died on 11-2-738/14-9-1377 at Daulatābād. His tomb is still a place of pilgrimage,

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presence, closed all the wine shops of the kingdom, acted as his late father had acted all his life and issued orders to all the officers to act according to the precepts of morality as laid down by Islām, "he would find no one as great a friend as that faqīr, Zainu'd-dīn." The Sultān accepted all these pleas and the two became consoled after all. Leaving Musnad-i 'Ālī in charge of Mahārāshṭra the king now left for Gulbargā. 59

Last Years.

The rest of the Sultān's life was spent in peace and plenty. Bukka and Vināyak Dēo continued to pay tribute and the whole realm was quiet especially after the stern suppression of the robbers. The Sultān made up his mind not to proceed on any more campaigns and went on strengthening his hold on his own kingdom instead. Henceforward he used to tour round the provinces every year and Ferishtā says that towards the end of the reign everyone in the kingdom was happy and prosperous.

The Sultan died on 19-11-776/20-4-1375.60 He lies buried a short distance from the tomb of his renowned father in a comparatively lovely mausoleum, built on a platform barely 26 ft. sq.61 It is mentioned that a Quranic verse was inscribed on his grave62 but no trace of this is seen to-day.

Muhammad's Character.

Muhammad was one of the greatest rulers of the Bahmani dynasty. His father had no time to put the institutions of the kingdom on a sound basis and it was left to him to make the state perfect so far as administrative institutions were concerned. By his

59. Fer., I. 294.

61. Hyd. Arch. Dept. Rep. 1375 F., p. 2.
62. Fer., I. 295. "Thou soul in peace, return into the Lord, content in His good pleasure," Qur'an, LXXXIX, 27, 28.

^{60.} Muhammad reigned according to Bur., 31, for 17 years, or 18 years and 7 months; Tab., is obviously wrong with 13 years. Rafiu'd-din Shirais Tazkkiratu'l-Mulūk, Mss. Asafiyah, 1081, fol. 8a and Amīn Ahmad Razi's. Haft Iqtim, Mss. Asafiyah, Tarikh, 2341, fol. 16 b, agree with 18 years and 7 months, while 'Abdu'l-lah el-Makki' Zafaru'l-Wālih I, 159, puts down 19 years and 7 months as the duration of the reign. Fer., says he died on 9-11-776/20-4-1375 thus making the duration 17 years, 8 months and 9 days, which comes midway between Bur.'s two periods and may be taken to be correct. Rafiu'dīn is obviously wrong with 370 H., as the date of his death.

MUHAMMAD I, ORGANISER OF BAHMANI KINGDOM 197

campaign in the East and the South he finally demonstrated to his neighbours the power that was the new Sultanate and suppressed with an iron hand the only rebellion of his reign, that of Bahram Khān Māzendrānī. His strategical worth is to be seen in his campaign against Vijayanagar where he not only used the new firearms to his advantage but also routed the enemy which was far superior to him in numbers. In his own court he knew no distinctions and even made his father-in-law, the chief minister Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghōrī, stand at the foot of the throne. Shaikh Zainu'd-Din's episode, however, shows how a king of those days, and that of the calibre of Muhammad I had to bow before the force of superior character, and how he could forsake the evil when called upon to do so. He had a leaning towards acting according to the superior direction of the divines and always counted the prayers of Shaikh Sirāju'd-Dīn Junaidī whenever he set out on a campaign.63 When a prince he had been taught the gentlemanly arts of archery and fencing, and although prone to drink, there is nothing known against him so far as private morality is concerned. When he died he was at peace with Tilangana, with Vijayanagar, with his subjects both Hindu and Muslim and with his God. It is said that he treated his soldier and the civilian, officer and subject with kindness and concern.64 He always sought the company of the learned65 and it was due to this that men like Shaikhu'b Mashāikh. Zainu'd-Dīn Daulatābādī, 'Ainu'd-Dīn Bījāpurī, Maulānā Nizāmu'd-Dīn Baranī, Hakīm Zahīru'd-Dīn Tabrīzi crowded his capital and made the Deccan "the centre of the learned and the envy of all parts of India."66

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^{63.} Mufarrihu'l-Qulūb, quoted in 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, op. cit.

^{64.} Rafi'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, op. cit., fol. 8 (a).

^{66. &#}x27;Abdu'l-Jabbār, op. cit., 282.

Shaikh 'Ainu'd-dīn Bījāpurī, born at Naujū near Delhi in 706/-1307, moved Delhi to Dala Bījāpurī, born at Naujū near Delhi in 773/1372. hom Delhi to Dulatābād and thence to Bijāpūr where he arrived in 773/1372. Author of a number of works among which is Mulhiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī

which is unfortured of works among which is Mulhiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī

"multiple of works among which is Mulhiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī

"multiple of works among which is Mulhiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī which is unfortunately not available now. Surnamed Ganju'l-Ulum or the surnamed of Knowledge of Treasury of Knowledge." Died at an advanced age on 27-6-795/10-5-1393. liis tomb at Bījāpūr was built by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ.
The Shandar was built by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ.

The Short sketches of the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the lives of the saints were taken from "Abdu'l-har, Tazkira in the lives of the l Jabbar, Tazkira-i Auliyā-i Dakan, 2 Vols., Hyderabad, 1331-1332, H.

A Historical Outline of Akbar's Dar-ul-Khlafat, Fathpur Sikri

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By.

S. K. Banerji, Reader, Lucknow University.

Among the abandoned and deserted towns of Mediaeval India none gives a more accurate picture of its founder and his times than Fathpur Sikri. At the end of 1561, while hunting in its neighbourhood, Akbar's attention was drawn by the chorus songs of the disciples of the Chishti saints and immediately after, he visited Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti's tomb at Ajmer (January 1562) and on his return journey married Raja Bhāra Mal of Jaipur's daughter at Sambhar. Akbar had continued to reside at Agra for the next nine years, though the death of his twin sons born late in 1564 made him believe that the fortress city was haunted by the spirits who had stolen his children and think of a change of residence and so when he was next reported that his Jaipur queen was expected to give birth to a child, he came into touch with the presiding saint of the neighbouring Sikri through the mediation of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari and Hakim Ain-ul-mulk and placed her under his shelter.

Shaikh Salim Chishti, the Shaikh-ul-Islam, had been leading a peaceful and secluded life in the hills of Sikri. Being the sixth descendant from Shaikh Fariduddin Masur Ganj-i-shakar and already an old man of ninety, he had made twenty-three pilgrimages to Macca and Madina, where he was generally known as the Shaikh of Hind, travelled widely and in his travels had stopped at Basra for several years.

^{1.} See Monserrate's Commentary p: 36: The words of the Akbarnania (A:N:) on p: 503 are 'the general suspicion referred their (of the children) loss to local circumstances and expressed itself in various stories:'

His knowledge of Arabic helped him in his piety and his sufistic utterances gathered his admirers from all quarters.² On return to India he chose for his residence the hilly wilderness of Sikri infested, as it was, by wild beasts like the tiger, lion and hyena. Since it was situated only twenty-three miles from Agra, Akbar heard of his fame, and now through the two nobles mentioned above made overtures for giving shelter to his queen in her delicate condition. The arrangement was agreed to and the child, named Salim³ after the saint, was born in a house now called Rang mahal on August 30,1569 and both the mother and the infant continued to live with the saint.4 Out of gratitude to the Almighty and to the Fathpuri saint's ancestor, the Khwaja Saheb of Ajmer, he undertook a journey on foot travelling each day fourteen miles or so and reached there on the anniversary day (urs) of the Khwaja in February, 1570. When three months later in June, 1570, another son named Murad was born at Fathpur to one of Akbar's concubines, Akbar's joy knew no bounds, his visits to Sikri became more frequent and since he had no residence of his own he usually stayed with the saint.5 In 1571 his attachment to the saint and his grandfather's association with the place6 led him to plan the foundation of a new imperial city and make it his dar-ul-khilafat.

Fortunately for him excellent red sandstones and other building materials were available in plenty⁷ and labour was extraordi-

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^{2.} We have attached no importance to V. Smith's interpretation of one of Monserrate's passage in the sense that the Shaikh was addicted to the unnatural vice:

^{3.} According to the Tuzuk-i-jahangiri, p. 2, Akbar used to address his child as Shaikhu Baba for he probably thought that to call his child by

his name would be disrespectful to the saint. 4. The local guides, who are mostly the descendants of the saint, point at a small tomb of the cemetry at the back of the Jami masjid to be that of the saint's youngest son, Bale Mian, whose death ensured a long life to the prince:

^{5.} See A:N: p: 530:

^{6:} Babur had defeated Rana Sanga near the village and in his Baburahad again. other buildings: Also being twenty-three miles nearer to Mewat and Rajputana, the two storm centres of North India, he wished to be near the scene

^{7.} Their cheapness may be understood from the prices given in the Ain.i.Akbari (A.A.) Vol. I. p. 223; red standstones 3 dams per man, brick specials, 30d; pap 41. lst class, 30d: per thousand, lime 2d: per man; enamelled tiles 30d: for 10; pouls 2d. for 3. spouls 2d. for 3; simgil (silver clay) 1d. per man; one glass pane for 4d:

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narily cheap.⁸ The first building the stone-cutters' mosque, was built long before Akbar felt interested in the locality or even was born. The date assigned by a manuscript written by Shaikh Zakiuddin, a descendant of the saint—1538-39—may indicate the saint's early popularity with the inhabitants of the place, many of whom followed the main profession of the village, viz., of stone cutting. Near by were his cave and the open platform where he used to seat himself for his less formal discourses.

This small mosque, with hardly any decoration except in the mihrāb and serpentine brackets, is an expression of the regard of the inhabitants of the locality—mostly Hindus in the sixteenth century—for their pious neighbour. Then the Shaikh went on a long travel returning in 1562-3 when he laid the foundation of a large khānqāh or monastery in 1563-49 and five years later the Emperor hastily built the Rang Mahal for his queen. Now after prince Salim's birth when Akbar felt the yearning of more frequent visits to the saint, he ordered the construction of a royal palace on the elevated ridge, and the repair of the Shaikh's old monastery and the building of a new and lastly the construction of the spacious Jami Masjid. 11

The two monasteries have disappeared but the mosque still exists in all its perfection proclaiming the piety and resources of its royal founder. It is one of the largest mosques in the east measuring 542' x 438' and supposed to have been a copy of the chief mosque at Macca, 12 though representing many Hindu features.

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a tile maker for 100 moulds	ja:
a well-digger per gaz	20.
- water-carrier per day	sa.
ee Bad: p: 73:	1hi

9. See Bad: p: 73:
10. The inferiority of Akbar's Rang mahal to Shah Jahan's in Delhi fort is explained by the little

fort is explained by the little time at the former's disposal:

11. See Bad: pp: 112: Khānqāh here means a monastery and not a chapel
as Lowe has taken it to be:..There is no sense in having three worshipping
houses:

12. One of the inscriptions on the building calls it 'the second chief mosque of Macca:'

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tures of architecture. It bears the date 1571-2 but the construction of such a stupendous work must have continued for some time more and we would in accordance with Badauni's statement assign the date of completion to 1574.13 Since the saint died in the year of its foundation, he could offer his prayers in the masjid or supervise its construction only for a few months.14

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It was Akbar's misfortune that almost immediately after his decision to settle down at Fathpur,15 the Shaikh died in February 157216 and Akbar was left to commemorate the loss of his beloved saint by the construction of an elegant mausoleum which, though small is counted among the exquisite illustrations of the Mughal tomb -architecture in India.

Akbar had almost simultaneously started work in different localities of which the Jami masjid and the mausoleum formed only two items. He built at the same time his own Khwabgah and some of his ladies' apartments. Birbal's house, whether built for Akbar's favourite or his daughter17 bears the Samvat 1629 (1572 A.D.) showing that it is also to be counted among the early buildings.

The waterworks and one or more hammams must have been some of the other buildings taken early in hand. In fact as Akbar had transferred his dar-ul-khilafat to his new city, the whole ministry and secretariat must have been transferred also, so all the buildings connected with the administration including the Diwan-i-am, the Diwan-i-khas, the treasury, and even the Naqqar-khana must be counted among those built immediately after Akbar's settlement at his new capital. 18

All the reasons for the transfer of the capital have not been enumerated. The desire for a closer contact with the saint and

^{13.} See Bad. p. 112 The date 979 A.H. (1571-2) given in the inscription Is the date of its foundation:

^{14.} The inscription says he built the mosque:

^{15.} The king had given the name of Fathibad but the people preferred call it Fathers. See A:N: to call it Fathpur and by the latter name it is generally known: See A:N: Vol. III 531 and the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 2.

^{16.} See Bad: p: 140: A: Fazl states on p: 54 in his A:N: (tr) that Shaikh came to Total A: Fazl states on p: 54 in his A:N: (tr) that Shaikh Salim came to receive Akbar on his way to Fathpur in 1573. This cannot be true for the Shall. be true for the Shaikh had died in 1572 two years before this date: It must be the Shaikh's successor, Shaikh Badruddin:

^{17.} The topic will be discussed in its proper place:

18. Bahandar will be discussed in its proper place: 18. Bahāuddin, one of the overseers of Akbar's buildings at his new capidled in Jahana: tal, died in Jahangir's reign and lies busied near the Tehra Darwaza:

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the king's anxiety to abandon the inauspicious fortress-palace at Agra have already been alluded to. But there was another weigh tier reason. At Agra he was surrounded by the old nobility and orthodox maulavis steeped in the old narrow prejudices, who, he feared would not willingly co-operate in his far reaching reforms. So like Muhammad Tughluq he intended to inaugurate a new administrative and religious system based on entirely new lines by the removal of his dar-ul-khilafat to more congenial surroundings where attended by his supporters and admirers he would launch his reforms. That the residents of Fathpur were in agreement with the Emperor's policies and measures might be concluded from the joyful welcome Akbar received at their hands whenever he returned to the capital from abroad. 19 A. Fazl quotes 20 the couplets with which his brother, the poet-laureate, welcomed the Emperor on his return from the Punjab after crushing a rebellion in Mirza Muhammad Hakim's favour after an absence of ten months (December, 1581).

> A breeze of joy comes from Fathpur For my king returns from a long journey; What bliss is advent, for from every heart Thousands of rejoicings come forth. O Fazi, glorious be his arrival to a world For a world comes to his presence.

When he settled down in his new head-quarters, he introduced his famed triple reforms of land settlement, branding regulations and Mansabdārī system²¹ and appointed Muzaffar Khan Turbati, the erstwhile diwan of Bairam Khan, the Vakil of the empire with the title of Jumlat-ul-mulk. The main object of the land revenue reforms was to increase the area of the khālsa land and lessen the jagirs of the nobles whose only official duty consisted in supplying a certain fixed number of troops on demand. These reforms first introduced in 1573 after the conquest of Gujrat were regularized and applied to the other provinces also, after Daud's defeat at the battle of Patna. Not only were the branding regulations made more stringent and the roster of the watches of the palace guards rearranged and a Mir-i-arz appointed as a permanent member of

^{19.} See, for instance A:N: Vol: III p:p: 91-92, 157:

^{20.} Ibid p-549:

^{21.} See 'A: N: Vol: III pp: 91 and 95:

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made guards ber of the royal household but also a central record office was located at Fathpur opposite the Khwabgah and an experiment initiated to divide his empire into small fiscal units each yeilding one crore of dams and place them under the fiscal officers called Karories. Every piece of land was to be surveyed and measured with bamboo rods fitted with iron rings in place of the former and less satisfactory tanābs or ropes. It is said that the survey commenced at once with a village in the neighbourhood of the new capital. What distinguished Akbar from the other rulers was his promulgation of definite administrative laws and their strict applivation. When he proved successful in his reforms, he turned to religion. By nature he was pensive and pious and from the year 1562 had now and then visited the shrine of the Khwaja Saheb at Aimer usually finishing the last stage of the journey on foot. except in 1570 when after prince Salim's birth he covered the whole distance, 220 miles, on foot. Though illiterate, his inquisitive nature brought him into contact with the Muslims of different sects and also with the Sufis; but instead of offering any consolation they only added to his perplexities. So he formed the novel plan of building a religious debating hall in 1575, called it Ibadat khana,22 admitted at first only the Muslims but later extended the privileges to the followers of all religions. But the discussion led to no tangible result so far as the king was concerned. He next tried to carry out the duties of the Imam23 and read his own khutba. On one occasion in june, 1579, he read Faizi's²⁴ verses

In the name of Him who granted sovereignty, Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm, Who guided us in equity and justice, Who put away from our heart aught but equity; His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts, Exalted be His majesty, Allahu Akbar!

According to Badauni, the Emperor faltered in the middle, came down from the pulpit and the rest of the verses were read

^{22.} See A.N. p. 157 and Bad. p. 200. Since it was built near the palace. located near the Jami masiid: It cannot be traced now and must be con23. One of the duties.

^{23.} One of the duties of the early Khalif as leader of the Muslims was
24. Faizi's full name was Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi Faiyazi.

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by the Imam of the mosque, Hafiz Muhammad Amin. There was also some commotion among the people at the introduction of the innovation, so Akbar gave it up.25 Three months later he thought of another still bolder plan. At Shaikh Mubarak's suggestion, he obtained a mahzar26 signed by the chief divines of the empire which granted to the Emperor superiority over the divines and made him the dictator in religious masters. It is evident that at Agra, in the surroundings of the orthodox maulavis, this assumption might not have been feasible. But at Fathpur amidst the sympathetic Chishtiwals and his favourities and encouraged by his Shia mother and Hindu wives, he was tempted to make the experiment. In the meantime he had reorganized the record office and the mint department. The Imperial records were located in the Daftar-khana opposite the royal Khwabgah in 1575 and two years later the regulations were issued about the coins. Formerly the practice had been to entrust the numerous mints scattered all over the country to the Hindu Chaudharies of inferior rank. Now a central mint master was appointed to control the department and besides Fathpur, five provincial mints were recognized for the gold coinage? and a few others for silver and copper money. Akbar's coins are noted for their purity of metal and artistic execution under the guidance of the eminent painter and calligraphist, Khwaja Abdus Samed, Shirin Qalam, the artist renowned from Humayun's time. Some of the legends, in the Nastaliq characters, have not been repeated by Akbar's successors. They are in verse, composed by Faizi and one of them as translated by Blochmann is

'It is the sun, from which the seven oceans get their pearls, The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre. The mines get their gold from his fostering glance, And their gold is enriched by Akbar's stamp'.

There are similar praises of the sun on the reverse also. The coin, called the Shansah weighed 91 and two-third tolas or weighing more than a seer. Another coin called the Rahas, weighing half of the Shansah, read.

^{25.} See A:N: III, 396 and Bad: II, 277:

^{26.} A document attested by witnesses:
27. Later on reduced to four: This is how V: Smith reconciles the state ment in A:N: pp: 320-1 and that of A:A: I on p: 31:

"This current coin of the imperial treasure Accompanies the star of good fortune. O sun foster it, because for all ages It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp."28

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There were other coins, the Atmah and the Binsat weighing 23 and 18 tolas respectively.29 All these appear to be special coins not meant for circulation but for gifts on special occasions. ordinary coins were of three types; first those that bore the Hijri year, the Muslim formula and the name of the four early Khalifas. The last dates which appear on the gold or silver ones are those of 1,000 A.H. (1594-5 A.D.) This should partly refute V. Smith's contention that after 1582 Akbar had ceased to be a believer in Islam;30 secondly those in gold or silver, that bore the Ilahi year, the old Persian month and the regnal year, and were first issued in 1584 and continued till the end of the reign. Some of them had also Akbar's new formula 'God is great' and 'exalted be His glory'. These coins are of various shapes, round, square, rectangular or with variations of the rectangle; thirdly the copper coins which mentioned the Hijri or the Ilahi year and the mint place.31

Our attention has been drawn to the industrial activities of the state workshops at Fathpur and other provincial towns.32

The articles produced in the new capital were sold in the royal bazaar situated near the Naqqār-khana under the protection of the Police of the Mugal soldiers of course the bazaar was full of all kinds of articles, industrial, agricultural, fruits and living stock and most of the latter were brought by the farmers of the district. An exhaustive list of the different articles with their prices have

^{28.} The regard for the sun and fire is a characteristic feature in Akbar's character: See A:A: I 48 for its explanation:

^{29:} See A:A: 1, 27-9:

^{30.} See Vincent Smith's Akbar pp: 348-and 351:

coins as Hazrat Delhi, Agra, Fathpur, Ahmadabad, Lahore; Qanauj; Jaunpur; Dogam and even Lucknow are put down as dār-ul-khilāfat or dār-ul-saltanat:

Of course Akbar mostly resided till 1585 in Fathpur: 32. A:A: Vol: I: 88 specially mentions Lahore, Agra, Ahmadabad and Gujarat and the whole province of Kashmir:

been given by A. Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari.33 There were fruit and flower gardens and the flowers probably helped to produce perfumes. A. Fazl notes that as a result of the large outturn of the royal workshops, the prices had come down by 66 and two-third or even 75 per cent. The settled condition of the country and the improvements in the communications led to an increase in trade between the provinces of the country and also between India and outside countries so that at the new capital brocades (country made and foreign) were obtained from 3 to 157 Mohurs per piece,

Velvet (country made and foreign) were obtained

from Rs. 1 to 7 Mohars per yard.

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Satin (From Europe or Herat) were obtained

from Rs. 2 to 2 Mohars per piece.

Cotton cloths were obtained from Rs. 1/2 to 15 Mohars per piece. Counterpanes were obtained from Rs. 1 to 20 Mohars per piece. Woollen stuff were obtained from Rs. ½ to 4 Mohars per piece

One may also note that Fathpur was famous for its carpet weaving.

For the convenience of the merchants and traders, a state caravansarai was provided near the lake and during those years that Fathpur had functioned as the dar-ul-khilafat it had so outgrown its original boundaries that if one is to believe Ralph Fitch, an eye-

33. A few articles with their prices may be indicated here for illustration:

Wheat per man 12 dam: Rice per man from 20 to 110 dam: Millet per man 6 dam:

Onion per man 6 dam:

Parwal per seer 2 dam:

Cabbage per seer 1 dam:

Mutton per man 65 dam:

Ghee per man 105 dam: Oil per man 80 dam:

Melons per man Rs: 3/4 to Rs: 21/2:

Grapes per man 108 dam:

Apples 5 to 10 for Rs.1.

Mangoes per hundred upto 40 dam:

Custard apple one for 1 dam.

Milk per man 25 dam:

Brown sugar per man 56 dam:

40 dams made a rupee:....

witness,³⁴ the whole way from Fathpur to Agra was laid with houses and there were so many men on the highway that one never felt that he had left the city behind.

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The city was some 6 or 7 miles in circumference and was enclosed with red sandstone walls, 32′ high and 11′ thick at the top on the north, east and south and on the west was a hilly ridge which was utilized to complete the circumvallation. The royal palaces, courts, ladies' apartments and the Jami masjid were placed on an elevation and between it and the hills on the west lay an artificial lake two miles broad and six miles long fed with the help of sluice gates by a small rivulet, Banganga, through an embankment that connected the village of Nagar with the hills in the west. The lake besides moderating the heat of the summer, supplied water to the inhabitants in its vicinity and afforded the pleasure of angling, rowing and enjoyment of a peaceful scene to the inmates of the royal palaces.

Near the lake and the adjacent deer park was erected a stone pillar 70' in height standing on a high platform and known as the Hiran minar, supposed to indicate the burial of the royal elephants; whose tusks are indicated by the stone imitations on the walls of the pillar. Edmund Smith points out its similarity to the pillar in the courtyard of *Imām* Husain at *Karbala* the only difference being that instead of the tusks there are tiles on the latter. It served as a pleasure resort for the numerous fair residents of the royal palace and a raised viaduct joined it to Jodh Bai's palace for their convenience.

With Akbar the greatest problem was the supply of water to the fast growing population. He had recourse to several devices; the locality in the vicinity of the lake was supplied with water from the lake, those residing in the palaces higher up were supplied with well-water raised with the help of the Persian wheels, in other quarters, e.g., near the Jami masjid, rain water was stored water proved too great for all Akbar's ingenuity. Not only did water for themselves but also their stone-walled houses needed

^{34.} See Foster's early travels pp: 17-18:

14. The embankment had given way once in 1582 causing some loss in property: See A:N: Vol: III, pp: 578-9:

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watering to lower the unbearable heat of the summer. Also, the lake, the royal orchards and gardens made heavy demands, and in summer the small rivulet, shrivelled to a tiny drain, was unable to meet all these demands with the result that there was great scarcity of water36 and the distress of the people was intensified by the prevalence of epidemics37 when the water in the lake either. dried up or became unfit for human use. So after a manful strue. gle for fourteen years against his insoluble difficulties, he at last decided to abandon the site and made an excuse of the campaigns that were being wgaed in Kashmir, Swat and Bajaur land against the Yusufzai Afghans. Also he feared that Abdullah Khan Uzber the successful ruler of C. Asia, intended to make a swoop on the north-western provinces of his empire.38 So he left Fathpur in August, 1585, never to return except for a brief halt. In accordance with the mediaeval custom, the emperor took most of his relations and dependants with him. For some time it was hoped that he would return to his flourishing dar-ul-khilafat but when after three years he still persisted in his stay in the Punjab, his mother, Hamida Banu, whose only issue he was, got impatient and all alone repaired to Fathpur.

Once only did Akbar repair to the deserted town and utilized the occasion to build the high Baland darwaza and record, by an inscription, his conquest of Khandesh renamed Dandesh after his third son, Danyal (1601-2). The gate consisting of a complex arrangement of rooms in two storeys is 130' high from its pavement and 176' from the roadway below, and people have wondered at the emperor's aims in building this extra-tall pile which dwarfs even the majestic masjid. Probably it was Akbar's way of expressing the completion of his life's work and served him as an emblem of victory just as the Qutb minar had done for Qutbuddin and Iltut mish or the Chitor Jayasthamba for Rana Kumbha. By this time he had annexed the provinces of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh including the impregnable fortress of Asirgarh, there were peace and progress in his empire, the fanatical Muslims had been crushed never to rise again in his reign, Abdullah Khan, the mighty ruler of Central Asia had departed from this world without realiz-

^{36.} See W: Finch's travel in Foster's Early Travels p: 182:

^{37.} Ibid p: 150:

^{38.} See A:N: III, p: 748:

ing his hopes of a success against Akbar and even the last Rajput dissentient. Rana Pratap, was dead and his successor, Amar Singh, did not dare to disturb the peace of the Mughal territory. Baland darwaza announced to his subjects and others all these successes and also warned them, especially the Sisodia Rajputs, that any disturbance on their part would lead only to their sufferings. The frugal and stingy Akbar must have had some or all these thoughts when he went out of his way to build this magnificent gateway. It is difficult to conceive that mere fancy would have led the careful emperor to waste his money on the gate-way of an abandoned and deserted city.

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After 1602, Fathpur dropped into insignificance and when W. Finch visited the place in 1610, it looked deserted39 To day it stands in its pristine glory and unfolds before the visitor a glorious chapter of the augustan age of Mughal history.

THE TURKISH SULTANA'S HOUSE AT FATHPUR SIKRI.

The Turkish Sultana's house is a historical building of inestimable value, furnishing as it does several interesting details about royal women of Akbar's time. There is some dispute as to its inmate and the official guide to Fathpur¹ even suggests that it was the Emperor who used it and no Mughal lady. The surmise does not appear to be based on sound reasoning:

- 1. Akbar had built the Khwabgah for himself as a retiring from for the night and during the day he would be engaged in his work at the Diwan-i-Am, the Diwan-i-Khas and other places. For a short rest in the day he had a retiring room just behind the Diagram of the Dia the Diwan-i-Am and possibly also in the Jodh Bai's palace.² There does not a large another does not appear any adequate reason to believe that he had another retiring any adequate reason to believe that he had another retiring room so close to the Khwabgah and the Diwan-i-Am.
- 2. The house or chamber was connected with the Khwabgah by a walled passage. If this pathway was used by a male per-

^{39.} See Foster's Early Travels, 150.

^{1.} Muhammad Ashraf Hussain: A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri, 21: See my paper on the subject read at the Indian History Congress, 1941:

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sonage, there was no reason why it should be screened especially when the adjoining courtyard also belonged to the Emperor and the tank identified as the Anup talao was used by him. The screened pathway suggests that the Turkish Sultana's house was used by a lady to whom the Khwabgah was accessible by this passage.

- 3. The chamber is also connected by a screened passage with the girls' school. It is inconceivable that Akbar who could not read or write should take so much personal interest as to regularly visit the school and if he did, the screened pathway would not be needed. The pathway clearly indicates the occupation of the chamber by a purdah-nashin lady. The soffit of the ceiling of the corridor was at one time elaborately decorated probably as a compliment to her.
- 4. The adjoining bagnio known as the Turkish Sultana's hammam has got a screened promenade on the terrace of the adjoining portion of the Diwan-i-Am, showing again that the terrace was used by some veiled lady residing in its neighbourhood.
- 5. The large space allotted to the Turkish Sultana's garden was meant for the fair residents in the neighbourhood. If the king needed the garden for himself, it would have been laid differently at the time of the general planning of the city. Its present elongated shape indicates that it was an after-thought and the economizing Emperor, when he felt its need for his women sometime later, added the garden.
- 6. The house and the garden are screened from the Pachisi court, which would be a meaningless waste of money unless the house formed the residence of a lady.

Who this lady was we are unable to assert definitely. She would be as indicated by her title the Turkish Sultana,3 one of Akbar's Chagatai queens. Akbar had married two of his cousins, one Ruqaiya Begam, daughter of his uncle, Hindal, in 1551 when he was only nine years old and the other, Salima Sultan Begam, daughter of his aunt,4 whom he had first married to Bairam Khan and then after his death, married her himself at the age of eighteen or nineteen. Both the queens lived to an old age and were with Akbar in Fathpur Sikri. It is likely that the two queens, being

3. i:e:, the queen who came from Turkistan:

^{4.} The name of the aunt has been differently given as Gulrukh, Gulrang or Gulbarg: ,

cousins of each other, lived together and accommodation was found by dividing up the verandah with stone screens since removed. This would enable the two queens to be near the Emperor and also the more talented of them—probably Salima Sultan Begam—to supervise the work of the neighbouring girls' school. Because of their high lineage and the differences in language and social customs, these Turki ladies would prefer to live apart from the other Muslim or Hindu ladies of the palace. The screened pathway leading to the Khwabgah indicated their importance and privilege of meeting the Emperor now and then.

Let us describe the house. It consists of a small chamber, 13' 41/2" x 13' 21/2" and a verandah 8' 8" wide on three sides of the chamber and a portico on the west. Originally the verandah and the portico were screened and additional rooms were obtained by partitioning the verandah with stone screens. The chamber is profusely carved on the interior as well as the exterior and so are the soffit of the ceiling and the pillars in the verandah and the edges of the dripstones. The carvings include the representation of fruits like pomegranate, grape, melon, banana and date. The lower portion of the inside walls may be especially noted, for it is decorated with superb dadowork, consisting of eight panels, each representing a different scenery. Two are forest scenes where lions are stalking, apes scrambling among the branches of banyan trees and several birds perched on the branches; the third also depicts a forest full of plants, some of which are in blossom; the fourth is an orchard with a cypress in the centre; the fifth contains a large over-spreading tree in the centre supporting a vine creeper laden with grapes. The large tree was originally intended to be a date-palm as is evident to be a date-palm as is evident. dent from the scalloping of the trunk, but later the artist changed his mind and made it something different by spreading its branthes; the seventh and the eighth are garden scenes. The panel on the west angle of the north wall has a portion of the border at its bottom left unfinished, probably illustrating the superstition of the age that a complete work would entail some calamity on the artist's family a complete work would entail some calamity on the artist's family. The decorations are so profuse that it has been termed to be the decoration of the de termed 'a gigantic jewel casket,' and as mentioned above, represent trees sent trees, animals and birds. At a later age some one mutilated them and tradition points at Aurangzib as the mutilator.

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chamber has a shelf of the Chinese pattern and the pictures too are sometimes Chinese in touch and feeling. These decorations have enabled us to draw the following two conclusions; (1) that Akbar was not like other Muslims in holding a prejudice against the representation of animals, birds or plants. He is said to have disliked those persons who hated painting and according to Abul Fazl once observed: 'It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge' His Turki wives must have approved their husband's decision to decorate their chamber.

2. Akbar engaged artists of different nationalities. As mentioned above, some of them were Chinese who made the shelf and planned some of the pictures. The stone tiles of the roof have been copied from the tiled roofs of the Indian peasant's cottages. The shape of the brackets is peculiar and is a common feature of the Mughal architecture at Fathpur and its middle portion originally represented the head of an elephant with an uplifted trunk. Many of the plants, foliage and the blossoms are Persian in feeling and suggest the presence of the Irani artists. To Akbar all sources of art were equally welcome, be they foreign or associated with the indigenous masses.

On the west the Turkish Sultana's house is connected by a screened corridor with the girls' School. One of Akbar's Turki wives, Salima Sultan Begam, was fairly learned and wrote poems under the pen-name of *Makhfi* and she interested herself in the education of the girls in the palace. It was her fate to be married to Bairam Khan, the Shia, in her early life and afterwards to Akbar, the illiterate. Her accomplishments and services allowed her to exercise influence on her husband and it was she who in her later life composed the differences between Akbar and his eldest son, Salim. The teacher in charge of the girls' school is said to be A. Fazl. The curious may enquire into the nature of Salima Sultan's supervision of the school and also whether she ever came into contact with A. Fazl or the other male teachers of the school. We see so much of liberalism in the Begam that we are tempted

^{6.} See the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol: I, 108:

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The verandah is partitioned into several rooms with stone screens, suggesting its use by more than one lady; for otherwise the screens would be meaningless additions. Just as Jodh Bai's palace was reserved for the Hindu ladies of the palace, the Turkish Sultana's house was meant for the prominent Turki wives of the Emperor. The other Turkis, the Persians, the Indian Muslims, Circassians and others would be lodged in the Panch mahal or some other building. The blood relationship and the early marriages with the Emperor allowed his two fair cousins the distinction of possessing a chamber to themselves in proximity to the Khwabgah. In fact, the chamber is connected with it by a screened pathway.

Adjoining the Turkish Sultana's house is her garden which stretched north to south from the Diwan-i-Khas to the enclosure on the south side of the Khwabgah and east and west from the Diwan-i-Am to the Pachisi court. It was walled on the north and the west, thus secluding it from the Diwan-i-Khas and the Pachisi court and allowing privacy to the Turki inmates. On the east it abutted on the Diwan-i-Am and a hammam. If the Turki queens liked, they could go to the retiring chamber of the Diwan-i-Am and observe the proceedings of the durbar. A Turki lady, used to an outdoor life, could not do without a garden. On its south side it tommunicated with an enclosure by a postern gate for the servants of the Turki queens.

There is a hammam or bath attached to the garden on the east side, generally known as the Turkish Sultana's hammam to distinguish it from the many others scattered all over the area. It is in a fairly well preserved state and illustrates the arrangements and the working of a mediaeval hot-bathing house. It measures 5% × 70′ and is fairly extensive considering the limited area at the hagnio is devoid of decoration and looks grim, but internally it is pretty, with its white cut plaster, dado-work and centre medal-plicated; the door leading into a small domed outer vestibule, on the interior, a few of which contain water-baths breast-high, the the walls and connected with an outside trough supported on stone of the connected with an outside trough supported on stone

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The pavement or the suspensra is hollow, the furnace is at the east end of the building and the flues or hypocaustum, wide enough to allow a man to creep through on all fours, lead to the central hexagonal chamber which might be termed sudatorium or the chief bath room. The water is conducted from room to room by means of embedded glazed or unglazed earthen pipes to tanks or reservoirs in the walls.

There are no windows in the whole building, light being admitted from the top through a hole. It is finely grated with stone screens which keep out the rain, but permit full ventilation. The soffits of the dome are goffered and the roof is flat from outside and between the dome and the flat roof is a hollow space about 2 in height forming 'a series of low intricate passages by dwarf walls and brick piers which support slabs of stone carrying the terracing of the roof'.

The bath consumed tons of fuel everyday and in the cold winter months must have been in requisition by the Turki queens as well as by the other privileged persons. The frugal Emperor might have used it himself, for we get no mention of a separate bath for him. In summer, the bath would serve a different purpose and the furnace would stop working. The ladies would than take shelter in the cool sudatorium. Thus this hammam as well as the others served to make life bearable in the extreme and inhospitable climate of Fathpur.

At the south end of the bath, a stair-case leads to the roof of the Diwan-i-Am, making a portion of the terrace available to the ladies for a promenade. This portion of the terrace is screened from the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Am by high and hollow built walls and it ends in a reception room. The sparing Emperor made the best use of every available space. Since the Turki queens would love to enjoy a breeze in the sultry weather of the summer, he utilized a public building like the Diwan-i-Am for a constitutional walk for the ladies.

To sum up our conclusions, the Turkish Sultana's house, garden and bagnio tell us that

- (1) the Emperor took good care of his cousin wives by providing them with maximum comfort.
- (2) these ladies had a garden, a bath and a terrace promenade at their disposal and could, if they chose, peep into the proceedings

of the Diwan-i-Am or proceed to the Emperor in the Khwabgah. Their double relationships of cousin and wife entitled them to special privileges;

- (3) at least one of them was in charge of the girls' school;
- (4) the decorations of the ladies' chamber speak of their taste and liberality of views, and its small size indicates that most of their time was spent either in the closed verandah or elsewhere. The Emperor could not spare more space even for such dear relations of his;
- (5) these Turki ladies could approach Panch mahal, Jodh Bai's palace or Hiran minar beyond, through the Khwabagh. It need not have been entered for the purpose but will have to be passed by;
- (6) the ladies were cut off from the courtyard in the north of the Khwabagh where lay the Anup talao with the central stone platform used by the Emperor;
- (7) the Pachisi court, which might have served as the playground for the school girls was approachable through the school; otherwise it was shut from the Turkish Sultana's garden by stone walls;
- (8) the courtyard containing the Anup talao was screened from the Pachisi court, thus protecting the girls of the school from the gaze of the public gathered in the courtyard. Similarly another wall separated the Pachisi court, from the Diwan-i-Khas;
- (9) the ladies lived mostly in the screened verandah, for the room itself would be too narrow for the two of them. They breathed more of fresh air than the ordinary veiled Muslim ladies and afreer and healthier life than the Irani or the Indian Muslim women.

(to be continued.)

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By

Mr. Angelo Moses, M.A., F.R.A.C., B.P.E., (Baroda):

The history of Mughal rule in India is replete with instances wherein Muhammadan sovereigns who were more liberal than the vast majority of their masses strove their level best towards protecting the cow. Muhammadan sovereigns of India were famous for their policy of 'give and take' and their appreciation of the Hindu belief in the sanctity of the cow. They conceded that cowslaughter was never a tenet of Islam, and some of the illustrious sovereigns made brilliant efforts in the cause of cow-protection.

Babar, the first of the Mughal rulers of India, recognized the importance of cow preservation. We cannot exactly vouch for his capacity to understand the importance of the bovine species to Indian agriculture. But he is quite explicit about the respect and sufference of the Hindu reverence towards the cow, which every Muslim inhabitant of India must be capable of. For one thing he never ate beef, but had a partiality towards the flesh of camels. We may read the whole of his Memoirs but we cannot find a single passage wherein it is mentioned that Babar ate beef. Several feasts and banquets given by him and his subordinate Wazirs are described to the minutest detail but in not even one instance do we find beef mentioned as being served to the guests. Monserrate mentions that Timur the ancestor of Babar "held frequent banquets at which the flesh of the horses was served boiled or roast" in preference to other meat. Babar himself mentions quite clearly his relish of camel's flesh.

Babar is more explicit as regards his respect towards the cow. In his death-bed advice to his son Humayun he gives vent to fine sentiments worthy of a genuine follower of Islam. Two copies of the document containing the advice are extant at the present day, one in the Bhopal State Library and the other in the possession of Principal Balkrishna of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. I quote from the latter document: "O son, the kingdom of India is full of different religions: praised be God that He bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious pre-

judices off the tablet of the heart; administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou canst capture the hearts of the people of India, and subjects of this country may be bound up with royal obligations."

The reigns of Humayun and Sher Shah may be skipped over as they are not quite so important to our present purpose. When we come to Akbar we have perhaps as persistent a sovereign in the cause of cow-protection as Asoka.

Akbar is positive as regards his distaste of flesh. Whether this be due to the Jain influence on him—Akbar had strong leanings towards Zoroastrianism, and more particularly towards Jainism—or to an instinctive moral repugnance and sensitiveness to see a brute butchered we cannot ascertain. But this much is plain that his instincts of humanitarianism are as strong as those of any Jain. Take this passage from the Ain-i-Akbari: "His Majesty has a great disinclination for flesh; and he frequently says, 'Providence has prepared a variety of food for man, but, through ignorance and gluttony, he destroys living creatures, and makes his body a tomb for beasts. If I were not a king, I would leave off eating flesh at once, and now it is my intention to quit it by degrees."

This is but a significant passage testifying his strong belief about the sanctity of animal life. Akbar's reign was noteworthy for his legislation in the cause of cow-protection. He remitted several vexatious taxes including taxes on the sale and slaughter of cattle and the one for dressing hides. This would mean the relaxation of State control over important transactions which are sure to touch the economics of the State. From very early times of Muhammadan rule in India, we find these taxes are collected vigorously to conserve cattle life. piece of legislation in the following manner: "From the very inception of Muslim rule a special tax was imposed on butchers for the slavel. the slaughter of cows to the extent of twelve 'Jetal' per cow. During the reign of Feroz Shah, butchers complained against this tax and the king abolished it. Details of this taxation are not given in books of history, but its object could only have been the prevention of cow-slaughter. This tax, therefore, continued for two hundred years after the establishment of Muslim rule in India, right up to the stablishment of Muslim rule in India, right up to the time of Feroz Shah Tughlak. Instead of issuing a general order prohibiting cow-slaughter, this was the method adopted by early Muhammadan kings. This tax was called 'Jazri!'

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At the time of Muhammd Shah Tughlak, beef was not cooked in the royal kitchen, and the king did not take it. Several authors have given detailed description of the royal kitchen, but there is no mention of slaughtering cows. Farhat-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Gujarat, and continued in that capacity during the reign of the next king Mohamed Ghias-ud-Din Tughlak II. His. torians state that Farhat-ul-Mulk made various concessions to the Hindus, and did not allow the slaughter of cows. The Hindus wield. ed great influence during the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Khushro. This king totally stopped the killing of cows in his territories. It also seems that the Jazri tax which had been discontinued by Feroz Shah Tughlak was re-imposed after his reign, because it is recorded in books of history that Akbar abrogated this tax. Akbar ordered a total prohibition of the killing of cows, and the tax was no longer found necessary and it was probably on that account that it was discontinued." As a matter of fact, Akbar had no necessity to protect the cow by means of this paltry and indirect method of legislation. On the other hand, his Cow-Protection policy was broad-based and comprehensive.

'We have corroborative evidence," writes Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, "that three Jain gurus attended the court of Akbar and ministered unto his mental inquisitiveness in hankering after information about the different religions of the world. Hiravijaya Suri, Vijayasena Suri and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya are credited to have exercised a wholesome influence upon Akbar, and obtained a Firman prohibiting under penalty of capital punishment animal slaughter in general and cow-slaughter in particular. This Firman is preserved on the walls of a porch to the Adiswara Temple on the Shatrunjaya Hills close to Palitana State in Kathiawad."

Summarizing the series of inscriptions on the temples of the Shatrunjaya Hills which comprise the Firmans of Mughal sovereigns of India in their efforts to bring about mutual amity and concord between Hindus and Muhammadans, Mr. G. K. Nariman writes in the Bombay Chronicle. "There is first of all the Firman of Jellal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar. It guarantees the Jains the maintenance of their worship and the exercise of their religion and doctrine 'throughout our Empire and dominions.' Something more important follows—that no one can kill an animal on those mountains or temples or below or about them. The second edict is from the Emperor Jehangir in similar terms. The third Firman is from Shah Jehan who confirms the preceding documents. Then we have

another of the same Emperor granting greater liberty. He emphasizes that every year a new order shall not be demanded but that those whom it concerns shall not swerve from what is here commanded. A further 'world-binding mandate' is issued by another Padishah, one more from the 'Dar-ul-Khilafat' proving that at times the Indian Emperors considered themselves rightful Khalifas. The documents are too interesting to be dismissed with a curt notice. It must have been an India in those days certainly immune from that fierce acerbity between the Hindus and Musalmans which seems now to usurp their minds to the exclusion of truly national endeavours."

From this evidence it is positively clear that Akbar had very strong ideas about cow-protection from several view points. Firstly, he is instinctively repugnant to partake of flesh from the humanitarian point of view as his declarations about meat-eating and his abstinence from eating flesh would clearly prove. Next to this, his respect for the feelings of his Hindu subjects and his leanings towards the Ahimsa principle of Jainism influenced him to order prohibition of cow-slaughter in his dominions. Possibly, he might have had strong notions about the economic relationship of the cow-protection problem to the country's needs.

Akbar's policy is maintained and perpetuated by his successors. Jehangir who is a mixture of extremes, and Aurangzib who is notoriously known to have done the greatest harm to the progress of Hinduism are famous for their efforts to save the cow's life. The Shatrunjaya Inscriptions mention Jehangir's Firman to protect cowlife which is in complete harmony with that of his father Akbar. Further, he is credited with having stopped all slaughter of animals and all manner of hunting on Sundays, to commemorate Akbar's birthday, and on Thursdays as a token of the Almighty's grace in consecrating him king on that day. Bernier the French traveller who visited the Muhgal court during the years 1656-1668, refers to the sacredness of the cow in the eyes of the Hindus, and reports that on account of the scarcity of cattle the Emperor Jehangir at the request of the scarcity of cattle the Emperor Jehangir at the request of the Brahmins, "issued an edict to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years."

The reign of Aurangzib is noted for the internecine quarrels among the different principalities dispersed over the length and breadth of the breadth of the country, and the attempts of the Mughal Padshahi to subdue them on the one hand, and the civil war that ultimately save him the gave him the reins of government after considerable shedding of h_{lood}. The reins of government after considerable should The concomitants of war would be loss of life, human and

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animal. Especially in mediaeval warfare the beast played a prominent part. Besides the elephant and the horse the bull played a unique part as a beast of burden. These wars of Aurangzib caused serious loss of animal life, and this has been graphically described by Manucci in his Storia do Mogor: "Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. The country is so entirely desolated and depopulated that neither fire nor light can be found in the course of a three or four days' journey. There have died in his armies a hundred thousand souls yearly, and of animals, pack oxen, camels; elephants. etc., over three hundred thousand." Commenting upon this phenomenon Bernier points out, after his reference to Jehangir's prohibition of the slaughter of beasts of pasture, that "not long since they presented a similar petition to Aureng-Zebe, offering him a considerable sum of money to ensure his compliance. They argued that the neglected and the ruinous condition of many tracts of country during the last fifty or sixty years was attributable to the paucity and dearness of oxen."

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According to Islami Gorakshan, later Mughal sovereigns of India also made efforts to protect the cow. The priest of Emperor Muhammad Shah issued a fatwa pointing out that the slaughter of cattle was forbidden by the Ḥadis and the Emperor accordingly forbade the slaughter of cattle. Emperor Shah Alam also prohibited cowslaughter.

It is evident therefore that the Muhammadan sovereigns of India preached the wholesome gospel of the worth of animal life, in particular of cow-life. If the masses of the Muslim population of India at the present day were made to realize and appreciate this legacy of history which their co-religionists that have gone by have given to posterity, then the cow-protection problem in India would have been completely solved.

The Thuravoor Temple

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An Interesting Temple Legend

By

L. K. BALARATNAM

Thuravoor has one of the most ancient and sacred of the Siva temples in South India. It is situated about two miles to the east of the Arabian Sea, three miles west of the Vembanadu Lake, five miles to the north of the Shertala town, and a mile to the south of the Kuthiathode canal. The ancient name of the village is said to be Surapuram which has its archaic form (Thuravoor) at present.

The history of the temple is connected with the historic anecdotes that have been brought to light regarding the ancient Pandya and Chola Kingdoms, which, in later years, were welded together under the sway of Kulasekara Varma familiarly known as Cheraman Perumal.

There are two shrines here locally known as Vadakkinakam and Tekkinakam, the former dedicated to Narasimha Mūrti and the latter to Sudarsana Mūrti. These shrines have a common outer enclosure and are separated by a partition wall in the middle, which has a door for going in and going out. The two deities are respectively known by the local name Vadakkanappan, and Tekkanappan. Records are however very rare which supply us with any useful information regarding the origin of the temple. Of the two shrines, we have no information, however scanty, about the history of the one dedicated to Sudarsana Murti, which is of very

The Origin of Narasimha Kshētra.

During the latter half of the 11th century A.D. (2nd century ME) Kulasekara Perumāl was ruling the Pāndya and Chola King-doms under Land vas ruling the Pāndya and Chola Kingdoms under one common name Kerala. An erudite scholar and a brilliant state brilliant statesman, he attracted many a learned Brahmin to his court and those who approached him had their share of due reward.

The King's Guru.

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Among those who gathered round him was one Brahman for whom the Perumal had the utmost respect and reverence on account of his unequalled mastery over all branches of the Vedic literature, and the Sāstras. The King sat at his feet and had his Vedic education. After some time, the Brahman asked for leave to go on a pilgrimage which the King gave though with much reluctance.

The Brahman Partakes of a Feast.

The Brahman visited many sacred shrines and one day came to a temple where a grand feast was going on. He partook of the feast, but with great discomfort; it came to be known soon that the feast was got up in connection with the Śrāddha ceremony conducted by a washerman. The Brahman was much discomfited, for, the Smritis decree that a Brahman, who partakes of the Srāddha ceremony of a washerman, or for the matter, an untouchable, was to be born after his present life as a dog.

The Brahman goes back to the King.

The Brahman returned to the King and told him all that had happened and prophesied that he would be shortly taking birth as a dog. He also requested the King to take care of the dog and to be cautious about the animal eating human refuse. The Brahman departed and after a while met with his death.

The Puppy Born.

In a couple of months it was reported to the King that the above-mentioned Brahman breathed his last and that a beautiful puppy was born in the immediate vicinity of the Brahman's grave. The puppy was ordered to be brought to the King who took particular care to act up to the Brahman's words in the matter of the animal eating what it should not.

The King once went on a tour. The puppy also was taken with him. When one evening the King was performing his usual ablutions on the side of a lake he was passing by, the puppy ran away from his side and was seen chewing the prohibited matter. The King ran to the spot and before the animal had time to swallow what it had taken cut its throat and killed it.

The King's Sorrow.

The King felt greatly sorry for the puppy, for, he knew that he had murdered his master, the Brahman, who had taken birth as a dog. The dog was buried in all sacredness and the King returned to his court weary at heart. He invited the Vedic men and consulted them as to how he would be able to wash his sins. They suggested the erection of a shrine where the two deties Siva and Vishnu could together be worshipped. A temple was accordingly built in the locality where the dog was murdered. The locality now goes by the near of Nāyathode. It is near Kālaḍi in North Travancore.

Muringoth Adikal.

After the construction of the temple and according to the suggestion of the learned Brahmans, Muringoth Adikal, who was then the greatest priest, whose divinity no one doubted, came to do the Pratishta ceremony in the temple. On the completion of the ceremony the King offered vast riches to the Adikal and asked for blessings. The King was blessed; but the noble priest not knowing what to do with the riches offered, requested the King to keep them with him until he should be able to utilise them in the best manner possible.

The priest made up his mind to seek divine guidance in the matter of utilising the wealth of which he was the owner and to go to Kāśi and began to do Tapas in the Narasimha Ghat on the Ganges ghat. One night the priest had a dream that the next morning he would be able to see a light in the sky which will be slowly moving towards the South, that he should follow it until it was seen to vanish, that he would find an idol in the place where the light vanished; and that the idol thus got should be installed stalled on the northern side of the temple dedicated to Sudarsana.

The Dream Proved to be True.

The eagerly and anxiously awaited day came. The priest saw his dream, which proved to be true. He saw the light and followed it until a tank which ed it until after some months he saw it vanishing in a tank which is now known to the south is now known by the name of Bhūta Nilam, a mile to the south of the Thuravoer temple. The priest sank where the light vanished and found to his great surprise a piece of granite which when Taised and brought to the shore was found to be an image of Marasimha. The priest took it to Thuravoor where it was reported

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that a shrine dedicated to Sudarsana Mūrti existed and had it installed in terms of the divine dream. The necessity for endowing the new institution was felt and so the priest went to the King and asked for the riches he had entrusted him with. They were readily given and with the wealth thus got from the King the priest bought many lands, constructed a shrine and did everything for the proper conduct of the pujas and other ceremonies in the temple. Brahmans were brought from far off places and they were put in management of the affairs of the temple.

Degeneration and decay are necessary concomitants to selfish ends in the discharge of any public function. The Brahmans in management mis-used the trust for which it was intended. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja in exercise of the powers vested in them under the Religious Endowment Regulation, assumed the management of the Dewasvam affairs in 1075 M.E. which is continued to the present day.

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The Ownership of Agricultural Land During the Muslim Rule in India

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By

I. H. Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab).
St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi.

The problem of the ownership of agricultural land during the Muslim rule in India has not received the attention which it deserves. Writers on Indian Muslim History generally assume that the Hindu antecedents and the position of the Indian peasant under British rule are sufficient indications of the rights enjoyed by peasants in Muslim India. This uncritical assumption has resulted in perpetuating our ignorance of the true position and lack of interest in positive evidence on this point; and when some writers have stumbled across certain factors conflicting with their pre-conceived notions, they have tried to minimize the importance of the facts which have forced themselves on their attention. A critical examination, therefore, of the available information is very desirable to clear our minds of certain prevailing misconceptions.

WHAT IS PROPERTY?

But, before such an examination is undertaken, it would be useful to define ownership. Austin defines the right of ownership as "right indefinite in point of use, unrestricted in point of disposition and unlimited in point of duration over a determinate thing." John W. Salmond writes: "We may define the right of ownership in a material thing as the general, permanent and inheritable right to the uses of that thing." A foot note adds that "the full power of alienation and disposition is an almost invariable element in the in the definition of it." Without going into a discussion of legal holding without any restrictions for the purposes of cultivation; if

^{1.} II, p. 790. 2. Jurisprudence, second edition, 1907, p. 395:

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he could change its nature by planting a garden or building a house, if he had a permanent right of using this holding, if he could sell, transfer or alienate it permanently or for a fixed period, if he could pass it on to his heirs, he should be considered to be the owner of his holding. We should now try to see if he could be called the owner in this sense of the term.

THE POSITION TO-DAY.

It would help us in understanding the position of the peasant under Muslim rule if we find out his position to-day. The peasant's status to-day varies from province to province. Where he is a tenant of a landlord, the question of ownership does not arise; where he is in direct relationship with the state, he has been considered to be the conditional owner of his land so long as he pays the rent. Vincent Smith who was an Indian Civil Servant says: "Even the English laws, which contrary to general ancient custom, recognize private property in cultivable land, insist that the land revenue is the first charge on the soil and permit the enforcement of the charge by sale of land free of all incumbrances, in the event of default."3 The actual position is that where the peasant is concerned, he is in possession of his holding only so long as the lessor, which is the state, does not assert its ownership; the peasant is more like a lessee, who has acquired a perpetual lease which comes to an end when he fails to pay the rent. At best this can be called conditional ownership.

HINDU ANTECEDENTS

Precisely the same seems to be the condition in Hindu India. To understand the real position we have to take into consideration the arguments advanced by different writers on this subject. On the one hand is the view of Vincent Smith who asserts that "the native law of India has ordinarily recognised agricultural land as being crown property." On the opposite extreme is the opinion of Jayaswal who says about this theory, "Some of these writers have confidently asserted that property in the soil, according to the Hindu view, always vested in the Hindu sovereign. The fact, on the other hand, is that it is exactly the reverse of the Hindu theory on the subject." Jayaswal is supported by P. N. Banerjee who asserts

Early History of India, p. 138. (1924 Edition).
 Early History of India, p. 138.

^{5.} Hindu Folity, part ii, P. 174 ff. (1924 Edition).

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that "the king was never regarded as the owner of the land." F. W. Thomas holds a third view; he says; "Apart from the royal domains, which must have been considerable, the ultimate property in the land appertained, in the sense which has since prevailed, to the king; that is to say, the king was entitled to his revenue therefrom, and in default could replace the cultivator in his holding."7

This controversy regarding the position of the peasant during the Hindu period is the result of the conflicting interpretations of controversial evidence contained in Megasthenes, the Arthashāstra and its commentary. This is not the place to discuss the evidence in detail; suffice it to say that the Arthashastra has evidence of the cultivator being able to sell and alienate his land.8 But it also speaks of the right of the king to replace him in his holding if he fails to pay the rent. Dr. M. H. Gopal calls this a double ownership; the peasant owned the land so long as he paid the rent; the state became the owner when the peasant defaulted. This is not different from the position of the peasant under British rule so far as his right of ownership is concerned. It is hard to blame scholars who have been tempted to jump to the conclusion that there has been no change during the long interval.

MUSLIM REACTIONS

The controversial nature of the evidence shows that it is by no means very easy to determine the status of the peasant under Hindu rule. To the Muslim ruler, the problem would be even more difficult to disentangle. Besides, it is but human nature that the conqueror should try to find parallels in the institutions of the conquered people to his own usage. The finer shades of legal differences generally get ignored in the haste to set up a system after a conquest. The conqueror would more naturally be guided by his instincts and traditions, and where he finds himself in difficulties, he would turn to the writings of his own experts. The Turks had such an expert in Al-bīrūnī. Let us turn to him to see what guidthe earns band give them. Al-bīrūnī writes: "With regard to that he earns by the crops or from the cattle, he is bound first to pay to the ruler of the country the tax which attaches to the soil or the

^{6.} Public Administration in Ancient India, P. 179. (1916 Edition). 7. Cambridge History of India, Vol. i, p. 475.

^{8.} Arthashāstra, Book III, chapters 9, 10 (Shama Shastry Tr. Mysore,

^{9.} Arthashāstra, Book II, chapter I. Mauryan Public Finance, p. 62 (London, 1935),

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pasture ground. Further he pays him one-sixth of the income in recognition of the protection which he affords to the subjects, their properties and their families. The same obligation rests also on the common people, but they will always lie and cheat in the declarations about their property. Further, trading businesses, too, pay a tribute for the same reason."11 In this passage there is a reference to the state share being the first charge on the land, but it is very much in the background. The greater emphasis is on the statement that landed property was like all other property which paid a tax in return for the protection which was given by the state. The king's right to levy a tax was justified by the fact that he gave his subjects protection; there is no suggestion here of the king's right to eject the peasant from his holding; the peasant's right to possess his holding is based practically on the same basis as the merchant's right to his merchandize; as the payment of a tax did not interfere with the proprietary rights of the merchant, similarly the peasant did not lose his right over his holding because he paid a tax. In this passage there is no question of conditional ownership: if the king possessed the right of ejectment it does not find a clear mention. Al-bīrūnī's statement would mean only one thing to his contemporary Muslim reader and that would be that the peasant had the right of unconditional, absolute and complete ownership over his holding.

ISLAMIC PARALLELS.

This position the Muslims were certainly inclined to accept as the natural corollary of agriculture: because their own legal system recognised that the peasant was the owner of the land. From the very beginning of Islam the cultivator was looked upon as the owner of the land he cultivated.12 Yaḥyā bin Ādam al-Qurashī has compiled in his Kitab-u'l-Kharāj the earliest traditions on Kharāj and 'Ushr. 13 He has an entire chapter on the problem of buying and selling of Kharājī land.14 He has a similar chapter on "the bring ing to life of dead lands" which is a well-known Islamic technicality for bringing uncultivated and waste land under cultivation, 15 The

^{11.} Kitāb-u'l-Hind. Vol. ii, p. 149. Tr. Sachau. (Trubner's Oriental Series).

^{12.} Kitāb-ul-Kharāj by Imām Abū Yūsuf, pp. 35 to 38 (Cairo 1202 A.H. Edition).

^{13.} Cairo 1347.

^{14.} Pp. 54, ff. Kharāj and 'ushr are, in this context, state demand on agricultural produce. For a fuller discussion of these terms, vide. the Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli, chapter VI.

^{15.} Pp. 84. ff.

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Prophet unambiguously laid it down that the reviver of dead land is its owner, provided it does not belong to some other owner. 16 This rule applies equally to Muslims and non-Muslims, to those who ushr and to those who pay Kharāj. The Nūr-u'l-Hidāyah, a well-known book on Muslim jurisprudence says, "If the owner of Kharājī land....turns a Muslim, he will still have to pay Kharāj."18 This shows not only that the owner of Kharājī land had the right to sell and alienate his holding but also that he was looked upon as its owner. Almost aný book of Muslim law would contain the same ruling on Kharājī land; indeed it sounds superfluous to quote any authorities. The ownership of the land by the peasant has been such an established principle of Muslim law that hitherto it has never been doubted and all law books take it for granted.

IN INDIA.

The Muslim conquerors of India, therefore, would be guided by their law and tradition in laying down the conditions on which agricultural land was to be held by the peasant. In the view of their law, the land belonged to the peasant. Al-bīrūnī, who may have read his own ideas in discerning the position of the peasant which was not so well defined under the Hindus, led them to believe that the peasant was the owner. Their own tradition is crystallized by Inam Mawardi, the great jurist whose outlook was moulded by practical considerations and who based his discussions on the facts of his environment. He divides Kharājī land into two categories: the first is the land acquired by the Muslim state from a combatant population on the terms that the land would belong to the state and the peasant in such land would be a mere tenant who would earn his share of the produce as the wages of his labour; and the second is the land where the conquered population is left in the ownership of the soil. In the second kind of land the peasant has proprietory rights; he is the owner of the holding. The Imam, also, points out the features which distinguish one kind of land from the other. In the land owned by the state, the peasant has no right to sell or alienate his holdings; where the peasant is the owner he can do so,19 There are very few instances of state-owned land in the World of Islam known to me one example is the ard-i-mumlikat in

^{16.} The tradition in Masnad Imam Ahmad and Bukhari.

^{17.} Nūr-u'l-Hidāyah, Vol. ii, p. 353 (Urdu Translation) Cawnpore 1310 A.H.

^{19.} Ahkām-us-Sultāniyah, Urdu Translation, p. 242, (Hyderabad, 1931).

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Turkey.20 In India, as I shall show presently, there is no mention or instance of ard-i-mumlikat. The discussion upto this point, I hope, has made it clear that the Muslim conquerors could not but look upon the peasant as the proprietor of the land, circumstanced as they were in the matters of their law, their traditions, and their knowledge of the conquered population. The only other possibility. for them would have been of declaring their newly conquered territories to be ard-i-mumlikat.

THE CHOICE.

The fact that the Muslims did not look upon the land in India as ard-i-mumlikat is beyond the pale of controversy. There is not a single occasion in the course of the entire Indian historical literature where this kind of land has been mentioned. On the contrary, the Figh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī mentions the rulings regarding the sale and transfer of Kharājī lands by Muslims and dhimmīs.21 This would show that Muslim rulers and jurists regarded the peasant to be the owner of his holding; because if they permitted the sale and transfer of his land by the peasant, they could not have regarded the land to be ard-i-mumlikat, and if Kharājī and is not ard-i-mumlikat, it belongs to the peasant. It should, also, be remembered that the state having once established its ownership over agricultural land was not likely to forego it in a moment of generosity, because the ownership of the peasant's holding gives great power to the state over the cultivator. If we find that the Muslim state in India considered the peasant to be the owner of his land, it would not be unreasonable to assume, particularly when there is so much independent evidence as well, that the state never attempted to assert its ownership.

AKBAR'S REIGN.

We find in Akbar's reign that the state demand on agricultural produce was not regarded as "rent". On the contrary the A'inthat compendium of administrative regulations and methods, which also has the advantage of being almost an official document—uses phrases like "the wages of guarding", "the emoluments for ruling" "the wages of sovereignty", "the emoluments of sovereignty" for the state demand on agricultural produce.22 We find in these

20. Aghnides: Muhammadan Theories of Finance (New York, 1916) p. 376. 21. Figh-i-Firizehali G. (1916) p. 376.

^{21.} Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhi, ff. 410, b, to 414 b. India office MS. 2987. 22. On Pp. 291, 292, 297, 298, and 299, (Text; Bib. Ind. Edition).

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phrases an echo of Al-bīrūnī's theory that the tax charged by the Hindu rulers from their peasant subjects was "the price of pro-The continuity in the tradition of legal ideas seems to be uninterrupted as, indeed, it was. Abū'l-Fadl, in the Ā'in relating to the Treasurer, discusses, under the sub-heading of the means of subsistence, the whole theory of the state demand and calls it the price paid by the subject for the protection afforded by the monarch. The position of the cultivator would become clear from the following statement which Abū'l-Faḍl makes: "It is evident that in all cultivated areas, the possessors of property are numerous, and they hold their lands by ancestral descent, but through malevolence and despite, their titles become obscured by the dust of uncertainty and the hand of firmness is no longer stretched over them. If a cultivator hold in awe the power of the Adorner of the universe and the Elixir of the living, and the merchant turn back from evil designing and reflect in his heart on the favour of the lord of the world, the depository of divine grace, his possessions would assuredly be approved of wisdom."23 This is an unambiguous statement, making it abundantly clear that the author took it for granted that the peasant was as absolute in his ownership of his holding as the merchant in the ownership of his merchandise. This is no conditional ownership; it is absolute, intrinsic and complete. It should be remembered that Abūl-Fadl is a panegyrist of Akbar; he loses no opportunity of exaggerating the rights and powers of the crown. If he abstains from calling the emperor the owner of the land and his share in the produce of agricultural land the rent accruing to the sovereign from the property, it is a strong proof that the idea of the state ownership of agricultural holdings was repugnant to the legal theory of the day as well as previous tradition which could not have been unknown to a learned writer like our author.

AURANGZIB'S REIGN.

Even more positive evidence is contained in a farman of Aurangzib addressed to Muhammad Hāshim. A translation of this farman has been published by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his 'Studies in Mughal India.'²⁴ The text of this farman has also been incorpotated in the Mir'at-i-Ahmadī. In the lithograph edition of Bombay in the Gaekwad Oriental Series is better, but unfortunately not

^{23.} Blochmann and Jarrett Vol. ii, p. 52 (Original Edition).
Pp. 169-187.

Here is my translation of the most important free from errors.25 passage: -

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"When kharāj-i-muwazzaf has been fixed, if the owner of the land is unable to provide the means for cultivation or if he runs away leaving the land uncultivated, give that land on lease or for cultivation to some other person and recover the Kharāj from the amount realized from the lease or, if the land has been given to an other person for cultivation, realize the Kharāj from the share of the owner of the land. If there is any surplus left, pay it to the owner. The land may also be given to some person who is appointed to take the place of the owner so that he may pay the Kharāj and utilize the surplus himself. Whenever the owner is able to provide the means of cultivation, the land should be returned to him."26

This passage requires a little explanation. Three methods are prescribed here for getting cultivable land cultivated in case the owner is unable to undertake cultivation or he runs away for some reason: -

- The state should give the land on lease to some other person and realize the Kharāj out of the lease money. It is obvious that the remainder of the income would be paid to the owner.
- The state might employ some man to cultivate the land who would be given a fixed portion of the yield or even a sum of money as his wages. In this case the Kharāj would naturally be recovered from the share of the owner, because the man employed to cultivate the land is a mere labourer.
- The state might ask some one to represent the owner, he would enjoy the rights of the owner during the time he cultivates the land. It is obvious from the context that this method would be adopted when the owner was absconding. If the owner leaves an heir behind, he would be the most natural person to be appointed his representative.

The peasant has been clearly defined as the owner and an elaborate rate machinery has been provided to keep up the production and also to safeguard the rights of ownership which is not conditional because it does not depend on the payment of the state demand, but is absolute and complete.

The farman is in Vol. i, pp. 268 to 278.

^{26.} P. 269, on line 14 should be read as.

Another passaage is worth quoting:—"(If a waste) land is the property of some one and the owner is present, and is able to cultivate it, he should be asked to bring it under cultivation; and if such land is not owned by any one, or if its owner is not known, it should be given to some one who has the means of bringing it back to life so that he does so."²⁷

In a third passage the farman speaks of the rule that he who brings unowned waste land 'to life' is its owner, irrespective of his being a Muslim or a non-Muslim.²⁸ Such land, the farman lays it down, cannot be taken away from him. The farman has also rules regarding the realization of the state demand from holdings which have been leased, mortgaged or sold by their owners.²⁹ This makes it clear that the peasant had all the rights of sale and transfer granted to him by the state.

The text of the farmān is so clear that it should set all controversy at rest, because it not only calls the peasant the owner of the land unambiguously but also enumerates the various accidents which lawyers associate with ownership and provide methods to safeguard those rights even when the state, in its endeavour to maintain the prosperity and productivity of the Empire takes steps to keep his holding under cultivation.

A COMMENTARY.

But the evidence contained in the farman has been challenged. The first ground for this challenge is that a manuscript of the farman in the Berlin Royal Library has an interleaved commentary in Persian by a unknown author who tries to explain away the term the owner of the land' by saying that it could mean only 'the owner of the crops', "for the owner of the land is the sovereign." The only reason advanced for this statement is that the owner of the land would not run away leaving his land and would discharge his obligations to the state by selling it.²⁹ But surely the reason for running away need not be necessarily the lack of the means of some other cause entirely unconnected with the cultivation of the extent that running away was not necessary. The text says that

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^{27.} P. 269. 28. Ibid.

^{29.} Sarkar: Studies in Mughal India, pp. 172, ff.

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away, and the use of the word 'or' shows that the two contingencies might not be connected. In one of the passages quoted above the farmon mentions 'the owner of desert or waste land': how could the owner of a desert or waste land be 'the owner of the crops' of a cropless holding? Similarly the man who has mortgaged or leased his land to another man for cultivation can, by no stretch of imagination, be called the owner of the crops. Actually the commentary contradicts itself at so many places that it cannot be taken seriously by any student of history and therefore its objections can be dismissed.

MORELAND'S OBJECTIONS.

The other objections come from Moreland, who holds the view that the farman deals with matters which have no reference to facts of agrarian administration in India. It would be better to bear in mind the fact that this farman is not a theoretical enunciation of legal principles in a text-book, but a document of instructions sent by the Emperor to an official of the state. However, let us examine Moreland's reasons:—

(i) "The anonymous commentator whose observations are included in Porfessor Sarkar's translation of the farman was obviously puzzled by the unfamiliar term (that is, 'the owner')".

The reply to that objection is that the commentator has not been proved to be a contemporary; a man living during the days of post-Aurangzib anarchy or later would naturally be puzzled because a new theory was coming into existence which resulted in the establishment of the zamindari system.

(ii) "The force of parts of the farman is distorted by the conception of land devoted permanently to a particular crop."

I have not been able to discover any such passage.

(iii) "We are given detailed rules for lands under dates and almonds, which were almost irrelevant in India, but we find nothing about the particular difficulties connected with characteristic Indian crops such as sugarcane."

Dates are not mentioned; probably Moreland is referring to grapes and almonds. The passage occurs in connection with gardens and not with agricultural crops. Certain general rules regarding gardens have been mentioned; grapes and almonds, on account of

^{30.} Agrarian System of Muslim India, pp. 139, 140,

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their different nature, have been exempted from these rules. The passage has a relevance, because the Empire included Kashmir as well as parts of modern Afghanistan and these areas are well known for the cultivation of these crops. The cultivation of grapes was not unknown in India proper as well. The farman is not referring to any difficulties in growing these crops, it only is referring to the rate of assessment of state demand. In connection with sugarcane and other characteristically Indian crops, the farman takes schedules of the demand rate for granted.

(iv) "The farman stresses the distinction between tithe land and tribute land....but I have failed so far to find a single case of tithe land existing in India...."

One can only say that Moreland has overlooked important evidence contained in Chachnāmah, Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh, Futuḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī and Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhi.31

Hence the items which Moreland considers to be surplusage were part of the agrarian administration of India; and, therefore, the farman and the evidence which it contains cannot be dismissed so easily. The farman should not be looked upon as a complete manual of instructions; it only brings to the notice of the officers concerned certain definite needs felt at the time. The main thing is that it does not contain a new instruction to look upon the peasant as the owner of the land but takes his ownership for granted.

A number of modern writers have suggested that the peasant's holding was confiscated in case of rebellion. The punishment for high treason and rebellion could extend to the confiscation of property; this applied to movable as well as immovable property. This confiscation, however, was only punishment; it falls under a different legal category; it was not the resumption of its own property by the state. Such confiscation is, therefore, entirely irrelevant in considering the state. sidering the legal rights of the peasant. It should, however, be remembered that the confiscation of agricultural holdings would be a very rare phenomenon because the state would gain nothing. An empty holding is no asset, and there was but little competition for land in the land in those days for there was still plenty of land awaiting development. Besides an unemployed desperate peasant without any stake would be those days of stake would be a source of greater danger, and in those days of deep form. deep forests it would be well nigh impossible to punish him. Muhammad bin Tughluq made the mistake of alienating the pea-

^{31.} Qureshi: The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhī, pp. 98, 99,

santry of the Doab and we all know the results. Indeed it was the consistent policy of the state to increase production and because there was a great deal of uncultivated land and the pressure on land, owing to the smallness of population and the wider opportunities of alternative employmet, was much weaker, a peasant was a cherished asset. The entire historical literature of the period lays emphasis on the fact that the peasant was the foundation of the prosperity and wealth of the state.32 It is generally not realized that one of the causes of the stability and progress of the Muslim dominion in India was the instinctive alliance between the state and the peasantry who were protected from the exactions and tyranny of the hereditary chiefs.33 It is significant that Barana uses the word 'Hindu' for the chieftains and the men of upper classes, the peasantry are always thought of as a separate class and the mainstay of Muslim empire in India.34

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It has been suggested that the relations between the state and the peasantry were governed by the conception of duty so far as the peasants were concerned and not by the determination of rights. An elementary knowledge of Muslim law would convince the inquirer that the Shar takes cognizance both of rights and duties. We have already noticed how the right of ownership was guaranteed and respected. We hear of the duty of the peasant to cultivate his holding under Aurangzīb, but this duty did not make the peasant's ownership partial or conditional.35 He still remained the owner whether he cultivated his soil or not; even when the state cultivated the holding for him, it respected his right of ownership. The duty to cultivate the soil was a public duty; its purpose was to keep up the level of production; it nowhere interfered with the peasan's right to ownership.

Aurangzib's farman as well as the law-books give the right to the peasant to build a house on his holdings, to convert it into a garden or endow it for charitable purposes. Thus all the incidents of property which were mentioned in the beginning of this paper are found to be included in the rights of the peasants. Actually, the proprietary rights of the peasant in his holding are so manifest that it is surprising that any contrary opinion should have been held at any time.

32. Idem, p. 193.

34. Idem, pp. 287, 288.

^{33.} Baranī, p. 432 (Tārikh-i-Firūzshāhī, Bih. Ind. Edition).

Just as the state may billet soldiers in private houses, but this does not take away the proprietory rights of the owner of a house.

An Important Verse from the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa I.

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DASHARATHA SHARMA,

The following verse from the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa I, the Rastrakuta ruler of Manyakheta, compares him and the Gupta ruler Chandragupta II as donors and is generally referred to by most of the recent writers on these two monarchs:—

Hatvī bhrātarameva rājyamaharaddevīni cha dīnastathā lakṣam kōṭimalekhayan kila galau dātā so Guptānvayan

yenātyāji tanuḥ savarājyamasakṛd bāhyārthakaiḥ kā kathā hrīstasyonnati Rāṣṭrakūṭatilako dāteti kīrtyāmapi¹ ||

Writing in the pages of this Journal,² Mr. Jagannath translates it tentatively as follows:—

"The wretch, having killed his brother, seized the kingdom as well as the queen. It is said that he, the bounteous giver belonging to the Gupta dynasty, caused lacs and crores (lit, a lac and a crore) (of grants) to be written in the Kali age, [or caused to be lanced or sacrificed lacs and crores of enemies in battle (kari)]. (But) he who renounced his own kingdom several times (regarding it as) trivial, what to say in his case of external objects. That omament of the exalted Rāṣṭrakūṭas, even in the reputation of being adonor, (is the giver of) shame to him (the Gupta donor)."

A better translation would, however, be as follows:—

"Strangely enough in this Kaliyuga, he, the wretch belonging to the Gupta family, is famed as a donor who killing his brother disast crore (in his grants). (On the other hand), he the head of the Rastrakūta family, who has more than once offered himself and his

^{1.} E.I., XVIII, p. 248. 2. XIX, pp. 160-161.

kingdom in charity what to speak of external objects, feels abashed even on being named as a giver of gifts."3

Here the contrast is obviously between the vainglory of the Gupta ruler Chandragupta II, who according to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa epigraphist, though very much inferior in morals as well as deeds of charity to Amōghavarṣa I, gained fame by having false statements recorded in his grants, and the modesty of the latter who, inspite of being one of the greatest donors that the world has produced, one ever ready to sacrifice all that he had, including his body and kingdom, blushed with shame moment he was mentioned as a liberal giver of gifts!!!

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^{3.} The last line is, as pointed out by Mr. Jagannath, defective. I think we should have had some verb there with the sense of udeti instead of the present unnati.

^{4.} For another fling at Chandragupta II in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, see the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV.

Editorial

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OBITUARY

We record with the greatest regret, the passing away of Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar almost in the prime of life. After having been for some time in the Government Department of Epigraphy, Sukhtankar was chosen for the very important work of a critical edition of the Mahabarata inaugurated at the All India Oriental Poona in 1919. The late Dr. Sukhtankar Conference at qualified the task by previous well for was not only he but also showed much enthusiasm eudcation the subject. He threw himself heart and soul into the task and succeeded in bringing out half a dozen volumes of the critical edition. Latterly a scheme was adopted for scholarly co-operation in the work and there was great hope that Sukhtankar would have brought the work to completion soon provided there were resources for publication equal to the earnestness and enthusiasm of the workers. It is matter for sorrow for all his friends and scholars far and near that he should not have lived on to complete this great work.

Reviews

THE LALITA CULT. By Mr. V.R.R. Dikshitar, M.A, University of Madras.

The work appears as Bulletin No. 8 of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology. The author has already established his reputation as a critical scholar by his learned publications, and this, his latest work is a very useful addition to the existing literature on an important aspect of Indian culture. This small book of 96 pages gives a critical exposition of the cult of Lalita on the backthe basis of the Brahmanda Purana, and discusses it on the background of the Sakti-cult in general as conceived in India from time immemorial. Mr. Dikshitar very rightly insists on the very wide ramification of this cult, both in India and abroad, and its great antiquity. quity. He has given a short account of the Sakti cult in India from the time of the Indus Valley Civilisation, with a brief account of the forms in which it appears in different branches of Indian religious literature. He winds up his discourse by a general discussion of the philosophic basis of the sakti cult. It would be idle to expect that the treatment of the sakti cult. that the treatment of such a wide and complicated subject in such a short compass would be exhaustive or fully comprehensive; but the author has handled the main problems with care and judgment and his work will serve as a very good introduction to the subject in all its bearings.

R. C. MAJUMDAR,

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI, By Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab), Reader in History, University of Delhi. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore. Pp. XVI and 288 Price Rs. 8.

This useful and informing book, the substance of which formed the thesis which secured for the author a Cambridge Doctorate. surveys the evolution of the administrative institutions of the Sultanate of Delhi, which persisted down to the end of the Sur Empire in A.D. 1555 and were largely adapted into the Mughul system. After a careful, intensive and sober evaluation of the authorities including contemporary literature and treatises on law and statecraft the discerning of the universal from the local elements in which is delicate, Dr. Qureshi deals with the legal position of the Delhi Sultanate, which, under Ala-ud-din, came to be termed the Caliphate, first by court poets and writers, and openly declared to be such under his successor from A.D. 1317. Muhammad bin Tughluq expressly sought recognition from the Egyptian Caliph, and the precedent set by him developed in a short space of time into an unmeaning custom. In course of time the term Khilafat lost its original meaning in India and could not be kept alive even by legal quibbles. The supremacy of the Shar' was an admitted fact; but the jurists theoretically recognised the right of the Sultan, in the absence of the Caliph, to act as the supreme interpreter of the Law; but he could not go against the recognised interpretation. Dr. Qureshi presses the resemblance of this feature to the concept of the superiority of Dharma over the Hindu king. He also stresses the feature of the exercise of real and great power by the nobles. 'Election by force or usurpation' which was a recurring feature is explained to show that its recognition only reveals a strong sense of political decency among the ruling classes; and the corollary of the right of election was the right of dethronement, for which injustice or infirmity constituted sufficient justification in most cases.

The royal household, like that of many states in Mediaeval Europe, had a large share of the administrative machinery. Mayor of the Palace, Chamberlain, and other European terms may not connote accurately the character and power of the great household

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officers like the vakil-i-dar and the amir hajib. Neither the ladies nor the princes of the royal household played any considerable part in politics, except very occasionally. The birudas and insignia of royalty are not fully differentiated from the rights and privileges of sovereignty as embodied in the Khutbah, sikkah and tarāz.

The attrition of representative institutions, marked even in the writings of the jurists, took, in a number of cases, the shape of the sovereign seeking the advice of the wise and the experienced; and the ministers owed responsibility only to the crown and had no representative status. The principal diwanis and the chief secretarial offices are examined and particular attention is devoted to the wazir's position, and to the stress on the importance of the dabir and the barid, primarily resulting from the conception of the monarch as the embodiment of benevolent vigilance. There was no possibility of any united ministerial opposition to the crown, nor of their leading a nebulous council against their master.

In the chapter on finance, we note that the assessment of the jiziyah was generally lenient and graded; that sharing, appraisement and measurement had all occupied positions of varying importance in the land-tax system of the period under survey and that, in all probability, the earlier sultans demanded a fifth of the produce. The continued prevalence of tax-farming in one form or another is a feature that runs through the entire period of study, and the system of assignments is shrewdly held to have served as a potent and convenient instrument of financial manipulation by the state, especially during crises. The privy purse of the ruler varied according to place and person, but had certain traditional responsibilities attaching to it. The size, component elements, strategy, machinery for maintenance and transport and the decimal basis of organisation of the army of the Sultans are all sketched in instructive and authorites. ritative detail. Likewise, we learn of the observance of a distinction has tion between what may be deemed to be administrative law and common law in judicial administration. Equity played some part in inter-religious disputes. Economic control, such as that exercised by Ala'ral growth and the disputes. by Ala'ud-din Khilji, is shown to be part of the duties of the diwaninstrument and all that the Khilji Sultan did was "not in forging the instrument, and all that the Khilji Sultan did was not in the Stress is 1. But in developing it and increasing its efficiency." Stress is laid on the view that the Delhi Sultans were as much patrons of arts and letters as the Mughals were; and the Sultanate deserves the title of a Culture State just as much as the empire of the Great No. the Great Mughul." Hindu culture did not always "blossom in the

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desert air" in the period, but received general encouragement, and more markedly in particular phases, like music. The status and powers of the provincial governor are detailed both in theory and practice. The smaller units of administration, the position of the Hindu tributary chiefs and the general treatment of the Hindu population are all described with documented perspicacity and authoritative discernment. Particularly the last subject viz.; the status of the Hindus, is examined not from the point of view of the chroniclers who wrote for effect, but more on the basis of the statements of monarchs and political writers. An attempt is made to prove that government never tried to force its culture on an unwilling people, that the development of the Bhakti cult is the best tribute to the general tolerance of the Sultans, and that Akbar's policy towards the Hindus was but "a recognition of the power which the Hindus had never lost." In this connection we may note that K. M. Ashraf has remarked that it is often forgotten that "Akbar's measures would have been almost fruitless without the ground work of his predecessors in this direction." (Note 1-p. 140-'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan 1200-1550 A.D.').

Our author adds that the Hindus were "better off under the Muslims than under Hindu tributaries or independent rulers." This last statement needs some degree of modification and more abundent proof before it can be conceded fully; and strangely enough, the chronicler, Barani, is brought in as a prop of the evidence of the prosperity of the Hindus in the Khilji empire—the term held contemporarily to be applicable, according to Moreland, only to the better classes of Hindu landowners and chiefs. Instances are given of the appreciative tone adopted in Hindu writings and traditions towards the Sultans. Altogether the book is a careful study of what the author rightly calls the cultural glory of Delhi, of which stone and mortar reveal but little. The various items of appendix matter, some of which go deeply into minute and controversial subjects are very useful additions to the book; particular mention should be made of the Select Bibliography, which is equally elaborate and exhaustive and has been commented upon in brief, but pregnant, compass in the introduction. The breadth of view characterising the treatment of the governmental system and the achievements of the Sultanate is specially commendable. The erudition with which the facts are marshalled and the sobriety marking the conclusions are also noteworthy. Small slips like Todd for Tod on p. 95 occur in a few places; but they do not detract in any way from the thorough

ness of execution and get up that characterise the book and reflect great credit alike to the author and the publisher.

C.S.S.

OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE. By A. M. A. Shushtery, Professor of Iranian Language and Literature, The University of Mysore. With a Foreword by Sir Abdul Qadir, Kt., Member, His Majesty's Council of India. Volume I. Historical and Cultural Aspects. Volume II. Philosophical and Theological Aspects. Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City. Pp. Vol. I & II, xxiv, 802 and viii.

Professor Shushtery has presented in these two volumes what he rightly names a panorama of Islamic Culture in its widest outline, which is marked by accuracy of information. According to Sir Abdul Qadir, the author's estimate of Islamic influences on Hindu culture and of the counter-influences of Hindu culture has been quite fair. The first volume is devoted to the historical and cultural aspects of the theme, while the second deals with its philosophical and theological phases.

Beginning with the life of the Prophet and the spread of Islam till about 750 A,D.—which stage of expansion is illustrated with a map,—Prof. Shushtery surveys, in brief compass, the fortunes of Islam in Egypt, Iraq, Iran, China, the territories of the U.S. S. R., Turkey, Central and Northern Africa, the Malay Archipelago and, finally India. In summing up the more important factors that have been promoting the spread of Islam in India, he puts missionary activities on the part of Sufi thinkers at the end of his enumeration of the factors and holds that the fundamental question of rebetween Hindus and Muslims in India can be solved only when all Indians shall become more national and less religious-

The chapter dealing with Muslim sects and their development contains useful information about the Wahabis and the Babis and about the modern nationalist movements, which so far as they have heen attempted in Turkey, in Iran and Egypt, have only proved that pan-Islamism is 'but a dream', and that the modernisation of the peoples of the Islamic countries on a national basis is a most effective and realisable aim to follow.

After this fairly detailed and comprehensive treatment of the political history of Islam, our author proceeds to deal with the his-

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tory of Muslim literature, which comprehends broadly, Arabic, Turkish, Iranian and Urdu literatures. The modern period of Arabic literature is held to start from the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt; and that of Turkish literature is co-eval with the Kemalist movement. India has been rightly regarded as the second home of the Iranian language. He charges modern Indian writers with a lack of fixed aims, unlike as in the case of their compeers in Iran and Turkey. Regarding Urdu, his remarks are very sugges-"Urdu is an offshoot of Sanskrit, but unfortunately it has adopted its foster-parents, Arabic and Iranian, as its true father and mother. It has not enriched itself from its original sources. Many important works from Sanskrit and Prakrit have been translated but many more are still available for translation. Urdu must not be considered and made an exclusive property of the Muslims. It has taken its birth in the Hindu-Muslim family for ever and ever." (Page 160).

Writing on Muslim universities and educational development from the time of the Khalifs, the author lays special stress on the branches of science originally acquired from non-Arab sources. Among these latter, which comprehended both physical and natural sciences, medicine served as the main link of the cultural connection between Classical, and Modern Europe, forged and shaped by Muslim genius. Next, in the treatment of trade, commerce and navigation, the Muslim navy of earlier days is shown to have really paved the way for the ocean commerce of the modern age. Dealing with the aesthetic culture of Islam under its two main branches, Music and Architecture, the degree of indebtedness of Indian tunes to Iran is pointed out; while the defect of Hindustani Muslim musicians is held to be their lack of theoretical knowledge and ignorance of Sanskrit literature in which Deccani Hindus, particularly the Marathas, excel. The religious architecture of Islam is out lined, in all its wide range from Cordova to Canton and from Samarkand to the Malay Peninsula. Secular architecture was closely blended with this and both are said to have reached the zenith of beauty in India, while preserving at the same time their 'Muslim' individuality. Mughal architecture is traced in some fullness and the causes for its decay after Aurangzeb's reign are examined. An explanation is given why in China and Malaya Muslim buildings have adopted only the indigenous style.

Calligraphy has been one of the peculiar heritages of the Muslim nations; Iran has been its cradle and the zenith of Iranian

art in this field was reached during the rule of the Timurids and the Safavids. The sister arts of pottery and glass-work, including glazed tiles, and those of carpet-making, metal-work, painting and drawing, gardening and horticulture, all have been noticed in the concluding chapter of the first volume, in a manner that is perhaps a litte too heavy for the lay reader, on account of the wealth of detail given as to their progress. Herein we welcome the note furnished on the Hindu contributions to Muslim arts and sciences, containing a list of Indian works translated into Arabic, of Hindu compositions in Iranian and of Hindu poets and authors in Urdu.

Our author maintains that all the Indian vernaculars including current Sanskrit itself, have been appreciably influenced by Iranian, Arabic and Turkish languages; and that several points of view in Hindu philosophy and religion have been largely modified by contact with Muslim culture.

The second volume traces the history of Muslim philosophy from the pre-Islamic stages down to the present day, indicating all the external influences that have been brought to bear on its evolution, as well as the political and sociological ideas connected with it. The golden age of Muslim philosophy was the epoch between the 10th and 14th centuries A.D. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's theory of the 'Preserving Self' is held to be indicative of the present tendency of Muslim philosophy to reconcile the classical views with the present-day western thought.

The sketch of Sufis and Sufism covers a chapter of nearly 90 pages. The movement started with aesthetic and pious life, developed into a system of philosophy in which ethics was greatly stressed and has now largely degenerated into speculation, semi-religious teremonies, a kind of brotherhood, a means of begging and a cause of revolution. Estimating the causes of the decline of the Sufispirit, our author views the rise and spread of western civilization and the modernisation of Islamic countries as being the most important. But he visualises the possibility of a revival of Sufism which that the new revival will be based on pure philosophical argument and moral purity without attachment to any creed or religion.

Dealing next with the subject of Muslims scholasticism and its two chief school, Prof. Shushtery details the achievement of the triumphed over philosophy' (p. 578) in Islam. Scholasticism had

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The subject next treated is Moslem jurisprudence and theology, and their treatment covers the evolution of a system of juris, prudence and the several well-marked periods of its development as well as the Shariat and its chief bases. In dealing with Muslim sociology—a field rather vague and lending itself to diverse topics the task of defining and classifying the definite contributions of Islam to the social development of the different Muslim nationalities is well done. Islam's achievement towards the improvement of the position of women is stressed. The cult of the saints as contributing to the richness of social and religious life is explained, as also the defects and shortcomings of the system. But little of symbolism has been known in Islam, which does not sanction nor use symbols on any appreciable scale. The history of the Crescent and the Star used by the Turks is obscure; and a European writer suggests that the Crescent of the Turks was really in its origin a horseshoe. In Iran and in India other symbols were used in the stan-The belief in the existence of demons and spirits is widespread. Houses and furniture as they have evolved through the ages receive also a short notice.

The last chapter bearing on the Future of Islam is particularly instructive; The progress of Islam in India as due to the preachings by the Sufis and as represented in its modern reformed shape is visualised, and Indian Muslims are urged to reform and modernise themselves and yet remain good Muslims, to join their countrymen, minimise their economic and religious differences with them and evolve and pursue a common aim and a common aspiration for the country as a whole. Thus he ends with this most healthy note: "A strong and united India means a strong Iran, a strong Iraq and a strong Arabia. Hindu-Muslim unity is not possible so long as both the major communities strive for their own single betterment. The effort should be for combined, united action. The time has come when, not only Hindus and Muslims must forget their religious differences but others, such as Sikhs and Christians also must join and become one great nation." This idea is a fitting conclusion to a very laborious process of the presentation of Islam in its cultural and other evolution, from the point of view that has always been kent in promise and the point of view that has always been kept in prominence by the learned author throughout the treatment, viz., the points which are common to Islamic and other cultures should be brought to the fore-front in order to promote fraternity

between Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus the book should be of particular interest to all Indian scholars and has a special value and lesson for every category of Indian nationalists.

1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAUHANS OF AJMER AND IDENTITY OF PRITHVIRAJ CHAUHAN'S MATERNAL GRANDFATHER. 2. GAURIYA CULTURE (ITS ORIGIN AND SPREAD IN ANCIENT INDIA). Both by Panchanana Raya, Deputy Accountant-General, Jaipur State. (Printer at the Jaipur State Press, Jaipur, 1942).

Mr. Raya's previous work-'A Historical Review of Hindu India 300 B.C. to 1200 A.D.—was reviewed in Part II of the Journal of Indian History,' Volume XX. In his booklet on the Chauhans of Ajmer, Mr. Raya tries to elucidate views contained in chapters 31-35 of that book. Thus he would say: in the discussion of the origins of the Chandravamsa it would be rational to assume that the expression Chandravamsa, applied to the dynasty of the Imperial Guptas and to its branches and offshoots and that in later days many ruling families declared themselves as belonging to the Surya Vamsa, or declared so by their respective panegyrist writers. The Prithiviraj Bijoy Mahakavya, which has been deemed to be more authoritative than Chand Bardai's Raso, with regard to the history of the Chauhans of Ajmer, gives a genealogy of the dynasty which corresponds with that given in the Bijolia inscription, but it seems to be defective in places. After considering the exact connotation and location of Tripuri and the origin of Sahasik and his son Tejal who gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Someshwar of Ajmer and the possibility of identifying both these latter rulers with Vijaya Sen and Ballal Sen, Mr. Raya concludes that Prithiving virja was the grandson of Ballal Sen and got the Delhi kingdom as a gift from him. In these Mr. Raya beats new ground and puts forward novel theories, which have got to be examined carefully hefore they could be accepted or rejected.

The booklet on Gauriya Culture is an attempt to trace the evolution of the creed of Love (Prema) from ancient times down to Bengal was the centre of administration of the Gupta kings, but it should be closely associated and that West Bengal where there was not the centre of the Gauriya culture with which Gupta culture ho place known by the name of Gaur, but the whole country has

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been known by that name was the real birth place of Gauriya Vaishnava Culture. Waves of this culture spread freely to Malwa and Rajaputana; even at the present day there are numerous links to be seen of this connection. The culture fostered by the Guptas was in reality the Gauriya Culture which spread Vaishnavism in the Brajamandal and elsewhere by means of the Gauriya Goswamis. The Kurukshetra or Saraswata branch of Gauriya civilisation influenced Kashmir as well. Even Nepal and Kamarupa were influenced by the creed, while in Orissa and Kalinga and in the further south the cult spread in some measure. Incidentally among his many conjectures Mr. Raya says that it is more than probable that Madhwa, the great Acharya, came in spiritual contact with his predecessor, Javadeva Goswami of the Gita Govinda fame. It is difficult to give any support to the statement that the Gauriya culture must have found its way into Japan in the eighth and ninth centuries (page 60). He becomes almost ecstatic about the Lord Chaitanya, whose disciples created the neo-Gauriya Vaishnavism of Brajamandal that produced Mira Bai and other religious leaders and saints. The same remark that we made in the review of the author's 'A Historical Review of Hindu India' will have to be repeated here: While the treatment is based on bold projections and the arguments are very cleverly put, the conclusions should give us a great deal of matter for speculation. But one thing is the obvious inference, viz. the pan-Indian character and spread of many of our cultural movements.

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INDIA AND THE PACIFIC WORLD. By Kalidas Nag, M.A., (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). Book Company Ltd., Caluctta, 1941.

An extensive tour through several islands of the Pacific, undertaken by Dr. Kalidas Nag a few years ago, was the foundation of the present work. Dr. Nag was not satisfied with sight-seeing: he visited museums, studied local bibliography, consulted libraries, moved in the scholarly world, talked with professors and scholars, gave lectures and investigated ancient Indian contacts.

Dr. Nag had been one of the founders of the Greater India Society of Calcutta; this research tour gave him an opportunity to realize the extraordinary sea-faring activities of the ancient Indians in the Pacific once more. His tour, as reflected in the book under review, clearly shows how vast was the area covered by the activities of the ancient Indians throughout the East. The Greater Indians

of the East thus extends practically through the whole Pacific world. Relics of these ancient Indian migrations are found not only in the shape of archaeological remains lately discovered in those countries, but also in many interesting anthropological data and not less absorbing linguistic relics in the languages of those islands. The influence of Sanskrit, for instance, over the Tagalog (p. 72), the most common language of the Philippines, is a fact which may arouse great interest in India and may eventually lead to most extraordinary discoveries. These Indian influences on the Pacific are clearly admitted by Dr. Nag to be of Dravidian origin to a great extent (e.g. on p. 128). The worship of Siva under different names in the Philippines by both the Tagalog and the Visayas is also a confirmation of this Dravidian influence in the Pacific islands.

The contention of some modern anthropologists of Australia who see some relationship between the Australian aborigines and the Dravidians of South India may be well-established, though it may show likewise a slight misunderstanding as regards the word Dravidian, a misunderstanding which may mislead many students of anthropology. The people of South India in general may be styled Dravidians linguistically only. The transfer of this linguistic meaning to the racial meaning seems as illogical, to use the comparion of Max Müller, as the mention of Dolico-cephalic lexicons or Brachy-cephalic languages. Racially considered, the people of northern India in general seem to be more purely Dravidian than the people of the South. There does not exist, therefore, an Austro-Dravidian or Melano-Dravidian race as some anthropologists affirm. The Dravidian race in general is not mixed with any other one, though there are branches of it, for instance, in South India, who are mixed with other races, e.g., with the Negritoes. Therefore the similarity between some tribes of Australia and some of the peoples of South India will not prove that the Australian immigrants did actually come there from the South of India. They may have been, for the matter of that, Dravidian immigrants from the north who were latterly mixed with other Austric races of the Pacific.

Dr. Nag quotes the opinion of the eminent anthropologist, oultures in pre-Dravidian and Dravidian Southern India (pp. 85-86). Very wisely, therefore, Dr. Nag remark the following in continuafield for those who aspire to contribute new chapters to the prehis-

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ividia toric and anthropolgical studies of Asia." (p. 86). We readily endorse Dr. Nag's statement. The study of pre-Aryan or Dravidian India, both in the South and in the North, will offer a solution to many historical, cultural and anthropological problems, not only in the Pacific world or in India, but also in Southern, Western and Central Europe. We have often been misled by those who emphasize the importance of the Aryan element in India. Every day will realize more and more that the Aryanization of India vanishes as a myth. The great transformation which took place in India after the Aryan invasion was the Dravidization of the Aryans, just it happened in Greece and in Rome.

The work of Dr. Nag is a source of inspiration to study the ancient migrations of the Dravidians of India throughout the Pacific. They were the great sea-farers in ancient times, not only in the East, but in the West also. The Mohenjodaro inscriptions speak to us of the tribe of the Tirayirs, or Tirayars, "the people of the sea" (cf. Heras, "The Tirayars in Mohenjo-Daro," (J.B.B.R.A.S., XIV pp. 73-78), and later Tamil literature mentions them once more as having five such tribes which were spread throughout "the seven seas". These seven seas seem to have been the seas of the East, the Eastern seas. They mark the route of those extraordinary navigators of old, who were the founders of international trade and the colonizers of a new world of thousands of islands discovered by them many millenniums before the Spanish and the Portuguese navigators.

Dr. Nag's work cannot be qualified as a work of new and deep research. It is a first-class work of compilation of research done in the Pacific world discovering to Indian readers the ancient and suggestive links between that world of islands and our country, and as such we welcome it most warmly and recommend it most earnestly to our readers. It is an invitation to Indian research workers to a vast field often forgotten. We hope that this invitation will be accepted by many sincere workers in the field of Indian historical research.

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PROTO-INDIC RELIGION. By Mr. S. Srikantha Sastry, M.A.

The publication of the first report of the excavations conducted by the Archeological Department on the site of Mohenjadaro by Sir John Marshal attracted public attention almost immediately, and the finds excellently illustrated and published in ample measure in the volumes lead to further study by scholars outside the department. This has been added to and enriched further by the publication of Mr. Mackay's report, almost as a supplement to the first, incorporating results of further excavation and investigation on the spot. Later still the work on the site of Harappa higher up in the Punjab was carried much further and a report not less valuable was published recently by Mr. Vats of the Archeological Department. This provides ample material for the study of what Sir John Marshal happily designated the Indus Valley civilization. The subject undoubtedly attracted wide attention and valuable contributions have been made on the topic already; but so far, the really important and vital parts of the subject remained to be studied and expounded. For one thing the script which a large number of finds carry has not been so far satisfactorily deciphered and read. Apart from this the character of the civilization remains partially obscure in regard to its position in Indian Civilization. Its connection with the civilization of Mesapotamia and the intervening regions between India and the Mediteranian, has been most successfully studied; but its relation to Vedic civilization and the so called Dravidic civilization of India remains yet to be studied systematically. Efforts have been made in this direction, but this cannot be described as successful, or perhaps even satisfactory. One problem of the utmost importance was the study of the finds from the point of view of religion, early primitive religion, in its various aspects. That has to be worked up systematically by a collateral study of the finds themselves, to select those of any religious significance, with a view to the suggestion of possible classification of these, and a really systematic study of the earliest vedic literature, particularly the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda which seem to be really more intimately connected with each other than has been recognised by scholars so far. This line of study was wanting hitherto and we are pleased indeed to note that Mr. Srikantha Sastry has begun this important line of research.

The tendency hitherto has been to regard this as belonging to a civilization which has been too readily named Dravidian civilization. A certain amount of work has been done on this line, but could not be regarded as yet adequate or even satisfactory. No really satisfactory opinion on its character can be arrived at without more careful and extensive study of these finds in their religious and mystic significance should there be such Mr. Sastry seems to be really well qualified for qualified for attempting this task systematically, and the work before us gives evidence of his qualifications for attempting the task.

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In this brochure of about 90 pages Mr. Sastry has shown that this opens a vista well worth pursuing in fuller detail. We have had clear and unmistakable indication of the cult of Rudra-Pasupati as Forest God. There is unmistakable evidence of the mother cult and scholars recently have discovered evidence of even tantric Agamaic Vaishnavaism. This certainly opens a line of work which requires to be done before any verdict could be pronounced There is much else to which Mr. Srikantha Sastry draws attention: subjects like early Astronomy, the week days etc., which already promised satisfactory results if carried out more systematically and expounded with the necessary illustrations. We commend the work of Mr. Sastry as a first effort on a very important line of investigation and we hope it is not only he but scholars possessing the requisite qualifications of detailed and intimate study of Vedic literature, particularly Rig and Atharva-vedas and equally systematic study of the Archeological finds of the Indus Valley as well as the finds of babylonian and Mediteranian civilization, would pursue the studies further and carry the investigation to a successful completion.

ISAVASYOPANISHAD—BHASHYA. By Sri Venkatanatha, Critical edition and translation by Dr. K. C. Varadachari, and Pandit Siromani D. T. Tatacharya, (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series).

This work is an important edition of Vedanta Desika's commentary on this fundamental Upanishad. The Upanishad has been published with the commentaries of various schools in several good editions, the particular feature of this publication is the additional exposition of Vedanta Desika's commentary which expounds the Upanishad from the piont of view of Visishtadvaita. It is presented in a carefully published edition with the necessary apparatus for study by earnest students of Indian religion who may not have the equipment necessary for the full understanding of the subject. work of these scholars is the careful edition of the Bhashya and its exposition and translation in English. It is a very satisfactory exposition of the topic and the credit of the publication is due to the newly organised Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute at Tirupati. Its new Director Mr. P. V. Ramanujaswami is the general editor of the series of which this is No. 5. It consists of an account of the life and work of Vedanta-Desika by Dr. Varadacharya his exposition is but satisfactory, on the whole

shows itself to be erroneous in detail chiefly chronological. There is one point to which attention must be drawn: Vedanta Desika is said to have lived at Satyamangalam on the banks of the Kaveri during his exile. He is not alone in this error, but the place of residence of Vedanta Desika was Sattegala a village on the bank of Kaveri, close to the frontier of Mysore, Satyamangalam being on the Bhavani far from the Kaveri.

This is followed by a publication of the two well known versions of the Upanishads, namely the Kanva and the Madhyandina recensions. Then there is a note on the commentaries on the Upanishad iollowed by expositions on the structure and plan of the Upanishad. There is also a useful note upon the editions of the Upanishad available for study and the manuscripts consulted. It is a valuable work for those interested in the study of the subject and the newly organised institute deserves credit for having brought out this edition of the upanishad.

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS—MONOGRAPH NO. 20. SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN'S CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE TRIPARTITE TREATY. By Lajpat Rai Nair, M.A.

This is a pamphlet of just over a hundred pages, one of the Punjab Record Office Publications published by the General Editor Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph. D., Keeper of the Records. The pur-Pose of this brochure is to exhibit the part played by Sir William Macnaghten in the course of the negotiations which ultimately orought about the First Afghan War. It is a well known fact that the correspondence relating to this war had been so much altered to suit the political exigencies of the time that Sir John Kaye, the author of the work "War in Afghanistan" was provoked to such a great extent that the work suffered badly by his flying to the other extreme. It was a question of who was most to blame in the bringing about of this War. Kaye's criticism only went to the extreme of accusing both Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, and Sir William Mr. William Macnaghten, Chief Secretary, of great unscrupulousness in manipulation nanipulating the correspondence to justify their going to War.
This was done. This was due in part to the fact that undue responsibility was thrown upon Cart. upon Captain Burnes. In an attempt to do justice to him, Kay flew into the other. into the other extreme. In an attempt to do justice to many present the other extreme. This work of Lajpat Rai Nair attempts to present the negotiations which led to the War, in the proper light by going to the original correspondence, mainly the letters of Sir

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neral f an adabut William Macnaghten written to his colleague Torrens, all the time he was engaged in negotiations with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja. The work consists mostly in exhibiting the facts as they appear in these letters, checked and confirmed by other relevant authorities on the subject both original and secondary. The subject is here presented with fullness of detail to carry conviction to the reader and successfully present the causes that terminated in the War in Afghanistan. It might be regarded quite a successful effort. Both the author and the editor deserve to be congratulated.

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SECRET OF SPIRITUAL LIFE. By Dr. Mohan Singh, University Oriental College, Lahore.

In this little book Dr. Mohan Singh tries to comprehend what is ordinarily called spiritual life which is regarded as generally unrealisable by objective investigation but only by a mystic realisation. He bases his account on the Sutras of which there are a number of text books in Sanskrit and even some of the more important Indian languages other than Sanskrit. Dr. Mohan Singh attempts to expound these in this little book in a form which might be more less or described as loud thinking. In that form it may not be possible to comprehend for the uninitiated reader. Those however who have acquaintance some little subject and have had occasion either to hear expounded or to make an attempt to understand some of the text books bearing on the subjet it may not seem quite so recondite. While it provides interesting reading to those who can follow the learned Doctor in his own mental process it perhaps would have been better if the learned Doctor try to translate his mental process in the form of an exposition of a regular character explaining the fundamental position and process so as to enable his readers to make their own effort. Such as it is however it is interesting and might evoke in the reader thoughts that might povide the stimulus to similar thinking and may therefore be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of mysticism as it is understood by Indian Mystics as a whole. It is a commendable effort and we wish the learned Doctor all success in his effort to make the understandable understood.

Select Contents from Periodicals

History (The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association), June 1942.

Naval History in public education. By Admiral Sir H. W. Richmond.

Civil Service Reform (1853-55). By E. Hughes.

II

Current History, (January, 1942).

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the ble America at War. The complete story of how the United States became involved, with all the important documents. by A. Adey.

III

The Antiquaries Journal, (Vol. XXII, No. 2, April 1942).

The Greek Trade at Al Mira, (near Antioch) A footnote to Oriental History. By Sidney Smith.

VI

The Journal of the Greater India Society (Vol. IX No. 1).

Dvīpantara. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (perhaps a specific appellation of Malaya, Malayadvipa).

Temples at Pagan. By S. K. Sarasvati.

The Poona Orientalist, (Vol. VII, Nos. 1 & 2).

The Panca-Janas. By R. Shama Sastry (Sayana's interpretation of the Vedic Panca-janas, sometimes as yadus and others, sometimes as five castes, and sometimes Rākshasas, Gandharvas and others is right).

Sabdaratnāvali (the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, it is identified to the patron of the author, Mathuresa, it is identified to the patron of the author of the auth fied with Musa Khan, Diwan of Bengal after cir. 1600. By M. M. Patkar.

The Carwar Factory and Shivaji, (contd). By B. G. Tamaskar.

The date of the Bharatha Battle. By H. C. Seth (attempted to be fixed about the 6th Century B. C.).

J

VI

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. (Vol. XXVIII, Part III), September, 1942.

The India of the Early Greeks and Romans (326 B.C. to 641 A.D.) By A. C. Perumalil, S. J.

Mineralogy and Mining in Ancient India. By S. K. Roy.

Kings of the Jaunpur Dynasty and their coinage. By S. A. Shere..

Resemblance of Manichæism to Buddhism (translated with notes from the German of Lassen). By A. Banerji-Sastri.

The City of Hamjamana in the Silahara records. By G. M. Moraes (identified with Anjuna near Goa).

VII

The Indian Historical Quarterly, (Vol. XVIII, No. 3), Sept. 1942.

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir. By Dr. U. N. Ghosal, (the precursors of Kalhana—the ancient eleven dynastic chronicles and how Kalhana utilised them). (I part).

The Manvantara. By D. R. Mankad—(suggesting that the Puranas had taken caturyuga or a ruling generation to be 40 years; and manvantara was used to denote the period between one king and another, or the whole length of a dynasty of a Manu i.e., the period from the founder to the last or a particular one of his descendants).

A new source of the political history of Kamarupa. By Dr. P. C. Bagchi—(Haragaurīsamvāda in Assamese, discovered, by Mr. M. B. Bhaduri—the narration being in the form of a prediction and coming down to king Kamalēsvara).

Paramāra Udayāditya. By D. C. Ganguly.

The N. W. Frontier Tribes under Ranjit Singh's sway in 1837. By Dr. N. K. Sinha.

A Note on the Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II. By. D. C. Sircar.

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VIII

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XIII, parts 3-4, (1942).

The Soras. By G. V. Sitapati, (contd. Religion).

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Prakrit Inscriptions of the kings of Andhradesa—I. Sālankāyana dynasty. By M. Shahidullah.

A passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta and its significance. By V. Lakshminarayana, (ll. 23-24, held to mean that subordinate allies who begged to retain their territories, were reinstated by the issue of charters with garuda symbols-garutmadanka is an adjective to śāsana).

The Nayak kings of Tanjore. Patrons of Sanskrit literature. By K. Sitaramayya.

Revenue administration of the Northern Circars. By L. Sundaram (Chapter IV, Direct management and the First Committee of Circuit; and Chapter V. The revenue administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold).

The Pāśupata and other Saiva schools of Philosophy. By V. Appa Rao.

Jainism in Andhradesa. By B. V. Krishna Rao.

IX

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1.

The language of symbols. By Srimati Sophia Wadia.

Jesus Christ in the Mahabharata. By L. B. Keny.

The influence of Jagannatha Panditaraja on some Deccani authors of the 17th Century. By P. K. Gode.

Society and education in Mediæval Karnataka. By A. P. Karmarkar.

Proto-Indic Religion. By S. Srikantha Sastri.

A Note on Sanchi. By P. S. Lakshminarasu.

Man in India, Vol. XXII, Nos. 2 & 3.

The emblem of the Boar. By D. Chaplain (suggesting that Brite (Britannia), otherwise Alba, personified the White Island of Britain where Vishnu manifested himself as a white boar.).

The pre-historic culture of Bengal. By H. C. Chakladhar (contd).

XI

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. IV, No. 1, (Sept. 1942).

A Maratha chief's interest in the ancient and modern science of warfare. By T. J. Shejwalkar.

Bini Prakarna (about the duties and the qualifications of the quarter-master general, in Modi by Madaharao Munshi is one of the papers collected by Raja Pratapsingh of Satara who made researches into the ancient modes of warfare.

Capture of Kennery (or Khanderi) Island by Sivaji. By B. K. Apte.

XII

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XI, Part 2. (Sept. 42).

The Rājašāstras of Brhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa. By M. P. V. Kane (examining the data furnished by ancient works, particularly the Mahabharata, about these śāstras.

Contemporary Life as revealed in the works of Bana. By Prof. K. R. Potdar, (dealing with the people, their occupations, social intercourse, etiquette, ceremonials, city, village and forest life, and learning, art and literature.

Our Exchanges

The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.

Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona City.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Finsbury Circus, London.

Calcutta Review, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.

Hindustan Review, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.

Indian Historical Quarterly, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Journal Asiatique, Librarie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Journal of Oriental Research, Managing Editor, "The

Ashrama," Luz, Mylapore. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Journal of the Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.

Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.

The Political Science Quarterly, Columbia University, New York.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.

Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.

The Modern Review, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

The Ceylon Journal of Science, Office of the Archaeological

Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).

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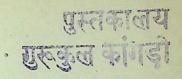
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Journal of Indian History

The Apostles of Kalyana (Bombay)

St. Bartholomew the Apostle and St. Pantaenus.

By

REV. A. C. PERUMALIL, S.J.

Although greatly separated from each other in point of time still St. Bartholomew, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, and St. Pantaenus, head of the Alexandrian School about 180 A.D., are closely connected in history. And for this reason we treat them together here.

Already in the eighteenth century the Bollandist, Fr. Stiltingus, S.J. (1703-62), proposed and strongly defended, against the current opinion of scholars in Europe, that St. Bartholomew preached the gospel of Christ in India.1 He however, did not specify any particular locality of India as the field of Bartholomew's apostolate. Others, like Neander² in 1853, and Sir W. W. Hunter³ in the latter half of the last century, suggested Malabar; Prof. Milne Rae, 4 of the Madras Christian College said in 1892 that the Apostle's field of labour was the Indus valley; in 1915 Mgr. Zaleski⁵ the late Delegate Apostolic of India, suggested Kalianpur near Mangalore.

But the view of Fr. Stillingus was strongly opposed by another Bollandist, Fr. E. Carpentier, S. J. (1822-68), who argued that the country evangelised by St. Bartholomew the Apostle was S. Arabia or Arabia or Arabia Felix, or possibly that part of Persia adjacent to the Persian Gulf, which, according to Carpentier, was called India by

^{1.} Acta Sanctorum, 39, 7sq. On St. Bartholomew the Apostle. (Faris,

^{2.} Neander, Church History, (London 1853), Vol. 1. p. 114 as quoted Hunter 717 3. Hunter, The Indian Empire, (2nd edit.) pp. 234, 35.

^{4.} Rae, Syrian Church in India, pp. 62-78. (Edinburgh and London, SCI. 5. Zaleski, Les Origines du Christianisme aux Indes, p. 39 sq. (Mangaiote, 1915),

the early ecclesiastical writers.6 This opinion was shared later on in 1905 by Bishop Medlycott,7 and in 1934 by Fr. H. Thurston, S.J. and Mr. Donald Attwater.8

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As for St. Pantaenus, scholars, following the lead of Assemani and Tillemont in the first half of the eighteenth century, are almost unanimous in affirming that he preached the Gospel either in Ethiopia or in Arabia Felix. The Bollandist, Fr. Sollerius, S.J. (1669-1740), argued: "I am not afraid, in the mean time, to opine that India (mentioned in connection with Pantaenus) is to be understood as Ethiopia."9 Harnack said: "Of course the India to which Pantaenus journeyed from Alexandria may be South Arabia (or even the Axumitic kingdom)"10 Bishop Medlycott held a similar opinion that he preached in Arabia Felix.11 And in 1926 Dr. Mingana of Manchester strengly advocated his own theory in these terms: "The fact has been recognised by all historians since Assemani and Tillemont, and has been considered as established even by such a conservative writer as Medlycott. It will be a matter of surprise if any responsible author will ever mention in the future Pantaenus in connection with India proper".12 finally Rev. Ferroli, S.J., repeated this statement of Dr. Mingana, by way of confirmation, in his recent publication, "The Jesuits in Malabar'.13

The argument of this opposing school of writers is based on the supposition that India was not known to the early Greeks and Romans, and that they confused India with Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. This argument can be very well summed up in the typical statement of Fr. H. Thurston, S.J. and Mr. D. Attwater. say: "'India' was a name applied indifferently by Greek and Latin writers to Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, Parthia, Persia and the lands of the Medes, and it is most probable that the India visited by Pantaenus was Ethiopia or Arabia Felix, or perhaps both".14

- 6. Acta Sanctorum, 58. 673. De SS. Aretha et Ruma. (Paris, 1869). 7. Medlycott, India and the Ap. Thomas, pp. 171-32. (London, 1905) IAT.
 - 8. Butler's Lives of the Saints, 8. 289 sq. (London, 1933) BLS.
- 9. Acta Sanctorum, 29, 457 sq. (Paris, 1867). 10. Harneck, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. Translated by J. Moffatt, (New York, 1903), II, p. 152.
 - 11. Medlycott, IAT., pp. 171-82.
- 12. Mingana, Early Spread of Christianity in India, p. 1. (Manchester, 6). 1926).
 - 13. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabur. p. 72. (Bangalore, 1939.) 14. BLS. 8. 289 sq.

I

To which India did our Saints go?

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In a previous study on 'The India of the Early Greeks and Romans', published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. 28 (1942) parts 3-4, we have shown that the Greeks and the Romans were in close contact with India from the time of Alexander the Great till the fall of Alexandria in 641 A.D., and that they called only one land India, that which was bounded on the West by the river Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouths of the river Ganges and on the remaining side by the Indian Ocean. We have also shown that both our chief authorities, Eusebius and St. Jerome, had a fairly good idea of the geographical position of India and her adjoining countries on the West. With this let us proceed with the evidence at our disposal.

Eusebius of Caesarea writes: "Pantaenus was constituted a herald of the gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and advanced even as far as India.15....Pantaenus....is said to have come to the (land of the) Indians; to have found there that the gospel according to Matthew had anticipated his own arrival among some who knew Christ and to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached and had left them the book of Matthew in Hebrew script, which is also preserved until this time".16 This fact of Pantaenus' mission to India is more explicitly stated by St. Jerome: "Pantaenus....on account of the renown of his excellent learning was sent to India, by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach Christ to the Brahmins and to the philosophers of that nation".17 And again in another place he says: "Pantaenus....was a man of such learning both in Sacred Scriptures and in secular knowledge that he was sent to India by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria at the request of that nation's legates. found that the coming of Christ, our Lord, according to the Gospel of Matthew, was preached by Bartholomew, one of the twelve Apostles."18

^{15.} Italics are ours.

^{16.} Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 5. 10; MG. 20. 453-6.

^{17.} Jerome, Epist. 79 Ad Magnum Oratorem, 14; ML. 22. 667.

^{18.} Jerome, De Viris Illustribus, 36, ML. 23. 651. MG. Patrologia Graeca, Migne edition, Paris. ML Petrologia Latina, Migne edition, Paris.

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The testimony of Eusebius and St. Jerome is quite explicit, We therefore draw the following conclusions: (1) Bartholomew, the Apostle of Christ, preached in India and made converts to Christianity; (2) these Christians sent their legates to Alexandria to invite Pantaenus to come to their assistance; (3) Pantaenus came to India and there preached Christ to the Brahmins.

II

Which part of India?

Now the question arises as to the particular locality in India which was evangelised by both Bartholomew and Pantaenus, Rufinus of Aquileia (345-410), a contemporary of St. Jerome, says that the Apostle Bartholomew received 'Citerior India' for his apostolic preaching. Rufinus writes: "In that division of the world made by the Apostles for the preaching of the word of God, by drawing lots, while different provinces fell to different Apostles, Parthia fell to Thomas, to Matthew fell Ethiopia, and the 'Citerior India' 'adherent' to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew. Placed between this (Citerior India) and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies 'Ulterior India', inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues".19

Which is this 'Citerior India'? Some scholars held that it was either Arabia Felix or E. Ethiopia. But we have shown in our previous study on 'The India of the Early Greeks and Romans' that it was neither E. Ethiopia, or the Somali, Coast nor Arabia Felix St. Jerome and Eusebius told us that the Apostle was in India. It would follow then that this 'Citerior India' was a particular portion of India itself. Rufinus has told us that this 'Citerior India' lay adjacent to the 'Ulterior India', which in its turn, lay adjacent to Parthia. Now Parthia was the land extending eastward as far as the Indus river.20 'Ulterior India', therefore, lay to the east of the Indus river, in other words, the regions of Rajputana and Punjab formed the 'Ulterior India'. 'Citerior India' lay adjacent to this and 'adherent' to Ethiopia.

The word 'adherent' (adhaerens) may have many meanings, three of these, namely 'clinging to', 'near', and 'extending towards', call for our attention. We have shown in our previous study that

19. Rufinus, Hist. Eccl., 1. 9; ML. 21. 478.

^{20.} Cfr. our previous study in JBORS, 28 (1942). 3. 261-63.

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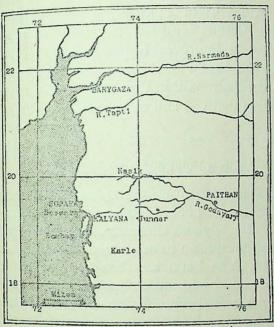
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the first two meanings do not explain the text of Rufinus. Consequently we have taken the third meaning which alone offers a coherent understanding of the text. If now we look at the map of coherent understanding in 150 A.D. this map was the guide for ladia made by Ptolemy in 150 A.D.



A Map of the Bombay-Gujarat Region.

travellers and traders throughout the early centuries — we shall find that the Bombay—Gujarat region projected much in the direction of Ethiopia. It was, therefore, citerior to (hither, on this side of) the Roman sailors coming from Alexandria by way of the Arabian Sea. This portion is also adjacent to the 'Ulterior India' just explained above. Consequently it is evident that the Bombay—Gujarat region was the 'Citerior India' of Rufinus. The Apostle Bartholomew, therefore, received this region for evangelisation.

This conclusion is corroborated by the martyrologists of later years. The Constantinopolitan tradition codified in the tenth century by order of the Emperor Basil II, reads thus: "The Apostle Bartholomew, however, went to India Felix". As the term 'Felix' is a translation of the Sanskrit word 'Kalyana', it is probable of Kalyana stood. And Kalyana was a city of the Bombay-

a. Menology. 2. Feb. 17; MG. 117. 317.

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Gujarat region. The very same idea is expressed by Pseudo. Sophronius, a writer possibly of the seventh century: "The Apostle Bartholomew preached the Gospel of Christ to the Indians who are called the Happy" (i.e. Indians of the Kalyana Coast). 22 And in this region it is only in Kalyana we find a flourishing Christian community in the sixth century when Cosmas Indicopleustes visited India. Cosmas says: "... and in another place, called Kalliana, there is moreover a bishop who is appointed from Persia." Hence in all probability the Apostle Bartholomew preached on the Kalyana Coast of India, made converts and established a Church that was still extant in the sixth century.

III

Kings Polymius and Astreges.

Now we shall take up another piece of evidence which will throw more light on the above conclusion. It is a work called 'The Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Apostle Bartholomew'. Two versions of this Martyrdom have come down to us: one Greek and the other Latin. The Latin text has been edited by Nausea at Cologne in 1531 and by Lazius at Basle in 1552. It has also been reproduced by the Bollandists in the Acta Sanctorum tome 39. The Greek text was edited for the first time by Tischendorf at Leipzig in 1851 from a 13th century Venetian MS. Marcianus 362. This text has been translated into English by Alexander Walker Esq., and edited by the Ante-Nicene Christian Library Vol. 16 in 1870.

The two above versions bear a very close resemblance to me another. This fact led scholars to discuss which was the original language of this Martyrdom. Tischendorf raised the question without trying to solve it. Lipsius after studying the text expressed his view that the Latin text was derived from the Greek. Prof. Max Bonnet of Montpellier on the contrary tried to prove that the Greek was derived from the Latin. These scholars, to

23. Christian Topography, 3; MG. 88. 170.
24. Die apokryphen Apostelgeschten, 2. 2. pp. 67, 70. as quoted by Bonnet in the Analecta Bollandiana. 14 (1895). 353.

^{22.} De Vitis Apostolorum, 4; ML. 23. 722. This author was aware of the difference between 'Indians who are called the Happy' and 'Arabia Felix. For, while speaking of the eunuch of the Ethiopian Queen he adds the following: 'The Eunuch of Candaces, the Ethiopian Queen, preached the Gospel of the Lord in Arabia Felix..'. Ibid.

^{25.} Analec a Bollandiana. 14 (1895). 353 sq. AB. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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prove their opinions, base their arguments chiefly on the internal prove their of style and phraseology of the texts. But their argucriticism of but their argu-ments are not decisive in favour of one or the other opinion. This led Prof. E. Amann of Strasbourg to note that the relation between the two texts is not well established.26 However, in a subscript the above Venetian Ms. Marcianus 362, it is said that the MS. was made by a certain Jacob and a Nicolas, one dictating from an old parchment and the other writing, the one rereading and the other correcting.27 The style of this MS. moreover suggests that the author was living in a period far advanced in the Middle Ages, and that he knew just sufficient current as well as ancient Greek to be tempted to write things of this sort.28 This would suggest that the author or authors (Jacob and Nicolas) wanted to render an old Greek Martyrdom into the current Greek of the thirteenth century. Consequently our present Greek text would not be an immediate translation from the Latin. Was the old parchment used by Jacob and Nicolas a translation from Latin? We have no data to decide this question.

A Martyrdom was extant in the sixth century, for St. Gregory of Tours makes mention of it in these terms. "The History of his struggle reports that the Apostle Bartholomew died in India".29 Which version of the Martyrdom had he before him? As he was a Latin writer, it is probable that he had the Latin text. Had he the story as we have it to-day? He might have had it. Whatever be the case, this much is certain: the statement of our Martyrdom that the Apostle died in India was found in the text which Gregory had before him. Moreover, the Hieronymian Martyrology of the fifth century speaks of the death of the Apostle in India in the following terms: The natal day of the Apostle Bartholomew, who was beheaded in 'Citerior India' for Christ, by order of king Astriagis."30 This statement too is in perfect agreement with the Greek and Latin texts as we have them to-day. We may then reasonably conclude that the text of the Martyrdom with legard to this statement at least, that the Apostle was beheaded in India by order of king Astriagis, has come down to us without any

^{26.} In Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl., I, 509-10. (Paris, 1928); Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament.

^{27.} AB. 14 (1895). 364.

^{28.} Ibid, p. 363.

²⁾ Miraculorum Liber, I. De Gloria Martyrum, 33.; ML. 71. 734. 30. Festa Apostolorum ix, Kal. Sept.,; ML. 30. 436. cf. also ML. 30. 472.

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We have seen from the other sources that the Apostle was on the Kalyana Coast of India. The Martyrdom too when studied in its proper setting, as can be seen below, gives the same line of evidence. The Greek text says that the body of the Apostle was thrown into the sea. This statement fits in with the geographical location of Kalyana. If the writer was inventing a mere fable, a coincidence of this kind would not have been found. Consequently we are led to conclude that the author of the Martyrdom wrote his story based on the fact of the preaching and death of the Apostle on the Kalyana Coast of India. And if the author of the original Mrtyrdom, whether Greek or Latin, was a man of the 5-6th century, then he must have had before him another earlier document or an oral tradition which gave him at least the main facts and the names of personages connected with the work and death of the Apostle in India.

With these introductory remarks let us now study the text itself. The Greek and Latin texts open the narrative exactly in the same manner. The opening passage in the Latin of the Bollandists is as follows: "Historians declare that India has three parts. The first is the one projecting towards (mittit) Ethiopia, the second extends towards Media (Medos), and the last completes it for, on one side it has the dark region and on the other the sea".31

This description of India and its parts is vague; it needs some elucidation. It is said that the first part projects towards? Ethiopia. We have seen above that Rufinus of Aquileia had called the Kalyana region of India, 'Citerior India', i.e. India that is extending owards (adhaerens) Ethiopia. Now the author of the Martyrdom also speaks of an India which is projecting towards Ethiopia. This can only be the 'Citerior India' of Rufinus, i.e. the Kalyana Coast.

'The second part extends towards Media'. Here Media may mean either the satrapy of Media or the Empire of Media. But

31. Acta Sanctorum. 39. 34.

^{32.} The English phrase here used by the translator of the Greek text is 'ends at'. In the present circumstances we are not able to verify it in the Greek original. If the Greek gives only this meaning—'ends at'—then it has to be considered as erroneous. For, this statement—'the first part ends at Ethiopia'—has no confirmation in the writings of the early Greeks and Latins. Cf. . our prévious study.

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since the early Greeks and Romans considered the river Indus as the western boundary of India, it is not probable that the author of the Wartyrdom took the satrapy of Media as India's western boundary. Normally speaking the author meant the Median boundary. This in fact extended eastwards as far as the Indus river as is testified to by Paul Orosius in the fifth century in these terms: "Generally the country (from the Indus to the Tigris) is called Parthia although Holy Scripture calls the whole Media". Hence this Median (Parthian) Empire extending eastwards as far as the Indus would form the western boundary of India according to the author of the Martyrdom. This part is identical with the 'Ulterior India' of Rufinus.

With the remaining portion of India the three parts are completed. India thus defined had on one side the region of darkness, i.e. the unknown and impenetrable mountainous region of the Himalayas. The other sides, according to our author, were surrounded by the Ocean—the Indian Ocean.

This description of India is in agreement with that of Rufinus, which was based on the map of Ptolemy. Hence the author of the Martyrdom was aware that he was locating events in the actual India itself.

The rest of the account, prescinding from facts of miraculous nature, is as follows: "To this India, then, the holy Bartholomew the apostle of Christ went, and took up his quarters in the temple of Astaruth, and lived there as one of the pilgrims and the poor". In this temple there was an idol called Astaruth, which was supposed to heal the infirm. But while the Apostle Bartholomew was there Astaruth gave no response and was not able to cure according to his wont. Because of this inability the sick were obliged to go to another city where there was an idol called Becher (Berith). They Sacrificed to this one and asked why their god Astaruth had not answered their prayers. Becher replied that Astaruth was held in chains from the time that Bartholomew came there. The people on their return from Becher's shrine recognised the Apostle.

Now, Polymius, the king of the country (city) had a lunatic The Apostle cured her of her malady. On the day

^{33.} Orosius. Hist. Lib., 1. 2; ML. 31. 676-7; JBORS. 28 (1942). 3. 262.

THE SATAVAHANAS.

following the cure the Apostle approached the king and explained to him the Christian doctrine. The king heard him gladly and as a result of it the temple of Astaruth was deprived of the idol and the king became a disciple of the Apostle. When these things were noised abroad, the non-Christians hastened to Astreges the king who was the elder brother of Polymius. Astreges sent for the Apostle and ordered him to renounce the religion of Christ and adore his god. But by divine power Baldad, the god of Astreges, together with the other idols of the temple were thrown down and broken to pieces. Whereupon Astreges ordered the Apostle to be beaten with rods and finally beheaded. Christians from the vicinity gathered together the remains and laid them in a tomb, When king Astreges heard this, he ordered the remains to be thrown into the sea. Thirty days after this incident king Astreges was strangled by a demon and thus tragically ended his life. King Polymius was made bishop and ruled the Church for 20 years and then passed away.

In this above narrative there are five proper names: two of kings and three of gods. As we have already mentioned, the author of the Martyrdom clearly knew that he was recounting events that occurred in India. Hence we are obliged to identify these names, as far as possible, in India itself. Variant readings of these names are found in the Latin text, and some of them have been mutilated beyond recognition during the long process of transmission through centuries. In the Greek, as there is only one MS., there is only one reading. It is stated that Bartholomew was near the temple of Astaruth. The name Astaruth bears a very close similarity to the Sanskrit name Astarudra whose Prakrit and early Marathi forms are Attarutta and Astarut respectively. Here we are led to suppose that one of these latter forms was the basis for our Greek name Astaruth. This supposition is confirmed by the convergency of the fact that St. Bartholomew worked in the future Maratha country, i.e., the Kalyana Coast. Hence we have every reason to think that this name Astaruth is none other than that of the Indian god Astarudra or Siva having eighth forms (Astamurti). As for Baldad (Vualdath in Latin) there can be two possibilities It is very likely that Baldad is Baladat (small Dattatreya, one of the incarnations of Visnu) or Baladeva, the elder brother of Krisna. The name of the third god, Becher (Berith etc. in Latin) has undergone more change. It is however probable, that this name is the Hellenised form of the Kanarese Bachiran holding the sula) the god of war, Skanda.

	Visnu Purāna Bhāgavata Purāna	Names Names	Name not given Krisna Santakarna ga Paurnamäsa	a Lambodara Hivilaka i Meghasvāti		nan Atamāna Hāleya		Cakora Sivasvāti Gomatīputra Purimān (mat)	::::::
	Visnu	Z	Sipraka Krisna Srī Sāfakami Pūmotsanga	Sātakarņi Lambodara Ivīlaka Meghasvāti		Patumat Aristakarman Hala	Pattalaka Pravillasena Sundara	Sivasvāti Sivasvāti Gomatīputra Pulimat	sivaskandha Sivaskandha Yajñaśri Vijaya Candraśri Pulomārcis
		Durat.	103	56		222	1221	F875	29 6 7 3 6 7 3
SATAVAHANAS.	Vāyu Purāna		::	: :		:::	ıdalaka	karņi	Satakarņi Satakarņi
THE SATA			Sindhuka Krisna	Sātakarņi Apīlava		Paţimāvi Nemikrisņa Hāla	Saptaka, Mandalaka Purikasena Satakami	Cakora satakarin Sivasvāti Gautamīputra	Yajñaśrī Śātakarņi Vijaya Dāndaśrī Śātakarņ Pulomavi
		Duration	23 18 10, 18 18	18 17 18 20 1	∞ - co co -	1 % % v	, H Ct Ct Ct	\$88 8 °	7 7 29, 9, 20 6 6 10 7
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	Mātsya Purāna	Names	i ga mbbi		vātikarņa i	Svaukarna Pulomävi Saurakrisna or Naurikrisna† Tal	a ātikarņa	tikarna ra	āvakarņi ātakarņī
		No.	1 Siśuka 2 Krisna 8 Mallakami 4 Pumotsanga 5 Skandhastambhi	6 Satakarni 7 Lambodara 8 Apītaka 9 Meghasvāti		15 Pulomāvi 16 Gaurakrisņa 17 Hāla	1 H H U.	O 01 O	25 Sivašri 26 Sivaskanda 27 yajñašrī Šāvakarņi 28 Vijaya 29 Candašrī Sātakarņī 30 Pulomavit

Basu's 'The Matsya Puranam' it is 'Ariktavarna'. *This list is arranged according to the one given in the Early History of Dekkan' by R. G. Bhandarkar, 3rd edit. Calcutta, 1928. pp. 55-6. In Rapson's list it is 'Riktavarna' or 'Vikrisna'; in Wariant readings are found for this name.

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The two kings mentioned are Astreges and Polymius. W_{ho} are these kings? We have seen above that Bartholomew was on the Kalyana Coast of India. Were then these kings rulers in the Kalyana region?

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For the history of the Kalyana region during the first centuries before and after the Christian era we have only the lists which the Puranas give of the names of kings and the duration of their reigns. We give here a complete list of these kings as given by the Matsya, Vayu, Visnu and Bhagavata Puranas.

In the above list we find a great discrepancy among the Puranas both in regard to proper names, which have been often changed beyond recognition during the process of transmission through the centuries, and in regard to their chronological statements. Thus for example, the Matsya Purana, which is more complete, gives the names of 30 rulers (according to other MSS. 32) of the dynasty and ends the text in the following way: "These 19 Andhras will enjoy the earth for 460 years". But the actual total given in the list is only 448½ years. The Vayu on the other hand gives only 17 names and a total of 272½ years; yet the text ends: "These 30 Andhras will enjoy the earth". The Visnu and Bhagavata Puranas give in their turn 24 and 22 names respectively.

It appears, therefore, from the difference in the number of the rulers and their total regnal period that the Puranas are not giving an exclusive list of the Kings of the dynasty. It must be assumed that they are indiscriminately mixing up both the Kings and their Viceroys. The Matsya Purana includes 30 (or 32) members. However, it seems to say that there were only 19 Kings of the dynasty: "These 19 Andhras will enjoy the earth for 460 years." The Vayu on the contrary gives only 17 names. It, in fact, does not give the names of all the kings of the dynasty; for, we know for certain that it has left out King Pulomat, the twenty-fourth of the list, whose inscriptions are found in Western India. Hence it is difficult to decide from the Puranic data who were Kings and who were their Viceroys.

This difficulty is removed so far as the later kings of the dynasty are concerned because of their inscriptions and coins

35. Anandāśrama-Samskrita-granthāvalī, 49; Vāyupurānam, p. 384.

^{34.} Basu, Matsyapuranam, The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (Allahabad, 1917). II. p. 339.

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found in Western India. These coins, however, do not give any dates; nor do the inscriptions follow any definite era. These give only the regnal year of the particular King in question. But these only the regnal year of the particular King in question. But these satisfactory and relations with the Kshaharatā rulers of Satavahana rulers had relations with the Kshaharatā rulers of Western India who seem to have used the Saka éra in their inscriptions. By following up these relations we can build up the Satavahana chronelogy.

The Kshaharata (Saka) rulers of Western India have left us both coins and inscriptions. The coins of Nahapana, the last ruler of the dynasty are very numerous. But they do not bear any date. However, the inscriptions of Ushavadata, his son-in-law, at Nasik mention the years 41, 42 and 45;36 the inscription of Ayama, his minister, at Junnar mentions the year 46.37 Scholars are of opinion that these years refer to an unspecified era; but unfortunately they are not agreed as to its identity. One view is that these dates refer to the Saka era beginning in 78 A.D. This view was widely accepted by scholars. But in 1928 Mr. Bakhle rejected this view and advocated the Vikrama era started by Azes I in 58 B.C.38 In 1934 the authors of 'The Cambridge Shorter History of India' in their turn rejected both the above views in the following words: The era employed by Nahapana-or rather by his son-in-law-cannot be the Saka era, and must date from an earlier period. It is probably a local one. The Vikrama era is hardly possible as this would be too early".39 Yet from the data at our disposal we are inclined to helieve that the first view is still holding ground; consequently we consider it very probable that the above dates refer to the Saka era. These, then, will be equivalent to 119, 120, 123 and 124 A.D. respectively.

Accordingly Nahapana seems to have ruled at least from 119 AD. to 124 A.D. We hear nothing about him after this date. Besides, we have his coins restruck by Gautamiputra, the twenty-third of the Puranic list. This points to the fact that Gautamiputra had inflicted shame on Nahapana — a defeat in battle. From the Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra⁴⁰ we know that in the eighteenth

^{36.} Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. lviii. (London, 1908). CIC.

^{38.} JBBRAS, May 1928. p. 57 sq. CSHI, p. 82

^{40.} Rapson, CIC., p. xlvii.

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year of his reign he was master of Nasik, which was in the posses. sion of Ushavadata and his father-in-law, Nahapana. The Nasik inscription of Queen Bala-Sri styles Gautamiputra as the one "who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Ksatriyas,... who rooted out the Khakharata family; who restored the glory of the Satavahana race".41 From these data it appears that Gautami. putra, in his 18th year, invaded the kingdom of Nahapana and defeated him completely in the year 124 A.D., the last year of Nahapana's reign. So equating the 18th year of Gautamiputra with 124 A.D., the last year of Nahapana, we arrive at a period from 106 to 127 A.D. as the regnal years of Gautamiputra. This is according to the Puranas which assign him a regnal period of 21 years. But the Nasik inscription mentions the 24th year of his kingship.42 Hence he seems to have ruled from 106 A.D. to 130 A.D. After him his son Pulumavi ascended the throne. He ruled for 28 years, 130-58 A.D. This date appears quite in keeping with the statement of Ptolemy who published his Geography of India in 150 A.D. He says that King Pulumavi (Polemaios) is King of Paithan (Baithana).

Working back from this one fixed point in the Satavahana chronology we can find the regnal years of the rest of the rulers. According to the Puranas the immediate predecessors of Gautamiputra are Sivasvati with a reign of 28 years, Chakora with ½ year, and Sundara with 1 year. This will take us back to 77 A.D., which is the regnal year of Sundara Satakarni. Here we find an interesting coincidence. The Author of the Periplus who visited India years after the discovery of Hippalus in 47 A.D. makes the following statement: "The city of Kalliena, in the time of the elder Saraganas became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard". Now Barygaza appears to have been in the kingdom of Nambanus (Mambarus), 44 the Nahapana of the coins and the inscriptions.

^{41.} Ibid, p. xxxvi-vii.

^{42.} Ibid., p. xlviii.

^{43.} The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 52; Schoff's edition, p. 43. (London, 1912).

^{44.} Ibid., 41, p. 39.

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We have seen above that Nahapana was in possession of Nasik and Junnar districts during 119-124 A.D. At the time of the visit of the Author of the Periplus, Kalyana does not appear to have ome under the rule of Nahapana. Barygaza was already under him; and perhaps he was trying to get Kalyana too. Anyhow he was to a certain extent controlling the ships coming to Kalyana. It is probable that he conquered the above-mentioned district of Nasik and this port of Kalyana in 78 A.D., because it seems likely that the Saka era was started by Nahapana⁴⁵ in commemoration of his conquest of the Kalyana region. Hence it would also appear that the Author of the Periplus visited India in 77 A.D., during the reign of Sundara Satakarni.

Sundara's immediate predecessors are Purindrasena, Mandalaka and Hala each with a regnal period of 5 years. This will take us back to A.D. 62. Prior to this date we find two names in the Puranic list, namely Aristakarman and Pulomavi. Who are these kings? Have they any connection with the kings Polymius and Astreges of the Martyrdom of Bartholomew?

In the Nasik inscription of Pulomat, the 24th in the Furanic list, his name is spelled Pulumai and Pulumayi; in the Karle inscription, Pulumavi.46 Here we find a slight yllabic change in the name of the same king even during his life time. The Puranas in their turn have changed it into Pulomat, Pulimat and Puriman during the process of transmission brough centuries. The final syllables 'mayi' and 'mai' have been changed to 'mat' and 'man'; the second syllable 'lu' to 'li' and 'ri.'. Yet in all these changes the circumstantial evidence points to the lact that this Pulomat is the same Pulumayi or Pulumavi of the iscriptions, and Polemaios or Ptolemaios of Ptolemy's Geography. Pulomavi, the 15th in the list has his name spelled Patimavi, Patunat and Atamana in the Vayu, Visnu and Bhagavata Puranas respectively. We have seen from the changes in the first name that the final syllables 'mayi' are synonymous with 'mavi', 'mat' and 'man'. I man'. In our present case 'mat' is the same as 'mavi' and 'mana'.

^{45.} Various theories have been adduced on this question. Pandit Bhagain commemoration of Nahapana's conquest of Gujarat; Dr. Fleet too bestows
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In the previous case 'I' was changed to 'r'; but here we find the change from 'I' to 't'. A change from 'I' to 'r' is common to all languages, but 'I' to 't' is not so. Yet this change was natural to the Prakrit. A similar change is found in the name Apilava and Apitaka of the list. From these considerations it is clear that Pulomat, Pulomavi, Patimavi and Pulumayi are the different forms of the one name Pulumayi. Hence we may safely conclude that the real name of the 15th ruler of the list was Pulumai or Pulumayi. It is true that no Indian record gives this variant reading; but the absence of a record is no argument against its existence. Now, the Martyrdom speaks of a king Polymius. This name has several variant readings in Latin such a Polomius, Polimius and Polemon. In all these variant readings we can still find the identity of the Indian name Pulumai. Hence Polymius and Pulumai are identical.

Who is the second king mentioned in the Martyrdom? Several variant readings such as Astreges, Astriges, Astragis, Astraiges, Astraiges and Astyages are found. Which of these forms resembles the original Indian name?

Before beginning to answer these questions we have to consider a few important points. Indian names when pronounced or written by foreigners undergo a variety of changes. Names which are easier for pronunciation undergo only a slight, and sometimes no change at all: Kalliana for Kalyana, Muziris for Muchiri, Paloura for Paleyur, Modiera for Madura, Modoura for Mathura etc., are typical examples. But when the names are long and difficult to pronounce the change is greater, and sometimes even beyond recognition, viz. Tiastenes for Chastana, Saraganes for Satakarni, Indabara for Indraprasta, Palimbothra for Pataliputra, Caspapyra for Kasyapapura, Poclais for Puskalavati, Tamalites for Tamralipti, etc.

We have seen above that the name Polymius has been satisfactorily identified with Pulumai. This would lead us to search for the second king too among the same Satavahanas of Kalyana region. Immediately after Pulomavi we find another king in the Puranic list differently known as Gaurikriṣṇa, Nemikriṣṇa, Ariṣtakarman, Riktavarṇa, etc. As the Satavahanas and their subjects spoke Prakrit, not Sanskrit, the above Sanskrit names had their original Prakrit forms as well. Such Prakrit forms as Astakarma, Attakamma, Attrakan, Astraka, etc. might have existed side by side with the Puranic forms of Ariṣṭakarman, Riktavarna, etc. If

is not improbable then that one of these Prakrit forms found its way into the original document which formed the basis for our present Martyrdom. It is also probable that the long and difficult present Aristakarman was modified by the first foreigner who gathered from India information about Bartholomew, the Apostle. In both cases Astreges of the Martyrdom would be Attrakan or Astrakan of Prakrit or Aristakarman of the Puranas.

If these Puranic rulers are identical with the kings of the Martyrdom, who are called brothers, how is it that the Puranas speak of them as successive kings? We have mentioned above that the Puranic list will not of itself constitute history unless supported by other evidences. The Matsya Purana, which gives a complete list of these rulers, leaves out the name of Pulumai in certain manuscripts; the Vayu too does the same. Does not this omission, then, point to the fact that probably Pulumai was never King? With only the Puranic data at our disposal we are not in a position to solve this question.

Now the Martyrdom comes to our help. It says that both Pulumai and Aristakarman, his elder brother, were ruling at the same time. If so, the elder brother Aristakarman was ruling at Paithan, the capital of their kingdom; and Pulumai in one of the provinces as his Viceroy. The Apostle preached in the kingdom of Pulumai and made converts. We have shown above that the thief section where the Apostle worked was Kalyana. Hence it is likely that Pulumai was the Viceroy of King Aristakarman at Kalyana.

At that time the Kalyana region had very flourishing seaports and towns. Barygaza on the river Narmada (Narbada) in the North, Kalyana and Sopara near Bombay were the chief ports of the chief ports of the time. As is testified to by the author of the Periplus, Kalyana continued to be a sea-port of the Satavahanas till 77 A.D. when it was overrun and conquered by the Saka invaders. Trade toutes started from Barygaza and Kalyana and passed through Paitran (Baithana), the royal capital, to the ports of the East Coast of India. Roman, Greek, Persian and Arab traders frequented these these markets. Travelling was safe and convenient. Hence it was very easy for the Apostle to join a group of traders sailing from any of the Persian Gulf harbours to the port of Kalyana.

These above considerations lead us to conclude that St. Barthe Apostle of Christ was on the Kalyana Coast of India

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during the reign of Aristakarman as King (37-62 A.D.) and Pulumai, his brother as Viceroy of Kalyana. As is testified to both by Eusebius and St. Jerome, St. Bartholomew brought with him a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew written about 45 A.D. Further more, he came to India after long apostolic journeys in Asia Minor and Armenia. It is not improbable then that he arrived in India about 55 A.D.

IV.

Where did the Apostle Die?

The above-discussed Martyrdom states that the Apostle was beheaded by order of Astreges (Aristakarman) and his remains were thrown into the sea (the Kalyana sea). Both the Hieronymian Martyrology and St. Gregory of Tours testify to his death in India. Some of the later martyrologists too repeat the very same tradition. The Martyrology of St. Bede the Venerable has the following entry: "The natal day of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, who, preaching the gospel of Christ in India, was flayed alive and being beheaded by order of King Astragis completed martyrdom".47 Usuard of Sagermanum, in the ninth century, wrote: "The natal day of blessed Bartholomew the Apostle, who while preaching the gospel of Christ in India, completed his martyrdom by being beheaded".48 Odo, the bishop of Vienne in the same century writes the following: "In India the natal day of blessed Bartholomew the Apostle". 49 The Greek Menology of Constantinople codified by order of Emperor Basil II in the tenth century reads thus: "Bartholomew, however, went to India Felix and there died by crucifixion".50 The Syrian tradition committed to writing by Amr, son of Matthew of Tirhana (Tehran?), an Arab historian, about 1340 A.D., has the following: "Likewise Bartholomew journeyed through these (Nisibis and Assyria) and other regions, and preached in Major Armenia; but he did not remain there; he betook himself to the regions of India where he was flayed. From these testimonies and the evidences already discussed in the

^{47.} Martyrologium ix Kal. Sept.; ML. 94. 1015.

^{48.} Ibid., ix Kal. Sept.; ML. 124. 393. 49. Ibid., ix Kal. Sept.; ML. 123. 335.

^{50.} Menology. 2, Feb. 17; MG. 117. 317.
51. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis, 4 (3.2). 19. (Rome, 1728). BO.

orevious sections we are led to conclude that the Apostle died a martyr of Christ on the Kalyana Coast of India.

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But there was also a counter tradition current among some other ecclesiastical writers. St. Isidore of Seville (?-638) seems to have been the first author to mention this counter opinion. He "Bartholomew the Apostle translated the gospel of Matthew among the Indians into their own language. Finally he was flayed alive by cruel and barbarous people in Albano, a city of Major Armenia; and so he is buried there".52 The Pseudo-Sophronius, a writer possibly of the seventh century, has the following entry: "The Apostle Bartholomew preached the Gospel of Christ to the Indians who are called the Happy, and entrusted them with the Gospel according to Matthew. However, he fell asleep in Albanopolis, a city of Major Armenia."53 Rabbanus Maurus adds in the ninth century: "The natal day of Bartholomew the Apostle who preached in Lycaonia; in the end was flayed alive by barbarians in Albano, a city of Major Armenia; and by order of king Astyagis he was beheaded and thus buried on the 24th of August".54 The above-mentioned Basilian Menclogy reads thus in another place: "Bartholomew .. while preaching the faith of Christ to the Indians, who are called the Happy, gloriously ended his life by crucifixion in Abarnopolis".55 The Pseudo-Moses of Chorene, an Armenian writer not earlier than the eighth century,56 says: "There came then into Armenia the Apostle Bartholomew, who suffered martyrdom among us in the own of Arepan".57

Even this counter tradition starting from the seventh century Is to a great extent influenced by the above-mentioned Martyrdom. The only difference is in placing the martyrdom in Armenia in a city called Albanopolis. But according to the opinion of the Bollandist Fr. Stiltingus, S.J., there was no such town as Albanopolis in Armenia: ".. nullam in Armenia civitatem invenio hujusmodi

^{52.} De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, 75; ML. 83. 152-3.

^{53.} De Vitis Apostolorum, 4; ML. 23. 722.

^{54.} Martyrologium, ix. Kal. Sept.; ML. 110. 1164.

^{55.} Menology, 3. June 11; MG. 117. 493. 56. Tixeront, Handbook of Patrology, p. 330-1; Cath. Ency., 10. 583, Moses of Chorene.

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nominis."58 Besides, the supporters of the 'Armenian claim', the Abbot Rabbanus Maurus, for instance, and others after him like Oderic Vitalis, say that the Saint suffered martyrdom at the hands of King Astyagis (Astreges). But history does not know of any king of this name in Armenia.59 The king of the Armenians, at the time of Bartholomew, was Sanatrughus (Sanadroug), not Polymius or Astreges. 60 Both these rulers, on the contrary, are Sound identical with the rulers of the Satavahana dynasty of Pai, than. Moreover, the East Syrians, who are the near neighbours of the Armenians, do not place the Apostle's martyrdom in Armenia,61 but on the contrary speak of his death in India as is testified to by Amr in the following words: "Bartholomew preached in Major Armenia; but he did not remain there; he betook himself to the regions of India where he was flayed". Hence the counter tradition placing the martyrdom of the Apostle in Armenia appears to be without any historical basis; whereas all the data at our disposal work towards this conclusion: Barthelomew preached and died on the Kalyana Coast of India.

How then are we to understand this counter tradition? A possible explanation would be this. It was not impossible that the Apostle's body, soon after it was thrown into the sea, was recovered and then carried to a certain place in Armenia where it remained till it was again translated to Liparis in the sixth century. During this period in which the Saint's body lay buried in Armenia some might have been led to say that the Saint died in Armenia. Consequently in after times the counter opinion found a place in the writings of the Latin and Greek authors.

Hence in the light of the present stage of research we are led to conclude that Bartholomew the Apostle was martyred about 62 A.D. by order of King Aristakarman of the Satavahana dynasty of Paithan in what is now the Bombay region.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.; ANCL., 20. 161.

62. Assemani, BO, 4 (3.2). 19.

^{58.} Acta Sanctorum, 39. 27.

^{61.} It is true, Jesujab, bishop of Nisibis (c. 1222 A.D.) says that the body Nathaniel (Bartholomera) But of Nathaniel (Bartholomew) is in Armenia (Assemani. BO. 3. 306). he does not say that the Apostle died in Armenia.

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THE APOSTLES OF KALYANA (BOMBAY)

General Conclusion.

India was not an unknown land to the Greeks, Latins, Persians and Arabs, but one often frequented by them. The Bombay-Gujarat region had Kalyana, Separa and Barygaza as flourishing sea-ports which traded with Alexandria and the Persian towns. It was easy then for the Apostle Barholomew to join one of the trading parties on their way to India.

As for the Saint in India, we have discussed the three main sources of evidence which are independent among themselves. The first is the Alexandrian tradition which is testified to by Eusehius and St. Jerome. This tradition was derived from Pantaenus himself, who actually came to the Brahmins of India at the request of the Christians of St. Bartholomew. The second is the testimony of Rufinus. He is representing the Palestinian tradition as to how the Apostles divided the world for the preaching of the Gospel, and how various parts of the world were assigned by lot to the different Apostles. The details given by Rufinus are of great importance in our study as they compliment the statements of Eusebius and Jerome. Our third source is the Martyrdom. This Martyrdom does not represent any borrowing from Eusebius, lerome or Rufinus. It stands apart. On closer examination we find that it further specifies the locality where the Apostle preached, and confirms the conclusion already drawn from the previous sources. These three main sources, independent among themselves compliment each other in a striking manner. Have we not, then, evidence sufficient to have certainty about the Apostle's preaching and death in India?

Bartholomew came to the Kalyana Coast of India about 55 A.D., during the reign of King Aristakarman of Paithan and Pulumai, his brother. His apostolate does not appear to have lasted long. He was martyred about 62 A.D. by order of Aristakarman in or near Kalyana.

Pulumai, himself converted to Christianity by the Apostle, became one of the bishops of the place. As time went on difficulties arose for the Christians of Kalyana. Hearing about the learned St. Pantaenus, they sent their legates to Alexandria to ask for his kalyana. Pantaenus was sent to them by Demetrius, bishop of Christians, strengthened their faith and settled matters with the

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e body But Brahmins. Out of gratitude the Christians presented Pantaenus with a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, given them by the Apostle Bartholomew. Pantaenus left for Alexandria.

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The rest of the history of the Kalyana Christians does not come directly within the scope of this study; yet we may mention a few details. Either during this time or after the Kalyana Christians came under the patriarchate of Babylon, and we see them in this condition when Cosmas visited them in the sixth century. What happened to them after this period? We know nothing about them till the fourteenth century when they received Jordanus, the Franciscan missionary at Bassein. They might have been visited by the embassy of Alfred the Great of England in the ninth century. Of this we are not certain. We are inclined to think that they continued as a separate Christian community till the time of the Portuguese and then became one with the Christians of Bombay. The present writer hopes that scholars will throw more light on this subject.

^{63.} Milne Rae. Syrian Church in India. p. 188.
64. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of A.D. 883 has the following entry:
"The year 883.... And in the same year, Sighelm and Aethalstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King (Alfred the Great) had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew" (B. Thorpest The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ii, 66; Mingana. ESCI. p. 21.).

The Imperial Pratiharas—A Revised Study

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA, Bikaner, Rājapūtāna.

We have already, in a paper published in the Poona Orientalist,1 dealt with the important question of the origin of the various Pratihāra clans of Northern India. Here we give a revised account of the early Imperial Pratihāras, from Nāgabhata I to Nāgabhata II, stressing specially those points wherein it differs from that of other writers on the subject, notably Drs. Bhandarkar, Majumdar, Altekar and Tripathi.

Nāgabhata I.

The first great ruler in the Imperial Pratihara line is, by all accounts, Nāgabhaṭa I whom we find mentioned in two inscriptions, the Gwalior prasasti of his descendant Bhoja2 and the Hansot plates (V. 813) of his feudatory Bhartryaddha II of Broach.3 The former of these describes him as a destroyer of "the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue". This has led most writers to assume that he came into conflict with the Arab leader Junaid who led expeditions into India harrying Broach, Marwar, and Mālwā and conquering Vallamandala and Gurjaratrā. But considering the fact that the only known date for Nagabhata is 756 and that for Junaid 726 A.D.,4 is it not more likely that he came actually into conflict with Junaid's successor Tamin, a general of much lesser ability in whose time the Arabs are known to have retired from many parts of India4a Nāgabhaṭa I's achievement might thus be believed to consist not in defeating Junaid but in organising resistance against these foreign invaders during his (Junaid's) successor's time and acting almost as a second Chandragupta Maurya by beating back the Mlecchas to their original bases

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^{1.} Vol. II.

^{2.} EI, XVIII, pp. 99-115. 3. Ibid, XII, pp. 202 f.

^{4.} Elliot—History of India, p. 442. 4a lbid, See Bilāduri's account.

and acquiring, like him, direct or indirect supremacy over all the territories that he succeeded in freeing from their hated clutches. For some time he might have been regarded as almost a national hero, another incarnation as it were of Nārāyana, as the Gwālior praśasti puts it. It was probably during this period of freeing various parts of India from Mleccha domination that he revived the principality of Broach, butting it under the Cauhān feudatory Bhartryaddha II who seems to have been in some way related to the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the Gurjaras of Broach.

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Towards the end of his reign, Nāgabhaṭa I came into conflict with the rising power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We have already referred to the Hansot plates of his feudatory Bhartṛvaḍḍha II issued from Broach in the Vikrama year 813. But within one year of this grant, we find Kakka II, a feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Gujarat, 6 giving away villages from practically the same region, showing thereby that somewhere between V. 813 and 814 the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Dantidurga had succeeded in defeating the Pratināras and ending their supremacy in Lāṭa. That the conclusion is not unjustified might be seen also from the mention of Dantidurga Rāṣṭrakūṭa's victories over Lāṭa and Mālava etc., in the Samangahl and Daṣʿavatāra records and the reference in the Sanjan Plates to his having assigned the place of the Pratihāra to the Gurjareśa in the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony performed at Ujjain.9

Kakkuka or Kākutstha.

But one or two defeats towards the end could not have seriously impaired the position of Nāgabhaṭa I who probably left to his nephew and successor Kakkuka or Kākutstha a large kingdom comprising the whole of Gurjaratrā and some adjoining lands. All that we know about this ruler besides his name is the unimportant fact that he was believed to have been extremely witty. 10

See EI, XII, Sten Konow's paper on the Hansot Plates.
 I refer to the Antroli-charoli plates of Kakka II, JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 105 ff.

⁴b. EI, V, pp. 109 ff. The destruction of the Gurjara kingdom might have been due also to the hostility of the kingdom of Valabhi, as pointed out in the present writer's forthcoming publication, "A History of Early Cauhān dynasties", Chapter III.

^{7.} IA, XI, pp. 111 ff.

Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, V, p. 88.
 EI, XVIII, p. 243

^{10.} Ibid, p, 111.

THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS—A REVISED STUDY 95

Devarāja.

Only a little better known than Kakkuka is the next ruler, his younger brother Devarāja or Devasakti. The Gwalior *Prasasti* describes him as having curbed the freedom of other rulers by destroying their powerful allies. It is likely enough that this might be an allusion to some abortive attempt of the Pratihāra feudatories to throw off their allegiance with the help of some external power like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Devarāja was a Vaiṣṇava. 12

The Jodhpur inscription of Bauka, V. 894, mentions his greatgreat-grandfather Śīluka as having defeated one Bhaṭṭika Devaraja. This has led Dr. Majumdar to conclude that the Imperial Pratihāra Devarāja was defeated by the Pratihāras of Mandor. 13 But as pointed out years ago by Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha, Bhattika Devarāja should be equated not with Devarāja Pratihāra but Bhāṭī Devaraja of the Jaisalmer line, 13a whose name, it might be noted is to be found also in the well-known Khyāta of Mūta Nainsī.14 That the word Bhattika of Bauka's inscription can refer only to the Bhāti clan is obvious enough also from line 14 of the same record which states that Bauka was the son of "the pure illustrious great queen Padminī of the Bhattī clan." Matrimonial alliances between Rājput clans of the period were as often as not meant to end blood-feuds. It is not therefore impossible that the Bhatis and the Pratiharas might have concluded their long drawn quarrel by the marriage of the Bhāṭī Princess Padminī with the Pratihāra Prince Kakkuka of Mandor.

Vatsarāja.

For Vatsarāja, the son of Devarāja by Bhūyikādevī, we have two contemporary records, dated respectively in the years 778 and 783. The former of these belonging to the colophon of the Kuvalayamalā, a Jaina work completed in the Śaka year 700 (778 A.D.), shows that even as early as that he was regarded as a powerful ruler and bore the proud title of raṇahastin, "the elephant in battle." The words of the quotation,

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^{11.} Ibid.

See the Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva, EI, XIX, p. 17.

See EI, XVIII p. 93

¹³a, History of Rajputana, I, p. 168.

14. II, p. 273. (Hindi translation).

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Sri-Vachchharāja-nāmo raņahatthi patthivo jaiyā,

when referred to Jālor, the town where the book was composed, clearly indicate that the centre of Vatsarāja's power was not Avanti but Gurjaratrā and that his capital was most probably Jālor, the place where he is said to have been the "patthiva". Had Vatsarāja's capital been elsewhere, Jālor would have been, most probably, mentioned as merely a place situated in the rājya of Vatsarāja. 16

The second contemporary quotation for this ruler is the well-known and oft discussed verse from Jinasena's Harivamsapurāṇa:—

Sākeṣvabdaśateṣu saptasu pamchottareṣūttarām
patīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇām|
pūrvām Śrīmad Avantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje parām
Saurāṇamadhimaṇḍale Jayayute vīre Varāhevati|

That the verse is rather ambiguous cannot be denied. But with the earlier and absolutely unambiguous quotation from the *Kuvalayamālā* before us, it cannot, probably, mean anything else than that Vatsarāja was, in the Saka year 705 (783 A.D.), the ruler of the western quarter, i.e., Gurjaratrā, the western part of

15. The full quotation is as follows: -

आसीतिकमाहिरउ महादुवारिम स्विति पयडो । उज्ञोअणोत्ति णामं तिच्च अपिरभुंजिरे तइआ ॥ तस्य त्रिपुचो संपइणामेण वडेसरोति पयडगुणो । तस्मुज्ञोअणणामो तणउ अह विरइओ तेण ॥ तुंगमंछंघ जिणमवणमणहरं सार(व)याउछं विसमं । जावािछउरं अहवयं व अह अतिथ पुहइए ॥ तुंगं धवछं मणहािरिरयणपसरंतघय बडाडोबम् । उसहिजिणन्दायतणं करावियं वीरमहेण ॥ तत्थिहिएणं अह चोद्दसीए चेत्तस्स कण्हपवखिमा । णिम्मविआ मोहिकरीमव्याणं होउ सव्वाण ॥ परमडिमेउडीमंगोपणइयणरोहंणो कछाचन्दो सिरिवच्छरायणामो रणहत्थी पिरथवो जइआ ॥

16. See for instance the Pattan Catalogue of Mss., I, pp. 212, 285 130, etc. On p. 286 is to be found a quotation similar to that of the Kuvalayamālā in which Anahillapura is simply mentioned as a place where the Mahaviracarita of Nemicandra was composed while Karṇa-narādhipa was ruling victoriously.

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India. The argument that Jinasena has been indicating his direc-India. The argument of its conflicting with reference to Wadhwan does not appear to be correct, tions with the valuable information supplied by the Kuvalayamālā, but also because it would not put supplied in the north, as required by the quotation, but somewhere very much to the east. We, the people of Rajpulāna, refer to the people of the United Provinces as Prabiyās. If Jinasena were indicating his directions with reference to Wadhwan, there would be all the more reason for him to designate Indravidha as an eastern ruler. Further, as pointed out by me, in an earlier contribution of mine,17 if Vatsarāja and Avantipati were identical, there would not be any need to use the words bhubhrt and nrpa in juxtaposition in the third line of Jinasena's verse quoted above.

Drs. Altekar, Majumdar and Bhandarkar would put Vatsarāja in Avanti also on the strength of the following verse from the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa I:-

Hiranyagarbham rājanyair=Ujjainyām yad=āsitam Pratihārīkṛtam yena Gurjar-eśādi-rājakam ||

"This (verse) points," writes Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "to a Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in Ujjayinī; for the word Pratihāra, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. This is decisive in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the Passage".18 But I have already pointed out elsewhere that this line of argument would not make merely the Gurjareśa but also some other rulers the masters of Avanti. The verse quoted above does not make merely the Gurjareśa but also others the pratihāras in the Hiranyagarbha ceremony performed at Ujjain. 19 Attention might also, in this connection, be drawn to the traditional account of a great yajña performed by Jayacandra of Kanauj in which he assigned the duty of a pratihāra to the statue of the Cauhān ruler Prthvīrāja III.20 But even though this great ceremony is believed to have been celebrated at Kanauj, none has, so far as I am aware, ever suggested that Prthvīrāja was, because of his

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^{17.} See my paper, "The original capital of the Pratihāras of Kanauj", published in the ABORI, XVIII, 196 ff. 18. EI, XVIII, 102.

^{19.} See line 2.

^{20.} See the Samyogitā-svayamvara-samaya of the Prthvīraja-rāso.

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having his statue so placed, the ruler of Kanauj or Madhyadeśa. Now, if the Gurjaresa's being a pratihāra in the Hiranyagarbha ceremony be a factor decisively in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation, as asserted by Dr. Majumdar, why should not the fact that Prthvirāja's statue acted the pratihāra's role in Jayacandra's yajña be an equally solid and substantial ground for his being regarded as the ruler of Kanauj?!!

Other important references to Vatsarāja are to be found in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja and the Wani-Dindori and Rādhanpur grants of Govinda III. The former of these speaks of his wresting sāmrājya in battle from "the Famous Bhandi clan hard to overcome on account of its powerful phalanx of elephants"21 Dr. R. S. Tripathi would like to equate Bhandi with Bhatti. But Bhattis were not at any time the samrāts of India. So there can be hardly any question of having wrested sāmrājya from them in a battle which seems to have been the most contested in Vatsaraja's life. Further, should his descendant Bhoja speak of the defeat of the Bhattis as the most notable achievement of Vatsarāja when we know for a fact that Vatsarāja carried his arms even as far as Bengal and must have therefore defeated or subjugated all the princes that lay between that kingdom and Gurjaratrā? probably he could not. We, therefore, think it better to agree with older writers on the subject who identify Bhandi with the maternal uncle of Harsa and regard him (Bhandi) as the founder of a new dynasty at Kanauj on Harsa's having died without leaving any male issue. Indrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj mentioned by Jinasena, was probably a descendant of this Bhandi and is the ruler referred to as defeated by Vatsarāja Pratihāra.

Indrāyudha does not, however, appear to have been deposed. Vatsarāja merely forced him to acknowledge his sovereignty and then with an army perhaps strengthened by contingents from his new vassal, he attacked Bengal and carried his armies up to the confluence of the Ganges and the Bengal Sea. The Prthvīrājavijaya describes Durlabharāja Cāhamāna of Śākambharī as enjoying the Gauda land. As his son, Gūvaka I, is known to have been a courtier honoured at the court of Vatsarāja's successor Nāgabhaṭa II, it might be reasonably presumed that Durlabharāja Cāhamāna gained his renown in the Gauda-rasā (Bengal) by ac

21., EI, XVIII, p. 108. 21a. V, 20.

THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS-A REVISED STUDY 99

companying his overlord Vatsarāja Pratihāra, the conqueror of Companying and one of the strongest rulers of India in 783 A.D.

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The Wani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants of Govinda III shed further light on Vatsarāja's Bengal expedition. They clearly indicate that his hereditary enemies, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, had not been ide while he was away on his Bengal expedition. They had marched into the Ganges—Jumna Doab with a large army, cut off Vatsarāja's communications with his kingdom, and then attacked mim while he was returning laden with spoil from the Gaudaland.22 Vatsarāja sustained a serious reverse, and lost, according to the Raștrakuta records mentioned above, "not only the pair of umbrellas having the whiteness of the moon of autumn but also his renown which has reached the ends of quarters". Vatsarāja had to retire discomfited into "the inaccessible desert of Marwar", and once more the crown of Kanauj became an object of dispute between various rivals contending for supremacy in Northern India.

Vatsarāja is referred to also in the Osiā inscription of V. 1013.²³

Nāgabhata II.

Nāgabhata II, the son of Vatsarāja by Sundarīdevī and a devotee of Bhagavatī, was the next ruler. He is probably identical with King Āma or Nāgāvaloka of the Prabhāvakacarita who is mentioned there as a contemporary of Dharma of Gauda and grandfather of Bhoja. Dr. R. S. Tripathi's attempt to identify Ama with

^{22.} This is perhaps the best way in which we can explain the capture by the Rastrakūtas of the two white umbrellas which Vatsaraja had wrested from the Gauda King. Dr. Tripathi, not knowing perhaps of the evidence that we have that we have from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, is disposed to dismiss the idea of Vatsarāja's, Vatsarāja's having overrun Bengal. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa I, instead of giving the verses mentioning the defeat of Vatsaraja and the capture of two limbers. two umbrellas of the Gauda king from him, substitute the following:—

Gangā-Yamunayormadhye rājño Gandasya nasyatah | lakşmililärvindäni śvetacchatrani yo'harat ||

To me the verse seems to be the composition of a poet who knew that Dhruva captured it was not familiar had captured the white umbrellas of the Gauda king but was not familiar the Gauda king but was the Gauda king but was the Gauda king but was the Gauda king but was the Gauda king but was in the Gauda king but was in the Gauda king but was in the the Gauda king but from Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra ruler, while he was in the Doah on his way back to Gurjaratra.

^{23.} P. C. Nahar—Jain inscriptions, I, 192 f.

a son of Yaśovarman of Kanauj,²⁴ the ruler defeated by Lalitāditya, can be hardly regarded as convincing

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We have only one contemporary record for Nagabhata II. It comes from Buchkalā in the Jodhpur State and refers to a grant by a certain queen Jayāvalī, the grand-daughter of Pratihāra Bappuka in the ever-increasing reign of Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājadhirāja-Parameśvara Nāgabhaṭadeva, the son of PMP. Vatsarājadeva. It is dated the 5th day of the bright half of Chaitra, (V.) 872.25 However meagre might be the information supplied by the epigraph, it is extremely important in as far as it gives us a definite date for Nagabhata II and shows that his aspirations regarding sovereign power were not less than those of his father.

As to details regarding the struggle to which his ambition led him we must refer to a number of epigraphs hailing from various parts of India. We have seen above how Vatsarāja had to retire to Rājputana leaving the Madhyadeśa in possession of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa. But, for some reason or other, this ruler too left Northern India soon after, and the control of affairs passed into the hands of Dharmapāla, one of the strongest monarchs of Bengal Burning perhaps to avenge the disgrace of having his people defeated in their own land and desirous of punishing Indrāyudha who had submitted to Vatsarāja and most probably helped him in his Bengal expedition, he reached the Madhyadeśa with a large army, defeated Indrayudha and set his nominee Cakrayudha on the throne with the full approval of the Matsyas, the Bhojas, the Madras, the Kurus, the Yavanas, the Avantis, the Gandharas, the Kīras²⁶ and others many of whom had perhaps lost their independence as a result of Vatsarāja's inordinate ambition. Dr. R. S. Tripāthi's contention that Vatsarāja agreed to this supersession of Indrayudha is based on the mistaken view²⁷ that Vatsarāja was the ruler of Avanti and shows his complete neglect of the fact that throughout the reigns of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa I, the Pratihāras and the Pālas were the most mortal of foes.

But this success of the Palas did not last long. The Pratiharas who had by this time recuperated their forces appeared once again

^{24.} The date of Ama or Nagavaloka is given as V. 898. Yasovarman flourished nearly one century earlier than this

^{25.} EI, IX, p. 199 f.

^{26.} Khalimpur Grant of Dharmapala, EI, VI, pp. 248 ff.

THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS—A REVISED STUDY 101

the political scene and so did also the Rāṣṭrakūtas, under their on the pointed. The first to take a share in the struggle were ruler doving a struggle were perhaps the latter. Both Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla submitted to Govinda III, hoping perhaps, as surmised by Dr. Altekar, that "it was politically wise" to humour the Rāṣṭrakūṭas²8 Different, however, was the case of Nagabhata II who as a consummate general attacked the advancing enemy not in the Madhyadeśa but Gujarat and Malwa. 28a One of his feudatories Bāhukadhavala defeated a section of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army^{28b} and another perhaps led by Nagabhata himself captured certain forts in the territories of his rivals.28c But here his success stopped. The Mālava ruler, fearing probably that he might be called to account for his approval of the accession of Cakrayudha, threw in his lot with Govinda III, acknowledged his supremacy and joining with the Gujarat viceroy, Karka II, stopped the Pratihara advance in this direction.29

But Nāgabhata's main objective, at least, had been gained. He had forced the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to retire to their territories and was after 812 A.D. or so, the date of the Baroda plates of Karka II,

28. Rāstrakūtas and their times, p. 66.

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28a, I visualise the actual course of the Pratihara-Rāṣṭrakūta struggle something like this:-

In 808 A.D. or so, Govinda III, starting with a big army from the Deccan, Gught Nāgabhaṭa II's forces rather unprepared and, as stated by verse 22 of the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarşa, defeated them before proceeding further towards the Himalayas, and receiving the homage of Cakrayudha and his ally Dharmapāla.

The next stage consisted in an attack on the outlying provinces of the Rastrakūtas by the Pratihāras while Govinda was busy in the Doab. To his period might be ascribed the success of Bāhukadhavala, a feudatory of Nagabhata U

Nagabhata II and the going over of the Mālava ruler to the Rāstrakūta side. This onslaught forced Govinda III to retire to the Deccan and to leave the Northern affairs in the hands of his Generals.

In 814 or so Govinda III died leaving the empire to his young son Amoghavarşa. This probably put the Pratihāras on the offensive, and Nagabhata II captured certain forts in Mālavā, Anartta etc., as mentioned in

That the struggle did not end with the death of Nagabhata II will be the struggle did not end with a proceed further with our account.

&c. Verse II of the Gwalior prasasti.

29. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Rādhanpur of Rāśtrakūta (Program). National See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of the Radian Figure 156 ff. See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, verse 16 of Karka II see the Radian Figure 156 ff. See

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free to devote his attention to the problems of Northern India without any immediate fear of Rāstrakūta attack.29a Cakrāyudha was perhaps easily disposed of and deprived of the rule of Kanauj which became henceforward the capital of the Pratihāras.30 The defeat of his ally Dharmapāla was a tougher problem. But this too was accomplished in spite of the large elephant force at the disposal of the Vanga ruler.31 From Bāuka's Jodhpur inscription, we learn that Bauka's father Kakkuka gained fame by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri.32 This would, therefore, naturally mean that the Pratihara army pursued the Gauda forces at least up to Mudga giri or modern Monghyr. Another Pratihara feudatory who took part in this campaign was the Guhila ruler Sankaragana of Catsu who is described as making a vow, defeating that warrior the Gauda ruler in a battle over-crowded with powerful elephants, and putting the earth that he had thus won in battle as a slave at the feet of his master. As Sankaragana's son Harsa was a contemporary and feudatory of Nāgabhata II's grandson Bhoja I and as Rāmabhadra, the intervening ruler is known to have had a short and inglorious reign, the lord whom Sankaragana served would naturally be Nāgabhaṭa II, the defeater of the Vangapati.

That Nāgabhata II defeated also the rulers of Āndhra, Sindh, Vidarbha and Kalinga, whose territories adjoined his own, might be seen from the following verse of the Gwālior praśasti:—

yattr=Āndhra-Saindhava-Vidarbha-Kalinga-bhupaiḥ Kaumāradhāmani patanga-samair=apāti ||8||

Dr. R. C. Majumdar's view³³ that the force of the simile of moths rushing towards fire is best preserved by supposing that the Āndhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha, and Kalinga rulers joined him of their own accord in a confederacy against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas does not appeal to an unimaginative mind like mine which believes in confining oneself to the exact sense of the words in the inscription

29a. See note 28a.

^{30.} That Kanauj was thereafter the capital of the Pratihāras might be surmised from the account in the *Prabhāvakacarita* as well as from the Barah plate of Bhojadeva's reign mentioning the approval of a grant of Sarvavarn-madeva in the Kānyakubjabhukti.

See the description in the Gwālior praśasti.
 Chātsū inscription, v. 14.

^{33.} EI, XVIII, p. 104.

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The simile of moths rushing towards fire is nothing new in Indian The sum.

It occurs, for instance, in the following verse of the Kumārasambhava, a well-known kāvya of Kālidāsa:—

Kāmastu banāvasaram pratīksya patangavad vahnimukhamviviksuh | Umāsamakṣam Harabaddhalakṣyaḥ śarāsanajyām muhurāmamarša | 34

An equally good or even better and absolutely unambiguous example is also the following well-known verse Bhagavadgītā: —

Yathā pradīptam jvalanam patangā visanti nāsaya samrddhavegāh tathaiva nāśāya višanti lokāstavāpi vaktrāni samrddhavegāh | 35

With the verses before us, we can easily reject the fanciful interpretation given to the two lines from the Gwalior inscription by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and followed without questioning by Drs. Altekar and Tripathi and others too in their recent writings on the Pratihāras.

Of other notable exploits of Nagabhata II, the Gwalior prasasti mentions the forcible capture of forts in the kingdoms of the Matsyas, Vatsas, Turuskas, Kirātas, Mālavas and Ānarttas.36 As these achievements are said to have begun from his very childhood,37 it is likely that some of these might belong actually to the reign of Vatsarāja. By Turuskas are probably meant the Arabs whom he must have forced to relinquish a part of their eastern dominions. Matsyas are mentioned along with the Avantis and the Yavanas among the tribes who approved of Cakrayudha's installation or ation on the throne of Kanauj. 38 So it was but natural that they should a great the throne of Kanauj. 38 So it was but natural that they should suffer at the hands of the Pratiharas. The Vatsas were probably defeated soon after or a little before the acquisition of the empire of Kanauj. With the Mālavas and the Anarttas, who had probably acknowledged Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy, he was at war

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^{34.} III, 64.

^{35,} XI, 25.

^{36.} verse 11. 37. Ibid.

^{38,} See the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla.

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His earlier onslaughts on them had been throughout his life. repelled by Govinda III who took them under his protection.39 But Govinda died in 814 A.D. and was succeeded by his young son Amoghavarsa, a child of barely six years whose infancy and inexperience encouraged insubordination and rebellions throughout the Rāṣṭrakūta Empire. It is likely enough that Nāgabhṭa II might have tried to benefit by these conditions too and conquered some of their strongholds during this period also.

The date of the death of Nagabhata II is given by the Prabahāvakacarita in the following verse:—

Mābhūt samvatsarosau vasušatanavatermā cha rksesu Citrā dhigmāsam tam nabhasyam ksayamapi sa khalah śuklapaksopi yātu

śamkrāmtiryā ca Simhe viśatu hutabhujam pamchamī yā tu Sukre

Gangātoyāgnimadhye tridivamupagato yatra Nāgāvalokah | |725 | 40

This means that he died in V. E. 890, in the month of Bhadrapada when the Sun was in the Simha-rāśi (Leo) and the Moon in Citrā. It was the fifth day of the bright half of the month when Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa) ended his life by immersing himself in the holy waters of the Ganges. I have not seen whether the date is regular. But the year assigned for Nāgabhata's passing away seems likely enough as we find him on the throne in V. 872 and his grandson Bhoja in V. 893.41

Nāgabhata II was one of the ablest and most successful members of a dynasty remarkable for the length of time for which it ruled and the number of capable monarchs that it produced Coming to the throne at a time when two of the strongest rulers of the rival dynasties, the Rāstrakūtas and the Pālas, were attempting to extend their dominions at the cost of their neighbours, he did not merely hold his own against them, in spite of a few initial

^{39.} Lines 39-40 of Karka II's grant (EI, XII, pp. 155 ff).

^{40.} See fne Bappabhatticarita. 41. The Prabhāvakacarita gives Bhoja's father a short and inglorious reign. The Gwālior praśasti too seems to indicate that he suffered an eclipse at the hands of his creation in the suffered by at the hands of his enemies and a similar conclusion is perhaps suggested by the Barah plates of Bhojadeva. See in this connection also my paper "Studies in the Prabhayahuagaita" in the Prabhavakucarita" published in the Jaina Antiquary.

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reverses in the struggle against the former of these, but also succeeded in carving out an Empire which included probably the whole of the Madhyadśa, Gurjaratrā, parts of Surāṣtra and Bihar and a few other slices of territory conquered from the members of the confederacy which had supported Cakrāyudha's installation. The Arabs, who often mention Gurjratrā as a country whose rulers were continually fighting against them, had perhaps their staunchest enemy in Nāgabhaṭa II who is credited in the Gwalior praśasti with the defeat of the Turuṣkas as well as the Saindhavas.

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If there is any truth in the tradition preserved in the Prabhawakacarita, Nāgabhaṭa II must have been a great patron of letters, distributing equally his favours to the orthodox Hindus and Jaina scholars. Bappabhatti, one of the most influential Jaina teachers that the Svetambara sect is known to have produced, was, according to it, the chief ornament of a court graced by also other scholars from various parts of India. That Nāgabhaṭa II was extremely religious might be seen from the story of his death by immersion in the waters of the Ganges and also from the statement of the Gwalior prasasti that he "desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vedas performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families".42 The particular deity that he worshipped was Bhagavatī. But he favoured, perhaps, almost equally the worship of the other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, because his father is known to have been a Māheśvara, his grandfather a Vaiṣnava, and his own son a worshipper of the Sun. The Pratiharas thus seem to have carried on the eclectic and tolerant tradition of the Vardhanas among whom too we find the worshippers of three different gods within two generations.⁴³

^{43.} Verse 9.
43. See the Bänskherā inscription of Harsa (EÎ, IV, p. 209).

Tuluva Usurpation

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By

Dr. P. Srinivasachari, M.A., Ph.D (London).

Bezwada.

The problem of Tuluva usurpation is one of the most complicated problems in Vijayanagara history. To indicate the wide diversity of opinions held on this subject we have only to consider the identity of the first Tuluva ruler. As against the general popular view that Narasa-nayaka was the usurper and the first Tuluva ruler, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar contends that it was really Vira-Narasimha that usurped the throne and established the rule of the Tuluva dynasty. This is denied, however, in the Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy for 1929-30 wherein it is stated: "It thus appears that before Krishnaraya, the Vijayanagara dominions were subject to the rule of the Saluva king Immadi-Narasimha leaving no interval for any other sovereign.....we are forced to suspect the correctness of the statement regarding the deposition of Saluva Immadi-Narasimha by Tuluva Vira-Narasimha in Saka 1424 and the latter reigning over the Vijayanagara kingdom prior to Krishnaraya".1

M. E. R. 1930 p. 85 para 40.
 J. R. A. S. 1915.

the responsibilities involved in this, by placing on the throne the the responsible master but carrying on the administration himself to the day of his death in A.D. 1505. His son Vira-Narasimha sucthe day of the commediately and to the throne a little later the detriment of the empire which could be preserved from dismemberment only by the indomitable energy and the effective warring of his successor, brother, king Krishna-Deva-raya, who came to the throne about the end of the year 1509.3

Death of Saluva-Narasimha and the events immediately after.

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Both Sewell and Aiyangar agree in opining that the death of Saluva Narasimha the usurper and the accession of Immadi-Narasimha took place before January 27, A.D. 1493. They base their opinion on the Javali record4 dated Jan. 27, A.D. 1493. But this record proves little more than the fact that Immadi-Narasimha began to mention all his titles from about the time of this inscription. This record does not help us to determine how long before this Saluva Narasimha died and what happened in the interval between his death and the above date. As a matter of fact we have two inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha before this date dated October 22, A.D. 1492 and May 11, A.D. 1492 respectively. The identity of this Immadi-Narasimha will be discussed later. For the present we are only concerned with that these inscriptions cannot be assigned to Saluva Narasimha, the usurper, because the name is expressly stated s Immadi-Narasimha. So then the last reliable inscription of Saluva-Narasimha record6 the Ponner is January 1, A.D. 1491. There is a considerable interval therefore between the last date of Saluva-Narasimha, the usurper, and the first date of the king whose inscriptions are available to us. It was during this interval that the elder son of Saluva-Narasimha ruled for a short time and met an untimely end immediately after a short and inglorious period of war with Bijapur. Saluva Narasinha, the usurper, left two sons, at his death entrusting them to the charge of a left two sons, at his death entrusting them to the charge of Narasa-Nayaka and begging him "to keep guard over

^{3.} A little known chapter of Vijayanagara history p. 76. 4. E. C. VI Mg. 54.

^{5. 787} of 1917 and 598 of 1930.

^{6. 414} of 1917 and 598 of 1930.

king Saluva My. Even in this, there is nothing to show explicitly that the king Saluva-Narasimha was alive at that time. It is simply dated in his

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the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted to it." Nunniz speaks of this last audience of the king to his trusted minister when the king told him "that at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule." And after the king's death this Narsenaque remained as governor, and soon he raised up the prince to be king, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country".

Four points emerge clearly from this statement. (1) First the dying king installed his trusted minister in power. He not only stated it orally but added that he would leave a testament to that effect. Narasa was absolutely the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom at that time, and his position was even more strengthened by this dying declaration of the king, who probably left it on record. (2) Secondly, the king left absolute control over his sons to Narasa, even the question of choosing the successor. Narasa was to be the judge as to which of the two sons was the most fitted to rule. (3) Thirdly, it is obvious that they were too young to rule independently at the time of their father's death. The dying king himself enjoined on Narasa to rule. (4) Lastly, Narasa followed his master's words faithfully except in one respect. His master told him to govern the kingdom "until the princes should be of an age to rule" and deliver it up to "whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it." But Narasa did not wait for the princes to come of an age and prove themselves fit to govern the kingdom. No doubt he retained control of administration in his own hands but he 'soon' raised the prince to be king and before long (i.e., even in the beginning of A.D. 1493) we find that he has 'delivered' the kingdom to Immadi-Narasimha. In raising a young prince to the throne soon after his master's death he was not violating the spirit of his master's words, since he had shouldered the responsibilities of the kindgom well enough. He was only anxious that the strictly formal and ostentatious privileges of a sovereign which are usually the object of considerable jealousy and intrigue on the part of nobles could be conveniently relegated to the proper claimant to the throne. As for selecting the proper occupant, although he had been invested with been invested with supreme power by the late monarch, he could not very well and a state of the late monarch, he could not very well set aside the eldest boy when there was no chance of demonstrating his special skill or incompetence.

That a boy king was actually on the throne at this time is confirmed by Firishta's statement that when Kasim Barid sought the

belp of Vijayanagar against the rebellion of Yusuf Adil Khan "the boy being a child, his minister Ramaraja sent a powerful army boy being a child, his occurred in A. H. 895, that is, between against Adil Khan." This occurred in A. H. 895, that is, between November A.D. 1489 and November A.D. 1490, possibly a little after the foundation of the kingdom of Bijapur by Yusuf Adil Khan.

Thus Narasa, the faithful, succeeded in managing the situation skiffully after the death of Saluva–Narasimha, without raising the jealousy or the hostility of the nobles and at the same time without violating the wishes of the late king who was more intent on the prosperity of the kingdom under the minister's able guidance than his own son's speedy accession to the throne.

Having thus solved the problem of succession, Narasa would naturally have been anxious to achieve what his master failed to accomplish and died regretting his failure. This was the conquest of three great fortresses, one of which was undoubtedly Raichur and on the achievement of this object, Narasa seems to have concentrated all his attention now.

Vijayanagara conquest of Raichur.

To understand the full significance of Vijayanagara foreign policy at this time and the war between Vijayanagara and the Bahmani Muslims it is necessary to understand the political conditions in the Bahmani kingdom at this time.

The Bahmani kingdom, at this time was in a deplorable state politically and Qasim Barid, who had succeeded the Malik Naib as the controller of the king was anxious to curb the power of Yusuf Adil Shah who was his strongest opponent, and who was fast growing independent. So he wrote to Heemrage, the minister of Beejanugger, who had usurped that sovereignty, leaving the role only nominal Mudkul and Roijore if he could wrest them from Adil Khan; and bireabar, in the language of Dekkan called Kokun tempting him to invade the country of the usurper".

No better circumstances could have presented themselves to Raichur and Mudkul. So "Heemraag, with a great army, crossed took Mudkul and Roijore without advancing farther". This event

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may safely be ascribed to the latter part of A.D. 1491. Even in victory Narasa did not let his prudence desert him. He had acquired what he wanted and he did not want to concern himself with Deccan affairs to any greater extent. Yusuf Adil Shah, who lost 'Jamacondah' to Bahadur Jilani was threatened with a combined attack of Qasim Barid, Nizam Shah and Khvaja Jahan of Parenda-a combination brought about by a further attempt of Qasim Barid to smash the power of Yusuf Adil Shah. But Yusuf Adil Shah was a capable man and fully rose to the occasion, He recognised that the real danger was from Qasim Barid and his activities, and that there was no real danger from Vijayanagara if he surrendered Raichur which he could reconquer from Vijavanagara on a more suitable occasion later. So he patched up peace with Narasa and after driving away Bahadur Jilani from his dominions marched against Qasim Barid and his allies without delaying even to recover Jamacondah from Bahadur Jilani. Yusuf Adil did not have any serious difficulty with the enemy because Ahmad Nizam Shah took no part in the battle and it proved a combination only in name. Qasim Barid and Khvaja Jahan were hopelessly defeated. As we have already seen this must have occurred only after the declaration of independence by Yusuf Adil Shah, that is about the year A.D. 1490.

This left Yusuf Adil free to turn his attention to his own affairs without any fear from Qasim Barid. The two things he had now to accomplish were the reconquest of Raichur and the punishment of Bahadur Jilani. The first was entirely his personal affair, while the second was the affair of several other chiefs of the Deccan. Naturally he took up the conquest of Raichur without any delay.

Date of Yusuf Adil Shah's reconquest of Raichur.

Firishta says that the battle between Yusuf Adil Shah and the Vijayanagara forces under Narasa took place on a Saturday in the month of Regib 898 which corresponds roughly to April A.D. 1493. But the course of events in the Bahmani dominions and in Vijayanagara shows that it must have really taken place earlier.

We know that Qasim Barid set about planning for the destruction of Yusuf Adil Shah soon after the declaration of independence by Yusuf Adil Shah. First he spent some time in intriguing successfully with Vijayanagara, with the pirate Bahadur Jilani, with Ahmad Nizam Shah and with Khvaja Jahan of Parenda. Narasa collected a large army, crossed the Tungabhadra, and after laying waste the country around captured Mudkal and Raichur.

Yusuf Adil Shah patched up a peace with Vijayanagara in order to meet the greater danger from Qasim Barid and the confederate armies. But once he got over the danger he would naturally have turned his attention to Vijayanagara without losing any time, because he had yet another danger to oppose in the firmly rooted power of Bahadur Jilani. If therefore he met and defeated the combined forces of Qasim Barid and Khwaja Jahan in the latter part of A.D. 1491, there is no reason why he should have waited without proceeding against Mudgal and Raichur till the beginning of A.D. 1493. As a matter of fact according to Firishta, there was no great delay in his marching against Raichur, after his victory against Qasim Barid.

From another point of view also we have to assign this event to a date earlier than April 1493. It was in A.D. 1493 that Muhammad Bigarha of Gujerat complained that the pirate Bahadur Jilani had plundered many ships of Gujerat and had sent his lieutenant Yaquib to plunder the port of Bombay and requested the king of Deccan to control his refractory vassal. Partly in response to this and partly on his own initiative, Qasim Barid assembled the royal army and carrying the king into the field marched against the rebel. Firishta states that this took place when Adil shah was preparing to march against Jamacondah, which Bahadur Jilami had taken from him. He also adds that Yusuf Adil therefore 'laid aside his design' of marching against Bahadur and sent his general Kamal Khan with a contingent of 5,000 horse. It seems strange hat Qasim Barid should have so quietly accepted Yusuf Adil's help and that Yusuf Adil should have so magnanimously forgiven his erstwhile enemies whom he had defeated. According to Firishthese good relations were brought about by the lavish presents of Yusuf Adil after his 'great accession of wealth' consequent on the defeat of Vijayanagara. To allow time for this improvement of relations between Yusuf Adil and Qasim Barid we must place his march against Raichur considerably earlier than the expediagainst Raichur considerably earner than April A.D. 1493 is indicated for this event.

From the point of view of Vijayanagara also a date prior to April 1493 is indicated. By the 27th of January A.D. 1493 Immadi titles. These inscriptions continue year after year without a break campaign and battle took place in April A.D. 1493 it would be reconcile this continuity in these inscriptions with the

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the statement of Firishtah that the young king of Vijayanagara "died on the road of a wound he had received by an arrow in the action", when he was retreating to Vijayanagara after the defeat. It is fairly certain then that it was not Immadi-Narasimha that succeeded Saluva-Narasimha and that accompanied Narasa to the field of battle. It was probably his elder brother who had been placed on the throne immediately after the death of Saluva Narasimha. Consequently this event must be ascribed to a date earlier than A.D. 1493.

Yusuf Adil Shah's conquest of Raichur—details of the campaign.

Firishta says that Yusuf Adil learnt that "dissensions prevailed in Beejanuggur" and marched against Raichur. What these dissensions were we do not know, but we are told that in a short time Narasa was able to settle these dissensions and advance on Raichur with a great army that struck terror into the army of Adil Shah. Obviously, therefore, these dissensions could not have been serious. It is possible that they were connected with some attempt on the part of some ambitious nobleman to champion the cause of the second prince with a view to bring about the downfall of the power of Narasa. Such attempts would only have been too probable especially when Narasa had to leave the capital for a considerable amount of time on his first Raichur campaign.

Yusuf Adil did not hurry through this expedition. Instead of marching straight against Raichur and Mudkal and capturing them, he is stated to have "amused himself for some time in pleasure being tempted by the beauty of the country on the banks of the Kistna". This is easily explicable. He had spent an anxious time ever since he declared independence and had now come to a definite stage when he could assure himself of his independent kingdom. The attempts of Qasim Barid to subdue him had proved futile and he had fared quite well in the preliminary test of his independent strength. The reconquest of Raichur and Mudkal was not such an emergent matter as to be hastened through; and particularly after his victory over Qasim Barid and Khvaja Jahan of Parenda it would not have appeared to be a very difficult things to recover the two easily conquerable forts from a boy king and a So he probably decided to enjoy his well regent in trouble. earned rest and recreation.

But his unfortunate excesses made him ill and he was confined to bed for two months. This illness was a stroke of luck for Vijaya

nagara. Narasa could not only settle the dissensions in the capital pagara. The field a large army that could strike terror but could be strike terror into the hearts of even the victorious soldiers of Yusuf Adil. It was probably to leave no chance for intrigue at the capital as also to initiate the young boy into war that Narasa took the young prince along with him to the field of battle.

The news that Narasa was advancing with such a large army reached the sick Sultan and "fervent prayers were offered up by his subjects for his recovery." Luckily for him he had a timely recovery for which act of kindness on the part of Providence he lavished money on charity to religious and holy men and on the construction of a mosque.

The news that Narasa had crossed the Tungabhadra and was advancing by hasty marches made it imperative to prepare for battle. Yusuf Adil first ordered a general review of the army and conferred with his chief nobles in a confident mood, "and thought it advisable to advance towards them". The nobles falling in with these ideas, they moved towards the Vijayanagara army and encamped at a short distance, strongly entrenched to prevent any surprise. Several days passed inactively before the battle commenced, and at first the Hindus had the advantage. There was considerable slaughter among the Sultan's troops which led to disorder. But the over-confidence of the Hindus turned their victory into a sad defeat. Without pursuing their advantage to deal an effective blow, they desisted from further action, misled either by The Call. The Sultan noticed this and surprised the Hindu army by a sudden and forceful attack. Firishtah says "that Heemaraaje was unable to stand the shock." Anyhow it was a sad defeat for the Vijaya-Sulfan which fled, leaving their camp to be plundered. The Sultan was the richer by 200 elephants, a thousand horse sand hearly 60 lakhs of 'oons'. It was this 'great accession of wealth' that induced him to send 'out of respect to sultan Mahmood Bhamanee, two splendid rests, the borders of which were adorned with precious stones, two horses shod with gold and saddles and bridles set with set with jewels. He also conferred on Subjaunj Bahadur Khan Mudkal and one lakh of huns, because he reduced the forts Mudkal and Raichur in the short time of forty days.

Murder of the Young Prince.

This defeat of Narasa must have had repercussions on the domestic politics of Vijayanagara. Firishta says "Heemraaje and

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the young boy fled to Beejanuggur, but the latter died on the road of a wound he had received by an arrow in the action. Heemraaje seized the government of the country; but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissension broke out, which gave Adil Shah relief from war for some time from that quarter".

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Nunniz gives a few more details regarding the immediate successor of Saluva Narasimha, particularly about his death. "At that time a captain who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince with a view afterwards to say that Narsenaque, had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of kingdom had been established and he thought that for this act of treason Narasenaque would be put to death. And he soon arranged it that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for the purpose and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narsenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late king to be king, not being able further to punish this captain because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king".

The murdered prince in the above passage could not be any one other than the prince who also accompanied Narasa to the field of battle. In any case, there is no scope to postulate the rule of more than one ruler between the reigns of Saluva Narasimha, the usurper, and Immadi-Narasimha; and we are expressly told that Saluva Narasimha left behind him only two sons. We cannot attribute this incident to the last days of Immadi-Narasimha since he goes on to state that after the murder "Narasa raised up another brother of the late king's to be king" and persuaded him to avenge the death of his brother by executing the traitor, a certain Tymarasa by name. It looks as though both Firishta and Numiz refer to the death of the same prince and that while Firishta as cribes it to the battle in which his master was victor, Nunniz, who is more concerned in tracing accurately, the domestic factions of Vijayanagara attributes it to the scheming plans of an ambitious courtier. It is possible that Firishta who is later in point of time than Nuniz was induced quite unintentionally to attribute the death of this prince to the wound received in this battle, on account of the fact that this death followed not long after the battle. gains strength from his admission that the prince did not die on the battle field.

The absence of Narasa from Vijayanagara would have kindled the embers of dissension which he had hastily settled in order to proceed against the Sultan of Bijapur. Tymarasa, an important to proceed against the Sultan of Bijapur. Tymarasa, an important nobleman who had many relations and who seems to have been in the good looks of the second prince also, formed this plan to bring about the downfall of the all powerful Narasa. But he was only partly successful in his attempt. He got rid of the ruling king but the odium of the murder could not stick to Narasa. Perhaps the public had too great a confidence in him to suspect his integrity and loyalty to the throne of Vijayanagara. After all he had voluntarily relinquished the enjoyment of all supreme power and placed the boy prince on the throne even against his own master's suggestion.

It is even possible that Narasa himself gave it out that the young prince was killed as the result of a wound received in action, just to avoid a scandal and characterize it as a heroic death.

Narasa then raised the second prince to the throne but this young boy was under the spell of the murderer, since "by reason of him he had become king". So Narasa bided his time and one day he left the city on the pretext of going out hunting and after reaching Anegondi set out to Penugonda, one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. There he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants and then sent to tell the king Tamaras of the cause of his going. He recounted to him the treachery of Tymarasa, and warned him that "he would do to him in the same way" as to his brother, for he was a traitor. This he expected would have the effect of shaking the prince's confidence in his evil favourite. He also reminded him that "the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother," and urged him to punish 'the captain' But the foolish young king, far from realizing the truth, felt pleased with the murderer for securing the kingdom for himself and "in place of punishing him he bestowed favour on him and took his part gainst minister". Narasa was prepared for such a contingency. He went against him with large forces and besieged him, threatening him four or five days until the king seeing his determination, commanded Tymarasa to be put to death; after which he (the king) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister who the city rejoiced. Narsenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice".

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The actual accession of Immadi Narasimha took place immediately after the defeat and loss of Raichur, that is, about the end of A.D. 1492, most probably immediately before the date of Chalivendla inscription on the 22nd of October A.D. 1492.7 The king's name is cited as Vira-Damarayya Maharaya and was probably meant for Tammaraya referring to the younger prince as distinct from the elder brother, the ruling king.8 Later on this name was sanskritized into Dharmaraya.

The Calivendla inscription has no reference to Narasanayaka. If Narasa was at all at the helm of affairs he must have quietly bided his time for a chance to rid the king of his evil counsellors. By the 27th. of January 1493, however, Immadi–Narasimha was ruling a peaceful kingdom and Narasa seems to have retired voluntarily from active service.

Immadi-Narasimha.9

Immadi Narasimha's inscriptions range with very few gaps from the end of A.D. 1492 till the end of A.D. 1504, actually 23rd October A.D. 1504. The exact period of his rule, particularly the last date of his rule is a point of supreme importance for the problem of Tuluva usurpation. But there has been much difference of opinion about this point. Sewell puts it as some time between February 28, A.D. 1505 and July 16, (or possibly August 14) A.D. 1505. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar puts it a little later than A.D. 1505 but before December 15, A.D., 1506, adding however that Immadi-Narasimha's records are found as late as A.D. 1507. The Report on South Indian Epigraphy puts it later still, somewhere about A.D. 1509 (Saka 1431). The last date of Immadi Narasimha's rule is not only of 'chronological interest' but essential in order to determine who actually usurped the kingdom for the Tuluva line. According to Sewel's dates it will be Narasa nayaka, while according

7. This record is a fragment but only the last face of the pillar is damaged. There is no reason to suspect that this is not genuine simply because the Saka date given in it is wrong.

8. In Kannada Tamma means a younger brother and the custom of referring to members of the Royal house after their relationship to the ruling king was fairly common. Cp. Aliya Ramaraya, the son-in-law Rama raya, the son-in-law of Krishna-deva-raya, the ruling king.

9. He is variously named as 1. Immadi Narasimharaya Maharaya 2. Vira-Damarasa Maharaya 3. Immadi-Narasingadeva Maharaya 4. Immadi-Narasingadeva Maharaya 4. Immadi-Narasingadeva Maharaya 4.

to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar it will be Vira-Narasimha. The Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for A.D. 1930 would make the usurper no other than the illustrious Krishna-deva-raya himself.

The source of confusion is the similarity of the names and titles. All the three important persons who shared in the administration of Vijayanagara between A.D. 1492 and A.D. 1509 were named after God Narasimha. Of these the first, namely the Saluva king, is usually called Immadi–Narasimha (or the second Narasimha) perhaps to differentiate him from his father, the usurper and the founder of the Saluva, rule. The second is the Tuluva general, who served under the Saluva usurper and after him, his sons, and who is generally called Narasanayaka. According to the popular view he usurped the throne of Vijayanagara and began the Tuluva rule. The third person is called Vira–Narasimha and was the elder son of Narasa–nayaka.

A close examination of the inscriptions issued between A.D. 1492 and A.D. 1509 with a view to find out the particular king referred to in each will throw considerable light on this question. We may note at the outset that the second of the three persons noted above, namely Narasa—nayaka issued no inscriptions in royal style, although he authorized the issue of many inscriptions, sometimes on behalf of the sovereign and sometimes on his own initiative and responsibility; without any reference to the sovereign. So the problem now is much simpler and reduces itself to assigning the available inscriptions issued in regal style either to Immadinarasimha or to Vira—Narasimha.

Although the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1930 seems to think that the royal name given in all these inscriptions refers to one and the same person, namely, Immadi-Narasimha, it seems possible, by a careful study of the regal attributes and titles mentioned in each inscription to classify them into two groups, those belonging to Immadi-Narasimha and those belonging to Vira-Narasimha. It may be admitted that among the great variety of ways in which these two kings are referred to in lead to confusion. But in general we can form them into two sets of names by placing the dividing line, in point of time, somewhere

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^{10.} Immadi-Narasimha's name is given in at least 20 different ways and Vira-Narasimha in 13 different ways.

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between the end of A.D. 1504 (October 23, A.D. 1504) and the end of A.D. 1505 (October 16, A.D. 1505). These two limits are quite definite, and as for the gap of about a year between these two dates all the inscriptions with just one exception, contain only a reference to the year and to other details of the date. The one exception is the alleged inscription of Vira-Narasimha from Goribidnur (EC X Gd 77) dated sometime between July 16 and August 14 A.D. 1505 and giving an elaborate account of the Tuluva family of Vira-Narasimha and particularly mentioning that Narasa had ruled as king before Vira-Narasimha. We shall examine this inscription presently. But we may note first that there are two inscriptions right at the beginning of this gap dated on November 6, A.D. 1504. not mentioning any ruler at all. The inscriptions are issued by a certain Eramancali Tulukanna nayaka, whom we find mentioned again in an inscription of Vira-Narasimha dated December 28, A.D. 1505 in connection with a gift by the people of the village for his health, and further again in an inscription which registers his gift of a cow to a temple in S. Arcot district on the 26th of January A.D. 1509. The later limit of this gap is the date of a very clear inscription of Vira-Narasimha from Kurnool district (54 of 1915). This inscription refers also to the father of the king Narasa-nayaningaru and grandfather Isvara-nayaningaru, and thus precludes all possible association with Immadi-Narasimha or Narasa-nayaka. The only point that needs an explanation is the term Immadi prefixed to the name of the king. Immadi-Narasa-nayaningaru is a form which has never occurred in any of the inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha or Vira-Narasimha. But it may be a very innocent adjective to suggest or even emphasize that Vira-Narasimha was the second Narasimha in his line. Various reasons might be suggested why Vira-Narasimha should have occasionally tried to suggest parallels even to the point of having a similar name to cover the naked fact of usurpation. Two inscriptions dated 28th December 1505 and 5th February, 1506 from Aragal (Salem) and Tirukkoyilur (S. Arcot) respectively repeat this confusing prefix before his name Narasinga. Another inscription dated the 25th of October, 1508 adds it to his title Bhujabala.

Bearing these points in mind let us examine the different forms of the name of Immadi–Narasimha and Vira–Narasimha, as seen from inscriptions. One is struck at the outset by the great variety of forms, Immadi–Narasimha's name being referred to in at least twenty different ways and that of Vira–Narasimha in at least thirteen different forms. Both the kings use the two forms Narasimha and Narasinga. The more or less distinctive features of the name

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mha ame of Immadi-Narasimha are the prefix Immadi and the exclusive additional name Tammaraya or its Sanskritized form Dharma-additional name already seen that the prefix Immadi has occurred raya. We have already seen that the prefix Immadi has occurred in three inscriptions of Vira-Narasimha, but they are always followed by the name of Vira-Narasimha's father Narasa-nayaka leaving no room for doubt regarding identity. But with Immadi-Narasimha it is an almost universal feature. In the few cases where it is absent the presence of the exclusive term Tamma raya or Dharma raya is decisive of identity. As a matter of fact in four inscriptions only do we find Immadi-Narasimha referred to without either of these distinguishing features; but their dates are nowhere on the border-land to raise any chronological difficulties.

The features that we may call distinctive in Vira-Narasimha's name are (1) the prefix Vira and the additional name Bhujabala raya. But both of these occur though very rarely in Immadi-Narasimha's inscriptions, and there is really no exclusive distinguishing feature in his name corresponding to the term Tammaraya Dharma raya of Immadi-Narasimha. That is why we can distinguish his inscriptions from those of Immadi-Narasimha's by the distinctive surname Tammaraya or Dharma raya of Immadi-Narasimha which is always found to help us in such doubtful cases¹¹

Thus we see that judging by inscriptional evidence alone we can deduce that there were at least two rulers by name Narasimha, between the year A.D. 1492 and 1502 and that one was the son of the Saluva usurper and the other of the famous Tuluva general Narasa nayaka. The evidence of Nunniz clearly supports this statement. He says that both the sons of the Saluva usurper ruled before Narasa usurped the throne, which was continued by two of his five sons, 'Busbal rao and Krishna rao'. This agrees completely with the explict statement in the Aragal inscription of Virable order of succession. It is impossible therefore to go against different persons between the reigns of the Saluva emperor and the famous Krishna-deva-raya.

^{11.} The only exception is an inscription from Barakur (S. Kanara) dated Narasinga raya.

12. The only exception is an inscription from Barakur (S. Kanara) dated vira-

Rule of Immadi-Narasimha.

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Our only sources of information about Immadi-Narasimha being the account of Nunniz and inscriptions it is happy to note that from A.D. 1492 onwards we have quite a number of inscriptions dated in almost every regnal year till the end of his reign sometime about the end of A.D. 1492. Even judging from their distribution we find that it was perhaps due to the strong arm of Narasanavaka that the royal authority was felt practically in every district of the wide Vijayanagara kingdom. It is true that there are occasional intervals when we find no inscriptions at all, or inscriptions in which no sovereign is mentioned. This is quite common in private records of all times and proves or disproves nothing. Even so there are three gaps in the period of his rule. The first extends for 9 months from July A.D. 1498 to April A.D. 1499, the second for a year between August A.D. 1501 and August 1502 and the third for some 8 months from December A.D. 1503 till August A.D. 1504, Do these relate to the time when administration was temporarily "in a state of suspended animation" on account of more or less serious differences of opinion between Narasa-nayaka the Lord Protector and the Sovereign? It is hazardous to read into the meagre evidence at our disposal; but it is not unlikely that the final decision to set aside the Saluva ruler must have been the last act in a long period of unsatisfactory relations between master and servant during which the incompetency if not the danger of Saluva rule must have been forcibly brought to the mind of Narasanayaka. The position was serious due to the habit of the king of encouraging unworthy and dangerous favourites who would disorganize the administration of such a vast empire, by their ambitious schemes and actions.12

A few inscriptions state that Narasa was actually ruling the kingdom; ¹³ there are others where Narasa does not mention the name of the sovereign at all. Instances are available of records which speak of oppressive taxation (50 C 1916) and the consequent emigration of people from the locality (247 C 1916). The reason assigned is that "it was the

^{12.} We have already seen in the beginning of his reign how Immadi-Narasimha was foolish enough to associate with and befriend the traitor who had murdered his own brother just to foist the blame on Narasa had to take a firm stand on that occasion to get rid of this dangerous person. It is not improbable that such incidents occurred later in Immadi-Narasimha's rule.

^{13.} prthvi-rajyamu-ceyucumdanganu (143 B 1915 and 47 C 1916). CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

period of occupation by the Kannadigas" doubtless the unworthy partisans of the king. (Karnatakas or Kanarese people) (E.R., 1916 p. 141). Narasa obviously intervened in many a case. In the case of Srimushnam village a special officer named Trinetra Kachetirayar was appointed to enquire into the grievances of the people and relieve them of the exorbitant taxation.

Thus we see that Immadi–Narasimha was by no means a pup– pet. But he failed largely for two reasons, namely his youthful inexperience and his prejudice against Narasa-nayaka born of a sense of inferiority complex. The position of Narasa was unique and unimpeachable and any restraint he laid on the youthful and impetuous Immadi-Narasimha was unwelcome and imperious. Narasa was cautious and guarded in the exercise of his power. He did not not turn the monarch's power into a shadow as Ramaraya did later on. But he could not just tender sage words of advice and leave the king go his way. Though he did not generally interfere in the king's activities, when he did intervene in a matter of importance, he behaved as one whose ultimate responsibility was only to God and to his late master. He sought to play the role of a constitutional minister, wherein he failed, largely because of the absence of any deep sense of loyalty in the country to Immadi-Narasimha and the attempts of several ambitious nobles in the kingdom to create enmity between Narasa and the boy king to the ultimate disadvantage of them both. Besides, the times were quite unsuited to play the difficult part of a limited monarchy and a dominating prime minister who would not assume supreme power. Divided responsibility often led to responsibility divorced from power which brought in its reaction an encroachment into each other's ill-defined spheres of authority, friction and ultimate suppression of the weak by the strong. There was no doubt whatever as to who was the most suited to the needs of the times. Narasa the Man of Destiny would not assume the reins of government. It is a striking testimony to his unimpeachable loyalty and his administrative and military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity that he kept the kingdom in tact in the second military capacity in t in tact in the face of disruptive forces, in this difficult position for such a long time.

The becomes evident if we examine a few epigraphs at the south Kanara dt., 392 of 1928) dated 26th December A.D. 1499 reHeggade and Tirumala Arasa Madda-Heggade to render faithful at all times against the enemies attacking Yelluru and

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Kapu. Such an agreeement without any reference to the central government clearly shows that the latter had become very weak and could afford practically no protection in the outlying regions. It is not surprising then that even officials of the state ignored mention of the king as for example, the Nayaka of Lakshminarayanapura in a religious grant dated 27th August A.D. 1502 (E. C. IV Yd. 10.) A few exercised independent power and assumed high sounding almost royal titles as for example maha-mandalesvara muvara rayara ganda, Nilagiri-uddharana Gauranna Udeya who granted a village. Still, either from a supreme sense of loyalty or a culpable failure to comprehend the real danger threatening the kingdom Narasa would not take the only effective step that could save the empire, viz. a bold usurpation.

Narasa died a loyal citizen sometime before the 13th of December A.D. 1503, when a certain Gopala made a grant of the village of Bikasamudra for illumination and offerings to the God Vira-Narayana on the occasion that Narasanna-nayaka set (i.e. died astamanava=adaga so that merit might accrue to him. (EC IV Kp 64). The statement is quite explicit and is confirmed by another inscription dated in the same year registering a gift for the merit of swami-nayaka 'who went to Siva-loka' (i.e. died) RL.N.A. 158; 357 of 1912. Since there are a number of unquestionable inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha after this date it follows that Narasa could not have usurped the kingdom as sometimes alleged.

Career of Narasa Nayaka.

To sum up, Narasa nayaka started by being the legal ruler of the kingdom and the guardian of the princes by the testament of Saluva Narasimha. He could have made a bold stroke for the throne had he the mind for it: he wisely abstained, and right from the beginning called himself a mere subordinate of the king. (Inscription from Cuddapah dated A.D. 1493— RL. Cd. 618; 516 of 1906). But quite early in the reign the young prince showed an inclination to chafe at restraint and his unworthy favourites got active. Narasa—nayaka seems to have stayed in the background till the beginning of A.D. 1496 voluntarily and towards the end of this period realizing the danger to the kingdom concerted measures to carry out a coup de main. He fled to Penugonda, gathered an army, and marching upon the capital supplanted the traitors. But he still remained the general of Immadi—Narasimha (E.C. XII My; 33 dated 125 February A.D. 1496) or a little while later the maha-

pradhani (EC. III My 33 dated 19 September A.D., 1496). When he granted permission for officers to issue grants he did so in combination with the king (429 of 1920 dated 13 March A.D. 1497); and when subordinates like Immadi-Kacanayaka mentioned their own status they said they held their land as a fief from both the king and Narasa-nayaka (719 B 1917 dated 18 March A.D. 1497).

But the partisans of Narasa were not always so careful; and not content to call Narasa the agent of the king, they added that he was actually ruling (prithvi-rajyampannuvan) as in 143 of 1915 dated 6th April A.D. 1498. Governors of provinces, of Barakur for instance, felt concerned for the merit of this all powerful maha-pradhana and made gifts (511 of 1929 dated 3rd July A.D. 1498). It became usual to describe this "agent for the affairs" of the king not only 'as ruling the earth' (EC X M1 5, April A.D. 1499) but as 'ruling the kingdom of the world (EC. X ch. 52 dated 9 June A.D. 1499). Officious subordinates like Tirumalaikkolunder were quick to detect and set right a malpractice in a certain specified temple where cake offerings and betel leaves were not distributed among certain individuals as arranged for the merit of his master Narasa-nayaka since the funds had been diverted for other purposes. brothers granted land for the merit of Narasa-nayaka on 3rd July A.D. 1500 (RL. NA. 156) but did not trouble themselves to refer to the reigning king in their grant.

When mention was actually made of the king sufficient care was not shown in giving all the titles of the king as customary. One inscription omits the important title maha mandalesvara (EC. XII Mi. 106 dated 13 March A.D. 1503); another inscription is dated in the reign of Narasanna-nayaka, agent of Immadi-Maharaya Dharma raya (inscription from Piranmalai, 195 of 1924 dated August A.D. 1503.

Narasa himself was occasionally guilty of carelessness. He made a gift along with Yarama nayaka and there is no reference to the king (E. C. IV Hg. 35 dated 14 November A.D. 1497). He taya his own son (E.C., V. Cn. 174 dated 19 October A.D. 1499) but was a dispute about the name of the king in the record. When there adduced a copper plate to prove their ancient claims Narasa ordered the restoration again without any reference to the king (E.G. IV, dated 28 Dec. A.D. 1499).

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But it cannot be suggested that these were cases of intentional neglect on the part of Narasa; for then we cannot explain the existence of inscriptions as these at Tirunedugalam (RL. Tp. 530; 664 of 1909 dated 150-2) or at Nandaluru (RL. Cd. 829; 165 of 1907 dated 1501-2) or the record relating to the gift of Awkpadu for merit to Narasa. Nor can we argue that this was done in a spirit of retaliation to the king's issue of grants without any reference to Narasa (122 of 1918 dated 5 November A.D. 1500 and 212 of 1924 dated 27 Dec. A.D. 1500); for was it not common to obtain the consent of both the king and Narasanna-nayaka-raya in granting a village (E. C. VII Nr. 73 dated 1 October A.D. 1502).

Thus it is clear that Narasa exercised power from the beginning of A.D. 1496 onwards but only as a subordinate of the king. There is absolutely nothing in the inscriptions to support Nunniz's statement that Narasa kept the king in virtual imprisonment in Penugonda, some years after the return of Narasa to the capital. On the contrary, inscriptional evidence disproves any suggestion that Narasa put the king in virtual imprisonment about the close of the century and usurped the throne not long afterwards. (1) First, the inscriptions of Immadi–Narasimha and those of his friends, even Narasa himself, mention Immadi–Narasinha as the ruling sovereign. (2) Secondly the inscriptions of Narasa do not show that he even aspired for royal status, not to speak of striving for it or enjoying it after usurpation.

It is not difficult to explain Vira–Narasimha's statements, direct and implied, that he inherited royalty from his father. As a matter of fact attempts were made to endow even Isvara, the grandfather, with the purple robes and confer on him royal status, which is historically so impossible. The interval between Narasa's death and Vira–Narasimha's usurpation was so short that Vira–Narasimha could put forth a plausible suggestion that the usurpation had been effected actually by his father, and that he was only acquiring his rightful possession.

Vira-Narasimha's Usurpation.

Nunniz gives an account of the usurpation but he is not definite about the identity of the persons concerned. He seems to attribute

^{14.} This would have to be placed about the end of the century if our conclusions are correct that Narasa obtained and exercised power from A.D. 1495 or 96.

the usurpation to Narasa and places it years after the restoration of Narasa in position of authority next to the king. First he virtually imprisoned the king and then planned to get rid of him at the instigation of an evil minded 'captain'. The execution of the plot was entrusted to the 'captain', the author of the same. The Captain approached the royal prisoner, as a victim of the usurper's wrath and after thus winning him over induced him to fly unaided except for this vicious confidente. The disastrous attempt ended in his being intercepted and killed in the affray by the guards which was kept a secret to allow the rumour to gain ground that the captive king had fled and was preparing for an attack against the usurper. None knew the truth and when no news appeared about the unfortunate king the minister was "raised to be king over all the land of Narsymga", "he holding everything now under his hand".

Although Nunniz attributes this act of usurpation to Narasa (Narasanaque) and concludes this account by adding that "this king left at his death five sons" one "called Busbalrao, and another Crisnarao" it seems, on chronological and other grounds, far more accurate to attribute it to Vira-Narasimha.

We have no inscriptions of Vira-Narasimha earlier than 8th July A.D. 1505 (EC. X Gd. 77). But Immadi-Narasimha could not hold his own in all parts of the kingdom till this date. Eramacali Tulukkana nayakkar, for example does not mention him in his two grants dated 6th November A.D. 1504 (118 C. 1918 and 98 C 1918). A record from South Arcot is actually dated in Narasa-nayaka's reign and not in the king's reign. RL. SA. 867 B. But Vira-Narasimha's earliest available inscription dated 8th July A.D. 1505 from Nagaragere records in royal style the establishment of Vira-Narasimha and prefaces the record with an elaborate prasasti in praise of his ancestors and particularly his father who is stated to have ruled as king (EC. X. Gd. 77). From now on his inscriptions are found without any serious break. About 3 months later another record describes him as (Yi)mmadi-Narasa-nayanimgaru, son of Isvara-nayanimgaru (54 of 1915 dated 16th October A.D. 1505) 1505). Towards the end of the year his name is again referred to in record. in records registering gifts for the health of Eramani Tulukanna nayaka (400 nayaka (420 of 1913 dated 28th Dec. A.D. 1505) and gifts for the merit of his father Narasa-nayanimgaru (171 of 1913 dated 1505) or 1506) or 1506). By about February 1506 his position was strong enough for him to indulge in considerable boasting. He claims to have been born for the bestowal of all the great gifts, exceeding in Tame

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the ancient famous kings like Sagara, Nala and others; and adds that he was ruling the kingdom of the whole earth seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara. He had already become a bhujabala pratapa, perhaps an indication that he had acquired this title along with the kingdom from his crstwhile master and predecessor Immadi-Narasimha, or as a warning to turbulent chieftains, that he was strong-armed and valorous.

Vira-Narasimha must have met strong opposition right from the beginning. A certain mahamandalesvara Chikka-raya-odevar mentions no king in his record and affects to be independent in a grant dated 24th July A.D. 1506 (EC. IX Kn. 39). But Vira-Narasimha proceeded systematically, ever ready to enquire into acts of injustice and as keen to win over the affections of his people as to strike terror into the hearts of turbulent chieftains. He was quite short of time on one occasion when complaint was made that certain lands had been sold at a severe loss to some tenants at Tirukkoyilur. He found the complaint to be just but could not order the return of the lands which had become temple property. So he decreed them to be tax free and ordered the profits to be utilized for offerings to God (330 of 1921 dated 5th February A.D. 1506). His hurried instructions were oral and were later carried out and registered. Many cases of arrears of administrative work were cleared in giving royal sanction or permission and in several cases the gift was enhanced by an addition from Vira-Narasimha himself (EC. VIII. Nr. 64 dated 13th January A.D. 1507). Thus Vira-Narasimha consolidated his power, slowly and steadily.

It is a mystery how Vira-Narasimha was able to lure the king Immadi-Narasimha to Penugonda and entice him there to enter into a contract with him to hand over the reins of government in return for "20,000 cruzados of gold every year for his food and his expenses. Once he got the royal personage into his power it could not have been difficult for him to make the fort his actual prison on the pretext of his personal safety. The foolish king seems to have been quite willing to allow him to depart to the capital, Vijayanagara, "thinking that now he himself would be more his own master and not be so liable to be checked by him". It was on his return to Vijayanagara that he sent additional reinforcements of nearly 20,000 men according to Nunniz, to ensure the king's captivity. vity. All this time he was ostentatiously most loyal and most concerned for the safety of the royal person, and common folk perceived nothing untoward in all this and went on as before issuing grants in the name of the king who was really in captivity.

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After this Vira-Narasimha began to make war on several, places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolplaces, the occasion for revolt? It was obviously the death of Narasa and probably vague suspicions about Vira-Narasimha's ambitions and plans. 15 Any way, this provided an excellent opportunity for Vira-Narasimha to supplant hostile nobles and appoint friends and well-wishers. After thus preparing the ground, he waited awhile and allowed the initiative to come from his confidants who must have known their master's mind only too well to broach him on such a topic. At first he would answer nothing to the proposal "that they should kill the king, as he was not a man fitted to govern". But "after some days had passed.... he called one day these same captains who had often proposed it to him, and asked them by what means the king could be slain without its being known that he had a hand in his death". So well was this planned and put into operation that none knew the truth, not even the assassins who did their duty little dreaming that they had shed royal blood, and quite pleased with themselves for ridding their master of one "who well deserved it of him?" To allay all suspicions, rumour had it that "he had fled somewhere, whence he would make war on Narsenaque (i.e. Vira-Narasimha). Vira-Narasimha's reputation remained unsullied and when no news was forthcoming about the king, Vira-Narasimha "was raised to be king," 16 sometime before the 8th of July A.D. 1505 (EC. X Gd. 77).17

15. On this ground as well as on the ground of Narasa's character we cannot attribute all these intrigues and schemes to the straight forward and absolutely honest Narasa. It may howevel be attributed to Vira-Narasimha whose temperament was such as to insist on his death bed that his half brother to brother Krishna-deva-raya should be murdered, lest he should become the king instead of his own boy sons.

16. A few continued to issue records in the name of the late king (Devikapuram inscription dated February A.D. 1505, 396 and 354 of 1912).

17. There are two inscriptions later than this date from Marudadi (N. Arcot 413 of 1912) and from Jambai (S. Arcot 94 of 1906) referring to a Certain Vinc 1912. certain Vira-Narasingudeva Maharaya, son of Saluva Narasingadeva Maharaja D. J. the first one contains Maharaja. Both of them are incomplete records and the first one contains only the interest of them are incomplete records and the first one is dated in only the introductory passage and the date. The second one is dated in Saka 1429 expired, Prabhava, corresponding to A.D. 1507-8, but gives no details; but the correctly. Even details; but the first gives details which do not work out correctly. Even the Saka very the Saka year mentioned therein does not agree with the cyclic year. Apart from the mere mentioned therein does not agree with the cyclic year.

Similar way) the mention of an indefinite name (nowhere else mentioned in a imilar way) there is nothing substantial to argue that Immadi-Narasimha was living at the control of the contro was living at a date later than the one suggested above or to build up any

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P. N. BHALLA,

Munni Begam, the 'Mother of the Company' or the 'Jewel Lady' as she was called, was the favourite consort of Nawab Mir Jafar Khan. She came from a low family, being the daughter of a poor widow who lived in Balkunda village, near Sikandra. Being unable to support her, on account of dire poverty, her mother gave her to Bissu, a slave-girl belonging to Sammi Ali Khan, who lived in Shahjahanabad. Munni lived with Bissue for a period of four or five years and learnt the art of singing and dancing. In 1745-46 Nawab Shahamat Jung on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his adopted son, Ikram-ud-Daulah, sent for Bissu and her suite of dancing girls. Munni accompanied Bissu to Murshidabad. After the wedding they took up residence in the city and stayed there for a few months. Mir Jafar granted an allowance of Rs. 500 a month to them and subsequently took Munni into his harem where she gave birth to Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah.¹

Her beauty, skill and attainments, soon won for her a place in the heart of the Nawab and in no time she became his favourite and acted in everything as the mistress of his house. On his accession to the masnad of Murshidabad after the battle of Plassey, Mir Jafar came into possession of a large treasure including gems and jewels that had been hoarded up for ages together by his predecessors. All these treasures were kept in the sanctuary under the care of Munni Begam². In 1760 when Mir Jafar was deposed and sent down to Calcutta, Shah Khanam, his legitimate wife, with whom he had not been in good harmony for a long time past, refused to accompany him.³ But Munni Begum along with other ladies of the harem accompanied him and lived with him at Cal-

^{1.} See Nanda Rai's letter to Clavering, May, 1775, C. R. 5; pp. 64-5; No. 17.

^{2.} Seir; ii; p. 695 (Text.).

^{3.} See Vansittart and Col. Caillaud's letter to the Select Committee dated 21st Oct. 1760—A narration of transactions in Bengal by Vansittart; Vol. 1; p. 125.

outia until the Nawab was restored to the masnad after the deoutta unit of Mir Qasim. Nawab Mir Jafar before his death bequeathed a legacy of five lakhs of rupees in money and effects to Lord Clive and the Begam was entrusted with the task of handing over this sum to him. This amount was duly handed over by her to Clive in the time of Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah and it is wellknown that out of this money Clive created in April 1770 a trust find for the relief and maintenance of the orphans and widows of the English officers serving in India.

Nawab Mir Jafar died on 5th February, 1765. Munni Begam's eldest son, Najm-ud-Daulah, was placed on the masnad, the legitimate claims of Miran's son being set aside. In justifying their choice of Najm-ud-Daulah, the Board held that he had been nominated to the throne during the life-time of Mir Jafar.4 It appears that Munni Begam and Nandkumar pushed his claims by heavily bribing the Residents of Murshidabad and Burdwan, who came to place the young prince on the masnad. Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah died in 1766 and was succeeded by his younger brother Saif-ud-Daulah. During the time of both these Nawabs, Munni Begam was the mistress of their household. She was their guardian and had complete control over the disbursement of the stipend. During this period she was also on good terms with Muhammad Riza Khan, the Naib Nazim.

(2)

In 1770 Nawab Saif-ud-Daulah died and was succeeded by Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah. Babbu Begam, the mother of the Nawab, had hitherto lived in complete obscurity. Muhammad Riza Khan who had of late been on bad terms with Munni Begam, contrived to put Babbu Begam in charge of the Nawab's household. But Babbu Begam's sway was of short duration, for in 1772 Muhammad Riza Khan was charged with embezzlement and removed from the office of Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan. Babbu Begam was also removed. removed from the Nawab's household. The Committee of Circuit appointed Munni Begam and Raja Gurdas as guardian and Diwan of the Nawab respectively.

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^{4.} Secret Proceedings; 12 Feb. 1765; pp. 95-7. 5. Seir; ii; p. 771. (Text). & Seir ii; p. 781 (Text).

In March 1775 Nandkumar brought to light the fact that at various times in the year 1772 Hastings had received the sum of 3,54,000 rupees from himself and Munni Begam for procuring Raja Gurdas's appointment as Diwan and causing Munni Begam to be made guardian to the Nawab.7 In support of his contention he produced the translation of a letter, dated 2nd September, 1772 said to have been written by the Begam.8 The authenticity of the letter has not been so far ascertained. The Begam admitted that she had paid a sum of a lakh and a half to Hastings when the latter visited Murshidabad in 1772. She held that the said sum was paid in accordance with the ancient usage of paying 2,000 rupees a day as allowance to the Governor General when he visited the Nawab.9 Hastings also admitted having received the said sum as an "entertainment money". Nandkumar's contention that Munni Begam bribed Hastings in order to secure her appointment as guardian is not apparent from the records, although it is not beyond the range of possibility or probability. Hastings, and more so his wife, received presents from country powers, but it is by no means proved that this influenced his policy.

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From the state papers it is quite clear that in making these appointments, Hastings was not actuated by motives of partiality or personal gains, as Nandkumar and Burke10 contended, but by the sole motive of advancing the interests and authority of his own nation in India. The opinion expressed by the Committee of Circuit and as well as Hastings' letter to the Court of Directors point in the same direction. The aim of British intentions in India was bluntly put by the Committee in the following words;

"It is our duty to suppose the possibility of a total change of government by degree taking place which substitutes the real power which protects this country in the place of that which claims possession of it... and to provide for the gradual completion of it by such means as can be regularly and justifiably and justifi fiably exerted. The Nawab's minority incontestably affords such means..... (we should retain) in our own hands the

^{7.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 11 March, 1775; No. 2.

^{8.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 13 March, 1775; No. 6(A). 9. See Munni Begam's letter; Secret Proceedings; OC. 24 July, 175; 21. No. 21.

^{10.} See Burke's speech. India Courier (extraordinary); i; pp. 120-2 and p. 176.

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whole conduct of Government for the present, to accustom the people to the sovereignty of the British nation; to divide the offices of the Nizamat and to suffer no share in the management of the Nawab's domestic affairs, who from British rank, personal consideration, or from active trust, may have it in his power to assist his master with the means or even to inspire him with the hopes of future independence".11

In justifying the choice of Munni Begam as guardian, the Committee of Circuit remarked that "we know of no person so fit for the trust of the guardian to the Nawab as the widow of the late Mir Jafar Ali Khan, Munni Begam. Her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without regard to our own policy; nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of the country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nawab's place".12

The other possible claimants to this office were Babbu Begam, mother of the Nawab, and Ihtiram-ud-Daulah, Nawab's uncle, and the question arises as to why Munni Begam was specially chosen in preference to the superior claims of both of them. On the removal of Muhammad Riza Khan Ihtiram-ud-Daulah petitioned Hastings for his appointment as Naib Subah, but his petition was rejected.13 In justifying his action Hastings wrote to the Court of Directors that "he was a man of no dangerous abilities, no apparent ambition, but the father of numerous family who by being brought so high to the masnad would have acquired a right of inheritance to the Subaship; and if only one of his sons.. should have raised his hopes to the succession, it would have been in his power at any time to become the Nawab. The guardian at least would have been the Nazim while the minority lasted and all the advantages which the Company may hope to derive from it would have been lost. The case would be much the same were any other man placed in that station".14 The claims of Babbu Begam were set aside most probably because she had been previously appointed guardian to the Nawab through the contrivances of Muhammad Riza Khan. But now Muhammad Riza Khan was in

^{11.} Secret Proceedings; 11 July, 1772; pp., 64-68.

^{12.} Secret Proceedings; 11 July, 1772; pp. 69-70. 13. See Secret Proceedings; 11 July, 1772; pp. 534-37.

14. Letter Proceedings; 21 May, 1772, pp. 534-37.

¹⁴ Letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 1st September, 1772; (Gleig; i; p. 253).

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the bad books of the Company. He had been removed from his office and Hastings wanted that this office be occupied by someone who was not on good terms with him. Moreover we are told by Ghulam Hussain that Munni Begam was the only lady of whom the Nawab stood in dread. Thus Munni Begam was appointed guardian partly because she possessed no son or heir whose claims she could espouse, partly because the Nawab was afraid of her and above all because she possessed a large amount of wealth which made the Company worship her like a mother. It may be said that the choice of the Begam was no doubt unnatural but it can be explaind if we keep in view the aims of Hastings' policy in India.

Munni Begam occupied the office of the guardian to the Nawah for a period of over three years. She was granted a generous salary of 1,40,000 rupees per annum, besides her annual pension of 1,44,000 rupees. The management of the Nawab's household affairs and the disbursement of the Nizamat stipend were left to her sole charge. She was also entrusted with the task of directing the education and conduct of the young Nawab. She was practically given a free hand for Hastings promised no interference in her authority.

The period of the Begam's administration was in no sense very successful. She soon fell under the evil influence of her eunuch Itibar Ali Khan who acted in everything as her naib or Deputy. The Governor-General wrote a number of letters to the Begam advising her not to leave the management of the affairs in his hands, but to attend personally to them and act as far as possible on the advice of the Diwan.16 These warnings had no effect. Itibar Ali was a dishonest and greedy man having no administrative capabilities. We are told by Ghulam Husain that he misappropriated a large sum of money and withheld the payment of pensions to the descendents of Nawab Mir Jafar. In May, 1775 when Goring visited Murshidabad he found that the treasury was absolutely empty. 17 He received petitions from tankhwah-holders who had not been paid their allowances for the last three years. 18 During the guardianship of the Begam the Nawab also contracted new debts amounting to nine lakhs of rupees. Goring also reported

^{15.} Seir; ii; p. 798 (Text).

^{16.} CI. 6; pp. 125-7; No. 257, CPC; iv; L. 398.

^{17.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 25 May, 1775; No. 10. 18. Secret Proceedings; OC. 8 June, 1775; No. 4.

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that the Begam had completely neglected the education of the hat the Begam misused the trust reposed in her and neglected her duties.

All these abuses gave the majority in the Council, who were not on good terms with Hastings, an opportunity of undoing his arrangements. Nanda Ray, who was formerly in the service of the Begam, brought to the notice of Mr. Grant, the Accountant to the Provincial Council of Murshidabad, that a sum of 9,67,694 rupees was due from the Begam. Mr. Grant brought these accounts to Calcutta and laid them before the Board on 2nd May, 1775. He was again examined by the Board on the 5th May. The majority then decided to send Mr. Goring to Murshidabad to seize all the papers for investigating the accounts and divest the Begam of the office of guardian to the Nawab so that her influence might not prevent the officers of the household from giving true evidence. Mr. Goring was to deliver these accounts to Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Grant, who were to examine them and report to the Board. Raja Gurdas was to be temporarily appointed guardian to the Nawab. To all these resolutions of the majority Hastings objected and protested but to no purpose.19

Mr. Goring reached Murshidabad on 14th May. On the 16th he saw the Nawab and read out the orders of the Council in the presence of all the officials. Accompanied by the Nawab and Raja Gurdas, he then saw the Begam and divested her of her office as guardian. He also imprisoned Itibar Ali, the chief eunuch and deputy of the Begam. Next he seized all the papers giving account of the sums misappropriated by her.20 Whether any further inquiry was instituted, we are not told. Anyhow the majority gave the verdict of guilty. Goring's treatment of the Begam gave rise to some controversy. Hastings spoke of the oppression exercised by him on Munni Begam. This is confirmed by Nawab's own statement. In one of his letters to Shore some twelve years later he Wrote that he remembered the commission executed by Mr. Goring which had

which had made severe impression upon him never to be effaced.²¹ Thus the action of the majority led to the dismissal of the Begam from the office of regent and guardian to the Nawab. Hast-

20. CR. 5; pp. 93-100; No. 27. CPC; iv; L. 1306. 21. See Shora's report. Secret Proceedings; 11 June, 1787; p. 3321.

^{19.} See Hastings letter to the Court of Directors, 18 May, 1775; Secret p_{roceedings}; OC. 14 Sept. 1775; No. 2.

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ings looked upon the reversal of his administrative arrangements as a personal insult. In a letter addressed to the Court of Directors, dated the 18th May, 1775, he vehemently disapproved of their action and imputed this "revolution, so sudden, so extraordinary and so important in all its consequences,"22 to their baser motives namely of eradicating his authority and supporting the influence of their creature Nandkumar. In the succeeding years he looked forward to an opportunity of undoing their action and reinstating the Begam. The majority on the other hand justified their action in a separate letter addressed to the Court of Directors stressing the fact that the Begam had embezzled a large sum of money and shamefully neglected the Nawab's education.23

Although the Begam was removed from her office, yet she continued to sway everything. For "she had a good deal of money, a good deal of authority and a great deal of genius.... For these reasons Munni Begam's sway is not likely to be at an end yet."24

(3)

After the dismissal of Munni Begam Muhammad Riza Khan, who had been lately acquitted, was re-appointed Naib Subah and Regent of the Nawab by the exertions of the majority. The appoint ment was approved by the Court of Director. But in the succeeding years Hastings was always in the look out of an opportunity to revoke the acts of the majority. The desired opportunity was not long in coming. The Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah soon began to show impatience under Muhammad Riza Khan's tutelage. In his letter, received 12th Feb. 1778, he wrote to the Governor-General and Council requesting that he might be allowed to dismiss his naib and assume full authority.25 The letter was considered by the Council in its meeting of the 2nd March. Mr. Wheler and Mr. Francis moved that the matter should be submitted to the determination of the Court of Directors.²⁶ Barwell was absent and hence the motion was carried. But on 5th March when Barwell's vote was available Hastings moved into the matter again

^{22.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 14 Sept. 1775; No. 2.

^{23.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 14 Sept. 1775; No. 6.

^{24.} Seir; iii; p. 76 (Trans.)

^{25.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 23 Feb., 1778; No. 15. 26. Secret Proceedings; OC. 2 March 1778. No. 3, and No. 4.

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and his opinion carried the day. The Nawab was allowed to assume and his optimal.

He dismissed Muhammad Riza Khan and appointed Raja Gurdas as his Diwan and Sadr-ul-Haq Khan his Naib. He also granted an allowance of 6,000 rupees per month to the Begam over and above hier annual pension.²⁷ Hastings entirely agreed with the Nawab and a pproved of all these measures.28

We are told by Ghulam Husain that on the dismissal of Riza Khan, Munni Begam assumed a new life. She tried to wrest from Sadr-ul-Haq Khain the office of Naib, although she did not succeed.29 But despite this her authority was considerable. She withheld her support from Sadr-ul-Haq Khan and under the baneful influence of intrigue and jealousy the administration of criminal justice completely broke down. Hastings had to address a strong letter to Munni Begam asking her to issue strictest orders to her dependants not to interfere in the business of Sadr-ul-Haq Khan, adding that her confident Itibar Ali Khan was at the root of all this trouble and should not be depended upon at all.30

In the meantime the Court of Directors on being informed of the changes strongly disapproved of them and ordered the Government to restore Muhammad Riza Khan to office. Their orders were carried out despite the protests of the Nawab and Muhammad Riza Khan was reappointed Naib Nazim and Naib-Subah in Feb. 1780 and Begam's special allowance of 6,000 rupees was stopped. On repeated petitions from the Nawab, Hastings again set aside the orders of the Home Government and in 1781 removed Riza Khan from the office of Superintendent of the Nawab's household, although the latter continued to be the chief criminal judge of the province until his death in 1791.31

All these events disclose that the relations of the Nawab and Munni Begam, especially the latter, with Hastings were of the most cordial nature. A regular correspondence passed between the Begam and Hastings not only when the latter was in India, but also after he left for England. He took keen interest in her

^{27.} Secret Proceedings; 4 May, 1778; pp. 241-44. 28. See the Resolution of the Board. Secret Proceedings; 11 May, 1778; 259.

^{29.} Seir; ii; p. 803 (Text.)

^{30.} CI. 10; pp. 803 (Text.) 31. Sec. Ci. 20; pp. 115-17; No. 184; CPC; v; L. 1133.

^{31.} See Governor-General's minute. Secret Proceedings; OC. 6 July, 1781; No. 1.

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affairs. He tried to defend her against the attack of the majority and sought every opportunity to reinstate her. In 1 783 he made an application to the Court of Directors on her behalf i recommending the renewal of the allowance of 1,40,000 rupe es which was stopped in 1775 when she was removed from the office of guardian.32 The Begam on her part watched the Gove rnor-General's affairs with keen interest. Hastings in his letter, dated London, 8th February, 1788, asked Nesbitt Thompson to collect authentic testimonies of the native inhabitants of India respecting his conduct which might be of some help in the trial.33 The Begam was too glad to give her testimony. Again on the st accessful conclusion of Hasting's trial in England, she sent an arzie of congratulations to him.34

The Begam was also sincerely attached to Hasting's second wife, Marian. From the letters addressed by the Begam to Hastings and as well as from the letters addressed by Hastings to his wife35 we gather that the two ladies were on the most intimate terms. The Begam sent presents of ivory chair; to her, both when she was in India and in England. Preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall there is a set of ivory chairs and table presented by Munni Begam to Mrs. Hastings.36 Nesbitt-Thomps:on in his letter to Warren Hastings, dated 25th March, 1786, remarked that he has received a set of four ivory chairs and a table from the Begam for Mrs. Hastings and would send them by the first ship of the season.37 Hastings in an endorsement to his letter to Nesbitt-Thompson writes that "Mrs. Hastings desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and to inform you that the Begam's ivory chair of very great value, not of little, . . she also begs that they may be sent by a ship that will swim".38 We do not know definitely whether these exchange of presents in any way influenced Hastings policy in India, although Mr. R. C. Macwin in an interview to the representative of the Empire in 1910 asserted that

33. See Nesbitt-Thompson correspondence. Bengal-Past and Present. 1919. p. 181-182.

34. See TR. 38; p. 631; No. 356.

35. Letters of Warren to his wife by Sydney C. Grier.

36. Cotton; Calcutta Old and New; p. 825.

37. See Bengal-Past and Present; Vol. 16, p. 225. 38. See Bengal-Past and Present; Vol. 17; p. 82.

^{32.} See extract of a general letter from Court, 21 July, 1786. Secret Proceedings; 11 June, 1787. pp. 3381-83.

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"Hastings knew well that his dearest Marian took valuable presents from country princes and they helped to influence his courtes y, but not to guide his policy...."39

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By the time that Hastings left India the Nawab of Bengal had been shorn of all power and had ceased to count as a political force of any importance. He had no semblance of authority and was merely a pensioner of the British Government. The financial condition of the Nawab was also deplorable. The stipend granted by the company was inadequate and insufficient to meet the expenses of his household. At the age of twenty-four Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah was the father of eleven sons and twelve daughters and this rapid increase in his family made him clamour for increased pensions. The palace buildings were also not of repairs and totally unsuited for the residence of the Nawab. The author of Riyaz-us-Salatin writing in 1786-87 remarks that the palaces of Motijhil and Hirajhil which were once most beautiful were now completely in ruins.40 In a letter of a later date addressed to the Governor-General the Nawab pathetically describes the embarassments under which he labours adding that "we have found ourselves strained even in the necessary articles of food and clothing.. the palaces that I occupy in the fort are in a state of ruin and decay.... I have not the means to put them in repairs and in regard to contracting alliances for my daughters most of whom are marriagable, I find myself utterly perplexed".41

The Nawab forwarded a memorial to the Honourable the Court of Directors representing his distress and the Hon. Court referred the memorial for consideration to the Government in their general letter dated 21st July, 1786 with recommendations in the following words 'to provide for the support and dignity of the Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah either by efficacious checks.... or by an economical economical arrangement of his household.... or even by an immediate mediate augmentation of his stipend".42 To carry out the above orders the Government deemed it necessary to hold preliminary enquiry into the affairs of the Nizamat and accordingly Mr. Shore

^{39.} See Bengal—Past and Present: Vol. 5; p. 384. 40. Riyaz; p. 29 (Trans.)

^{41.} See Nawab's letter received 2 Jan., 1793. TR., 333; No. 2; p. 6. 42 Public Proceedings; OC. 3 Sept. 1790; No. 1.

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and Mr. Ives were deputed to Murshidabad. The reports of both these officers showed that the Nizamat affairs had been completely mismanaged by Raja Sunder Singh, the Diwan, that the Nawab was labouring under heavy debts and that there was no economy or frugality in the expenses of the household. Mr. Ives suggested the formation of a fund for the gradual liquidation of Nawab's the formation of a fund for the gradual liquidation of the Nawab's debts and to provide for his increasing family.

Accordingly in the year 1790 Lord Cornwallis recorded a minute,⁴⁴ dated 3rd September, approving of the plan proposed by Mr. Ives in 1787. In his letter of the same date the Governor-General informed the Paymaster of Nizamat Stipend that "we have thought proper to adopt the following resolutions concerning the Nizamat of Murshidabad:—

- To provide a fund for the payment of the debts due by His Highness the Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah out of the stipend allowed to him by the Company.
- 2. To provide a fund, for the maintenance of future increase of family out of the stipend allowed to the Nawab......
- 5. To regulate the several departments of the Nizamat under separate heads according to which the stipend allowed to His Highness by the Company is to be hereafter appropriated". 45

The Nawab hesitated to carry the plan into execution and the Governor-General had to write to Munni Begam to superintend its working. She readily consented in view of the straitened circumstances of the Nizamat. From 1790 to 1813, the year of her death, her experience and wisdom were always available for the regulation of the Nizamat affairs. Despite her advanced age, for she was over seventy at that time, she continued to show unusual energy and took keen interest in the working of the different plans sponsored by the Government. In her letter, 46 received 24th

^{43.} For Shore's report see Secret Proceeding; 11 June, 1787, pp. 3329-69. For Ives' report see Public Proceedings OC. 3 Sept. 1790; No. 1.

Public Proceeding; OC. 3 Sept., 1790; No. I.
 Public Proceedings; OC. 3 Sept., 1790. No. 2.

^{46.} TR. 38; pp. 819-37; No. 432.

pecember, 1795, she fully relates as to how she helped in the working of the Cornwallis plan under the late Nawab Mubarak—ud-Daulah. From the commencement of the year 1791 to the end of the year 1793 she discharged debts to the value of six lakhs of rupees. The decrease in the amount of debt was accompanied by the universally acknowledged punctuality in the payment of all allowances in the Nizamat. Harrington in his letter to Edmonstone, dated 27th February, 1794, pays a just compliment when he says "I do not hesitate to affirm that without it (ie. influence of the Begam) Lord Cornwallis' plan would have met with almost insurmountable opposition".47

The death of the Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah in 1793 and the succession of Nawab Nasir-ud-Mulk (Mubarak-ud-Daulah II) introduced fresh complications in Nizamat affairs. The new Nawab soon fell under the influence of evil associates. He appointed Imam Quli, a man of low understanding, as his Mir Saman. Another man Shams-ud-Daulah aspired to the office of Naib Nazim and impressed upon the Nawab's mind sentiments against the Begam and the Government. Under the influence of these people the Nawab desired to exclude the Begam from all participation in the management of the Nizamat affairs. Fresh debts to the extent of nearly a lakh of rupees were contracted. In a letter,48 received 22nd October, 1795, the Begam brought home to the Governor-General all the evils existing in the Nizamat administration. Accordingly Sir John Shore in 1796 devised another plan but this plan too could not succeed because of the mistrust and suspicion that marred the relations of Munni Begam and the Nawab.

In 1797 Lord Wellesley came to India as Governor-General and in 1801 he appointed a committee of reform for the revision of the whole system of the Nizamat with a view to effect retrenchments. No action was taken on the recommendations of the Committee in subsequent years. But anyhow through the exertions of the Begam and her able Diwan, Roy Manick Chand, a considerable reduction was effected in the amount of the debt, partly by compromise with the creditors, partly by prompt payment and partly by savings. In 1802 the Nizamat debts amounted to more than

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^{47.} Copies of correspondence with the Supdt. of Nizamat Affairs at 48. TR. 38; pp. 589-600; No. 337.

8 lakhs of rupees but towards the close of the year 1807 the figure stood at little more than 5 lakhs.49

In 1807 fresh enquiry was instituted in Nizamat affairs and Mr. Pattle was sent on a special mission to Murshidabad. On his recommendation the Government, in 1808, discharged a large por tion of the personal debts of the Nawab and made arrangements for the gradual discharge of his floating debt and the money advanced for buildings. It may be added that the situation improved a little but no permanent relief was effected until the establishment of the Nizamat Agency Deposit fund in 1816. Mr. Edmonstone in a minute recorded on Nizamat affairs in 1816 pays a just tribute to the services rendered by the Begam when he says that "the occasional incapacity of the Nizam from minority or defect of character to direct and control the affairs of the Nizemat was supplied by the ability and influence, the pride and integrity of the Munni Begam".50

The difference which existed between the Begam and the Nawab Nasir-ul-Mulk were due not only to the inexperience of the Nawab and the influence of evil persons who dominated his Court, but also to the Begam's love of power and her desire to assert herself in every affair. In 1794 she desired to be invested with the actual management of the affairs herself and to confer the nominal appointment of Diwan on a person of her own choice, a suggestion which was vetoed by the Paymaster of Nizamat Stipend on grounds that it might throw too great a share of power into her hands.⁵¹ Again in 1810 she attempted to set aside the regular order of succession and place on the masnad a Nawab of her own choice. On the death of the Nawab Nasir-ul-Mulk she wrote to the Governor-General that his eldest son Sayid Zee-ud-Din Khan was an inexperienced child possessing no qualities requisite for that office. She recommended that Sayed Abdul Qasim Khan (popularly colled No. larly called Mungli Sahib), the younger brother of the late Nawab who was above thirty-two and endowed with excellent qualities, be placed on the masnad. 52 Her attempt completely failed for she

49. Pol. Proceedings; OC. 23 July, 1816; No. 1.

52. See her letter to Governor-General. TR. year 1810; pp. 243-47. No. 261.

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^{50.} Pol. Proceedings; OC. 23 July, 1816, No. I. 51. Copies of correspondence with the Supdt., of Nizamat Affairs at straining translation of the Supdt. Murshidabad. (1788-1811); pp. 222-24.

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was opposed by the Resident. It may be added that Mungli Sahib possessed none of those qualities which the Begam ascribed Same possession possession as a seriod to him, the only explanation of her move is to be found in the inordinate love of power which she cherished to the last moment of her existence. Mir Mungli, owing to his elevation exclusively to her influence, would have surrendered his authority and left the management of the Nizamat affairs completely in the hands of Begam's officer.53

(6)

Munni Begam died on 10th January, 181354 at the ripe old age of ninety-seven. Her end was sudden. No previous indisposition indicated her approaching dissolution. She had sat up late the previous night in making arrangements for the celebration of the Muharram, in which she took keen interest. When she got up in the morning she did not complain of fatigue and was seen giving her orders as usual. Between ten and eleven she suddenly became unconscious and expired before any medical aid could reach her. She was buried in the family cemetery of Jafar-Ganj the same evening with all the honours due to her exalted rank.55 1816 the Government laid aside a sum of 9,600 rupees from the Nizamat Agency Deposit Fund and decided to utilise the interest of 576 rupees on it for defraying the charges of establishment at

She left behind huge property. Her actual treasure whether in gold or silver coinage was about 15 lakhs of rupees besides the ands, the houses and the chawk adjoining the palace. The property in numerous bales of shawls, muslin and piece goods of all description was also of considerable value.

In order to get possession of this immense wealth, the Nawab Poduced a paper, immediately after the death of the Begam, purbring to be her will appointing him "the master and disposer of

Sa. See Pol. Proceedings; OC. 6th July, 1816; No. 46.

Kent; Ap. to June 2 about the date of her death see Bengal—Past and Records the date Resent: Ap. to June 1925; pp. 153-4. In the Government Records the date

S. See letter from Supdt., of Nizamat Affairs to Persian Secy. 11 Jan.,
Secret Proceed: 18. See letter from Supdt., of Nizamat Affairs Secret Proceedings; OC. 26 Feb., 1813; No. 18. & See Reports On the Accounts of Murshidabad Nizamat Stipend Fund

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all (her) house, and property and the sole executor; and guardian and protector of her relations, connections, dependants and servants".57 The Nawab also sent his consort to Deori to occupy the palace of the late Begam. The Government doubted the authenticity and genuineness of this paper on the ground that the late Begam had no warning of her approaching end to make her will before hand and also because the will was not attested by the Qazi and was therefore irregular.58 The Superintendent of Nizamat Affairs was asked to inquire into all the circumstances which preceded, attended and followed the execution of the will The witnesses to it were asked to appear before him to verify on oath its genuineness. These people declined to take the oath. The Nawab in his letter⁵⁹ of the 30th January admitted that the will was a fraud and that he was prepared to relinquish all those pretentions that he had made under it. He also gave up the expectation of raising his consort to the rank enjoyed by the late Begam.

The Nawab failed to elevate his consort to the rank enjoyed by the late Munni Begam. But in a letter,60 dated the 8th February, 1813, he was assured by the Governor-General that no part of her property would be appropriated for the use or benefit of the Company, but that the whole would be used for the benefit of the Nawab and his family, and the general accommodations of the Nizmat affairs. Accordingly in 1816 the whole property and treasure was handed over to the Nawab.

(7)

Lord Valentia, the British traveller who visited India in the beginning of the nineteenth century passed through Murshidabad in 1803 and had the opportunity of seeing the Nawab and the Murni Begam. He has preserved the following impressions of her. lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which out of respect to Mir Jafar's memory she has not quitted since his death which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk number that silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, sup-

^{57.} TR. 57; p. 25; No. 22.

^{58.} Proceedings; OC. 26 Feb., 1813; No. 21.

^{60.} See letter from the Persian Secretary to the Supdt. of Nizamai Affairs. Walsh; History of Murshidabad; p. 191.

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ported by pillars.... Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally ported by P. Mrs. Pattle who has seen her, informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld.... She has a good understanding though her temper is exceedingly violent. There is no doubt of her being rich, but what will become of her property is uncertain. Nothing can induce her to make a will.... Her hukkah filled up the intervals.61

At the time when Lord Valentia saw Munni Begam she was eighty-seven years old and we cannot expect her to preserve the freshness and vigour of youth or, its necessary complement, beauty. As regards her voice being loud and shrill, it may be added that this was so from the very beginning. Ghulam Husain writes 62 that she is a woman of much sense and spirit although haughty and overbearing. Almost all writers bear witness to her intellect and wisdom. Lord Valentia says "she . . . still retains her intellect in full vigour, though beyond doubt of a very considerable age".63

She was a very kind and generous lady. Her charitable and humanitarian instincts led her to make grants for performing the nuptials of the daughters of indigent people. When the writer of the Seir⁶⁴ was in Murshidabad a certain woman could not complete the arrangements for the marriage of her daughter. The Begam gave her 70 to 80 gold mohars and provided her with other necessities too. She likewise conferred riches and favours on Hakim Askeri, her physicians. It is said that she set aside over sixteen thousand rupees yearly for charitable purposes. treated her servants and subordinates kindly and generously. Whenever she took anybody into her service, she never dismissed him, unless he be guilty of some serious offence.

It was a current belief that the Begam had been accustomed to carry on an extensive trade. Burke called her a smuggler and held that she avoided the payment of duty on spirits, in which article she was supposed to be the largest dealer in the country.65

^{61.} Valentia; Travels in India; i; p. 227-28. 62. Seir; iii; P. 147 (Trans.)

^{63.} Valentia; Travels in India; i; p. 73. 84. See Seir; ii; p. 822 (Text.)

^{65.} See Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings, p. 494.

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But this was never the case. It was not she but her eunuchs who took active interest in trade and amassed great wealth.66

She did not come from a noble family and she had not received good education, but still she may be said to be a cultured lady in the wider sense of the term. Her interest in buildings was great. In 1767 she built the Chawk Masjid, the largest mosque in the city of Murshidabad. She gave great impetus to the local industries of cloth and ivory goods. She occupied a much coveted position in society, being the most prominent lady of her age. The English unusually venerated her and addressed her as "The Mother" or the "Burra Begam".

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^{66.} See Pcl. Proceedings; OC. 6 July. 1816; No. 46.

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The Chief Editor's greetings to contributors, subscribers and readers of the Journal. He congratulates himself on having recovered from an illness which had well-nigh proved fatal; but more the Journal which was in similar danger partly from scarcity of paper and the difficulties of the times generally, but more from the Press having been flooded out and brought to a stand still during the rains and for want of types so to replace losses incidental to work before that calamity befell. Heaven be praised we have got over it all. We apologise to all for the delay and are happy it did not culminate in the stopping of the Journal. We are issuing this as a double number and are proceeding to the new year to begin the new Volume.

We appeal to our readers to assist by popularising the Journal and promoting its circulation, and incidently increasing the number of subscribers.

We append a note upon the Indian History Congress and its project of a large scale history of India. The Congress is taking steps to bring the project to fruition. The scheme deserves well of all Indians, but more so all Indians of any culture. It need hardly be said that such a history is badly needed. Notwithstanding the difficulties that confront it, if educated Indians could be got to join together in the work it will prove easy of accomplishment. The Indian History Congress has given the matter its most earnest consideration and the note below explains what has been so far done. The next session of the Congress will have to decide upon launching the scheme. Would it be too much to expect? the Princes and peoples of India, no less the Governments to lend their full support. The war and the great difficulties of the times notwithstanding?

A short note on the projected History of India.

The Indian History Congress was established in 1935 with the object of theouraging and promoting the scientific study of Indian History. It held its first session as Modern Indian History Congress in Poona which was inaugurated by His Excellency Lord Brabourne, the then Governor of bombay. The scope of the Congress was enlarged so as to include all the periods of Indian History and to make the conference fully representative of Indian history and to make the conference fully representative of Indian History and to make the conference runy reprinted in historical scholarship. A draft constitution was also adopted at Poona to establish to establish a permanent organisation composed of scholars from all parts of India. The second session was held at Allahabad in 1938, under the name of the name of the Indian History Congress and since then annual sessions have sessions have been held at Calcutta, Lahore and Hyderabad Deccan which have which have been held at Calcutta, Lahore and Hyucranian Universities attracted scholars in ever increasing numbers. All the Indian States Universities, many academic research institutions a number of Indian States and Provincial Governments and the Government of India have sent their tepresentation. representatives to participate in its deliberations and further its objects. The success of these conferences is to be measured by the increasing number of delagates and the growing volume of its transactions which include learned papers from eminent scholars. The Congress has been invited by the Muslim University to hold its next session in December 1943 at Aligarh. It may be presumed from the ready response of the scholars that this session will be equally successful.

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The Indian History Congress Association is a registered body under the Societies Registration Act of 1860. Its constitution is democratic and fully representative of the various interests and areas of the country as will be evident from the list of the members of the Executive Committee. The work of the Congress is divided into six sections, each presided over by a sectional President. There is a General President who is also the Chairman of the Executive Committee and guides the deliberations of the Congress. The list of the Presidents and Sectional Presidents is given below

The scholars who have gathered at the meetings of the Congress have been conscious of the strength of the demand for a history of India. In 1938, it appointed a committee to examine the feasibility of publishing a comprehensive history written on objective and scientific lines. After considering the report of the committee the Congress came to the conclusion that the work should be undertaken under its auspices. A syllabus of history was drafted and submitted to the scrutiny of a large number of scholars. After an exhaustive and searching examination the final draft was prepared and submitted to the Congress at Hyderabad. The Congress then appointed three editorial committees to deal with the three periods of Indian History. In these committees are included the most prominent historians of our country who have made a mark in their special fields of work. A co-ordinating committee consisting of the convenors of the editorial committees, the President and the Secretaries of the Congress has been appointed to deal with general question of co-ordination of chapters and periods, and revision of manuscripts.

In addition the Congress has constituted a General Administrative Board for the purpose of settling all matters connected with the production, publication and sale of the History. The important problems of finance will be the concern of this Board. It is a matter for real gratification that the Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has accepted the chairmanship of this Board. Under his wise guidance and with his powerful support the future of the undertaking may be taken as assured.

The Editorial Committees have made the selection of scholars who will deal with the aspects or periods of history in which they have specialised. The Congress has received offers of co-operation from a very large number of scholars, and it is hoped that this devoted band of workers will produce a monumental work which will be a real contribution to knowledge.

A list of the members of the Editorial Committee, the General Board and also of the scholars who have been requested to write particular chapters is given here-under.

The history of India which the Congress has undertaken will be a truly, national effort. Scholars of all parts of India and of all its faiths will join together in this great enterprise. Among our contributors are scholars from

Universities, literary institutions and other learned bodies; and they are drawn from all the great communities of India—Hindu, Muslim, Christian drawn from the will be interested in telling not merely the story of sich raisi vicissitudes, but as the synopsis already published indicates, they is political vicissitudes, to institutional and authority the story of is pondered attention to institutional and cultural developments. The pomp and splendour of kingdoms and empires will be there and the narrathe will contain the deeds of heroism and adventure which won renown in battle and siege and of the acts of statesmanship by which great structures of government and administration were built and the happiness and wellbeing of the subjects secured. But there will be ample account of the leaders of thought and of faith whose dominion extended over the minds of men and who won lasting empires over their hearts and souls. Nor shall be neglected the study of those creative works of our people which enshrine our ideals of truth and beauty.

This comprehensive history will be spread over 12 volumes, each containing nearly one thousand pages. Maps, charts, diagrams, illustrations of our archaeological and artistic heritage will embellish the volumes and enhance their interest and utility. The prepartion and publication of this great work will be an expensive undertaking. Messrs Longmans Green & Co. and the Allahabad Law Journal Press have both estimated the coast of printing at Rupees one lakh at least. Besides the cost of printing, a large amount will be necessary for the preparation of manuscript, for the search of material and sources of information, for maps and plans; and for publishing and marketing the work. It is estimated that the project will cost a little more than three lakhs of rupees.

Scholars have already commenced work on their specific chapters and it is hoped that the manuscript of some of the volumes will soon be ready...

It is for the Government, the Princes and People of India who are interested in the promotion of knowledge and who desire that a monument of the spirit worthy of India's scholarship may be raised to provide the funds needed to bring this enterprise to a successful conclusion.

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Since the last issue of the journal we have to note with sorrow the loss of several orientalists. The first among them is the Russian orientalist, Steherlatsky whose death is now ascertained to have taken place in Leningrad in the winter of 1941-42. Steherbatsky was a leading oriental scholar in Russia and was the primate of Indian studies, since the death of Professor Oldenberg in 1932. He was a Pole by birth and received his education in the St. Petersburg University where he specialised in Indian subjects. He improved his studies further by going to Vienna and working with Prof. Bühler on Sanskrit Poetics. He started work in Philology, and turned his attention later to Philosophy, especially Buddhist. His work on the "Central conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma" was published by the Royal Asiatic Society. His main work however, is that on Buddhist logic as represented by Digñaga and Dharmakīrti. He wrote many other works some of them from the Tibetan. His death is a distinct loss to Oriental Scholarship.

Three Indian Oriental scholars passed away quite recently. All three of them, scholars of eminence each in his own way, and all of them Mahamahopadhyayas. The first of them is Kuppuswami Sastriar who began as Professor of Sanskrit in the Mylapore Sanskrit College, became Principal of the Sanskrit College at Trivadi and later occupied the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, from which he retired some few years ago. His work as the College and the Madras and Annamalai Universities was much appreciated. We leaves behind him a band of students to carry on his teaching tradition.

The next one is Dhandapaniswami Dikshidar who started as a Sanskrit teacher, teaching in his own college, and, after years of good work, he passed on to the Annamalai University as the head of the Sanskrit College and member of the Sanskrit Faculty at the university. He was an eminent teacher of versatile ability

The next one is Pandit R. V. Krishnamacharyar who became Pandit in the Government College, Kumbhakonam having gained a name as a teacher of great ability. He had the reputation of being a very good Sanskrit scholar and exponent of Indian Philosophy particularly of the Vaishnava School. The death of these three leaves a gap in hte top rungs of Sanskrit scholarship in South India

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PESHWA MADHAV RAO I. By Anil Chandra Banerjee A. Mukherjee & Bros. Calcutta.

This little book of 250 crown octavo pages attempts to present the hisjory of the Marattas under Peshwa Madhav Rao I. Madhav Rao Peshwa's rule was one of 11 to 12 years at a critical period of Maratta history. The third battte of Panipat followed soon after by the death of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao left the Marattas in a sad state indeed. Young Madhav Rao became Peshwa at 17 and, had to work in collaboration with his uncle Raghunath Rao who had already achieved distinction under the late Peshwa, and was occuoving an influential position in the Maratta State. The battle of Panipat, which lost to the Marattas several of their leaders and generals, gave room for the rise of other men in their places over the vastly extended Maratta territory of the day. It was a period of rising personal ambitions and other tendencies to disintegration of the State within the State itself. A member of enemies surrounded the state with large ambitions to gratify. The position of the Maratta State therefore was one of peculiar difficulty. The rising power of Hyder Ali in the State of Mysore threatened the Marattas from the south. The Nawab of Arcot, with the English East India Company at Madras behind him, was a source of trouble on the score of the Maratta claims in the South. Nizam Ali, the ruler of Hyderabad immediately next east of the Maratta territory, was on the look out to aggrandise himself. In the extended Maratta territory in the north various Maratta officers themselves in charge of extensive blocks of territory were beginning to give way to their ambition of independence of their own headquarters. There were besides several other states, Rajaput, Rohilla, Jat and other with the Mughal vicetoyalty of Oudh behind them all. The Sikhs were rising to importance; the enfeebled Mughal empire was the sport of ambitious chieftains, Maratta, Robilla, or the Nawab of Oudh, and the British East India Company at Calcutta. In this state of affairs to guide the Maratta state, sadly shaken by the battle of Panipat, was a matter of the greatest difficulty. It fell to the lot of Young Madhav Rao Peshwa to take the lead and guide the state successfuly during through these difficulties. The young Peshwa managed successfuly, during the critical the critical period of his rule to achieve success by keeping his enemies well within their limit of his rule to achieve success by keeping his enemies well within their limits and actually keeping in check the rising ambition of Hyder the most respect to the promise All the most redoubtable of his enemies. His glorious career, full of promise cut short was cut short by an illness which ultimately carried him off when he was about 28 or 29 years of age. The stirring history of this period is told in a clear and and and are stirring history of this period is told in a clear and orderly narrative by the author. He has not only utilised the authoritative literature on the period, but has drawn into service all the most recent historical material which has been made available by modern research. The author has exploited his vast material fully and utilised them with critical ability and in John told in detail as famous cal ability and judgement. The story required to be told in detail as famous historians considered Mental to the Maratta empire as the early end of this excellent prince. We 152

may congratulate the author on the achievement of a difficult task with $_{50}$ much success.

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ANDHRA UNIVERSITY SERIES NO. 27. ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA. (HINDU PERIOD) By P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M.A., Edited by G. Venkat Rao with a foreward by Sir C. R. Reddi.

This work attempts to present the History of India in the Hindu period in a more or less popular form. It begins with an account of the geographical character of the country and its divisions. This is followed by a general account of Early man and passes on to the Age of Copper and Iron Then comes in an account of the Aryas. There is nothing worth noting in the brief account given in the previous chapters. On the topic of the Arvan however the author breaks away from the hitherto accepted theories of an Aryan invasion. Unlike previous writers on the subject this author sees no possibility of such an invasion from the outside as the parts of India directly concerned were already fully occupied, and a civilization was prevailing over the whole region. He would therefore regard the Aryans of India as a part of the Indian population, the contrast, exhibited by the divisions Aryan and Dasyu, being more or less a difference of culture not of race. What we know at present of the so called Indus Valley civilization seems to warrant this change of view. This may perhaps find confirmation when we get to know more of another important community of people known by the name Vrātya. The account given of this period, though general and brief, is interesting. When he passes on from this to the really dynastic period of Ancient Indian History, the account given can hardly be regarded as adequate or even dependable. The sources have hardly been exploited properly and the account given seems more or less to be the views of this author rather than facts derivable from a study of the available sources. Even in the treatment of Mauryan history the account given is too brief and general. The account is more or less based on a very cursory reading of Pauranic, Buddhist and Jain sources; it is not even free from serious blemishes. For instance in the account of the Vatsa kingdom and Udayana, he is described as the husband of Prabhāvati sister of Darsaka and daughter of Bimbisara. The name of the princess concerned is Padmavati, and she could not have been the daughter of Bimbisara; such mistakes occur frequently. He speaks of the Agama cults, as he calls them, non-vedic in their character at least in origin and carries that notion throughout, notwithstanding the recent discoveries confirming their old Vedic character. The author makes Chanakya a South Indian Brahman of Kanchi while another Madrassi scholar claims him for Palghat. He is eloquent on Asoka not being a Buddhist and his Dharma not being of a religious character. According to him Chanakya would be the author of the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary on the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary of the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary of the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and a commentary of the Nyaya Bhashya, the Kama Sutra and the Nyaya Bhashya and the N tary on the Vedanta Sutra ascribed to Dramilacharya. He would ascribe the most ancient Tamil poetry to this period and would claim that the Tamil Literary dialect was entirely free from Sanskrit influence though he states it broadly that the Tamil poems of the period, almost all of which are lost." His account of the miles when the results of the period, almost all of which are lost." account of the subsequent periods are almost of the same character, a brief historical account full torical account followed by a collection of interesting details selected from various sources with various sources without any particulr attention to the chronology or even historical requence. Total historical requence. In this portion of the subject the errors of detail also

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REVIEWS

For one, the self immolation of the Jain ascetic by burning himself is described as a form of Sallekhana. We fear Jainas would object to it. Saliekhana is very different from this form of death by burning. He it. Sauchar Roman commercial agents lived in Musiri on the Malabar coast and they built a temple to Augustus. This temple to Augustus has long since ten proved to be the Roman mutilation of a Siva temple Agastīśvara in the locality. Such errors seem to be due more or less to a desire for curiosity hunting. The author also has his own peculiar views in regard to Gupta history. The part of the book following this relate to the periods of Hindu history where a considerable amount of research work has been done. The work of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar does not show, as it is presented in this work, that he is acquainted with this advance in study. We may refer to what he sys regarding the astronomical knowledge of the Hindus, the origin of the week and the names of the week days. There are even positive errors such as a Chera king Neduncheral Adan who is said to have sailed to an island in the sea and planted a Kadamba tree there. The fact is well known that the said Chera king destroyed the Kadamba tree in the Island after the conquest of the tribal people there. Statements like this occur all through, and it is hardly necessary to correct as readers of an advanced history of India are likely to be able to do so them-

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES NO. 3. THE NAYAKS
OF TANJORE. By V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A., M.Litt., L.T. edited by
Rao Bahadur Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar, M.A.

This is a work which presents the history of Tanjore and of its Nayaks of Vijayanagar. It covers a period of about a century and a half including in it the half century of turmoil which ended in the disappearance of the empire of Vijayanagar. The work actually presents the history of an important part of the Coromandal Coast of South India with a fullness not ditherto attained. It gives ample evidence of a more or less complete exploitation of the material which has so far become available and a continuous account of the history of the dynasty that held rule over it. This dynasty began with the reign of the great king of Vijayanagar, Krishnadeva Raya, whose glorious reign was to some extent marred by two important rebellions in the last in the last years of the reign. One of these happen to be that of the veteran Nayak, Nagon of the reign. Nayak, Nagama Nayaka, who had been entrusted with the rule of the south. This meant in those days practically the whole of the Tamil region. The other was set up by another governor almost as influentially placed holding the governorship of the central region much nearer the headquarters of the empire. Both of these men were masterful governors who exhibited a tendency to the central authority. tendency to exercise power sometimes even overriding the central authority.

They were become these men were masterful governors who have the contract of the central authority. They were brought under the curb again each in a way characteristic of persons back to a sense of duty by his own young loyalist son. The other had gone in his control of the to far in his crime, and showed a tendency to persist even after correction, and should shall sh and found shelter and showed a tendency to persist even and of Tra-

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vancore, in those days called the Tiruvadi Ruler. This was a Brahman officer and could be brought back to a sense of duty only after two campaigns, the second of which was undertaken by Achyutaraya soon after he came to the throne in succession to his elder brother, the emperor Krishna. The circumstances of the foundation of the dynasty and the actual date are discussed with commandable fullness, and the author arrives at the conclusion that the Nayakship was founded in A.C. 1534. It may not perhaps be possible with the material at our disposal to fix such a precise date. The actual foundation must have taken place about that time, may be just a year or two later, but the fact is clear that it arose by a new division of the whole south which was too large for a single charge. The founder was a trusted servant of the empire already, and married a sister of one of emperor Achyutha's queens by name Tirumalamba. This was perhaps done to add dignity to the position and secure the loyalty of the Nayaks. He was the founder of the Nayakship of Tanjore, known by the name Sevvappa sometimes modified by the prefix Chinna or Sīru to the name. Thus auspiciously begun, Sevvappa carried on the administration for a long period with success and passed on the Nayakship to his son Achyutha who had a much longer reign than the father. The troubles of the empire which followed the defeat of the imperial forces at Talikota (Rākshasa Tangad to be more correct) brought about certain disturbances in the south which Tanjore experienced along with other divisions' of the empire, Mysore, Binji, and Madura. These were mounting to a crisis as the 16th century advanced and gave way to the 17th. During the period of disturbance Achyutha associated his son, Ragunatha, in the administration, and ultimately retired putting the son in full charge. Prince Ragunatha had to bear the brunt and play the principal part in the tragic war of succession which shook the empire to its foundations after the death of the great Venkatapati Raya. Raghunatha's reign was a glorious one and came to an end in 1634 according to this work. He was succeeded by his son Vijayaraghava Nayaka who had perhaps the longest reign of the dynasty. The reign proved however unfortunate owing to the revolutionary changes taking place all round. The empire had been enfeebled and gave rise to dissensions among the viceroys among themselves. The Muhammadan States of Bijapur and Golkonda had grown actively aggressive and the European Companies Portugeese, English, French and the Dutch proved a source of trouble along the coast and on the seas. A rancorous war between Madura and Tanjore almost completely subverted the kingdom which fell an easy pray to the Marattas. This is said to have taken place sometime about 1675. The life of the Nayakship of Tanjore was from 1534 or thereabouts to 1675. It was a period of a great deal of prosperity and progress which saw advance all round in literature and the arts no less than measures of material progress and prosperity. Both the author Mr. V. Vriddhagirisan and the editor Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar have shown remarkable industry in the collection of the fertilities of the collection of the facts, in their collation and judgement in their conclusions generally. We may however point out that both the editor and the author show a certain lack of comprehension of the position of the empire, particularly in the later cularly in the later period, as well as the actual attitude of the states like Mysore and Ikkeri. In dealing with the reign of Raghunatha the end of his reign is dated 1624. reign is dated 1634; but the Icelander traveller Olafsson indictaes Raghunatha's date of death as 1826 date of death as 1626. As a matter of fact the precise date is given as 25th

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November 1626 on the authority of Schlegal who wrote in 1773. That date November 1626 on the authority of Schlegal who wrote in 1773. That date may have to be examined although it may turn out to be wrong as Sir may have to be examined although it may turn out to be wrong as Sir may have to be examined. In regard to Vijayaraghava, and another son of Ragmatha by name Ramabhadra whom Raghunatha is said to have taken on his elephant to the battle of Tohur. Vriddhagirisan discusses the question whether Ramabhadra was the elder son and whether Vijayaraghava succeeded by an act of usurpation. It is noteworthy in this connection that this lelandic traveller mentions that he had actually seen a picture of Raghunatha and of his seventeen year old son Vijayaraghava the Yuvaraja. That deserves consideration as this traveller was on the Tanjore coast and was engaged as a gunner in one of the Danish ships of Tranquebar. The work is on the whole a satisfactory performance and fills a gap in South Indian history which had so far remained unfilled satisfactorily.

THE IN THE GUPTA AGE. By Rajaram Narayan Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay 7; 1943). Pages L and 623 Price Rs. 15.

The object of this comprehensive study is to present a complete account of the life of the people in the Gupta Age, bringing the lower limit of that age to about 750 A.D., so as to include also the age of the chief feudatory and contemporary powers like the Vākāṭakas, the Maukhāris and the Puspabhūtis. The documentation is very extensive and covers all the important fields of popular and governmental activity and includes, for the sake of proper perspective, the Arthasastra of Kautilya and the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas and the Śakas.

The chronology of the early Vākātakas and the first Gupta is first discussed; and Srī Gupta and Vindyaśakti, the progenitors of the two families are held to have set up principalities, almost simultaneously, in the regions of Maghada and Bundelkhand respectively. The identity of Kaca with Samudra Gupta cannot be convincingly proved and therefore remains doubtful. The distribution of power among the princess mentioned in the Allahabad Prasasti of Samudra Gupta is clearly described with the details as arrived at by recent research. The historicity of Rama Gupta has not yet been fully accepted; nor are we certain whether he was known as Rama or Kāca. Though there are strong arguments against the acceptant the acceptance of Kaca as against Rama, other points about the history of Rama Gunta and Rama Gunta And Rama Gunta And Rama Gunta And Rama Gunta And Rama And R Rama Gupta, like the identity of the place where he surrendered his queen to the Salva and the salva are next taken up to the Saka ruler and the identity of the Saka king himself are next taken up for discussion. for discussion. The succession of Govinda Gupta Baladitya I, immediately after Chandra C. after Chandra Gupta II, is taken to have occurred; and we read that he must have ruled at the control of the co have ruled at least for two years and perhaps perished in a civil war. The succession of Kumara Gupta, the political condition at the death of Skanda Gupta, and +1. Gupta, and the possibility of a branch dynasty having flourished side by side, the this areas also mentioned. hom this epoch, with Pura Gupta as the founder, are also mentioned.

The identity of Yüan Chwang's Tathagata Gupta with the Vainya Gupta deemed to be acceptable, though he is regarded as a Gupta monarch. Bhanu abdicated his throne, though the real reason for his

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abdication is not known. His sons are then discussed. The later Guptas, and other powers associated with them, like the Maukhāris, the Early Kalaccūriyas, the Puṣpabhūts and their associations with the Gaudas and with Kāmarūpa, are treated in one section, No. III of the chapter on 'The Age of the Guptas.' The political condition of India at the death of Harshavardhana is noted, as also the last phase of the history of the Later Guptas, wherein the theory of Ārityasēna accompanying Vikramaditya Chalukya into South India is discussed. The author quotes a similar tradition of a king of Vatsa conquering the Cholas which is recorded in the Kathasaritsagara. The age of the Guptas is said to have closed only with the destruction of Jivitta Gupta II between the years 725 and 731 A.D., with an emergence of anarchical conditions from out of which Eastern India was rescued by the Pālas under Gopala who put an end to the prevailing Mātsyanyāya.

The second chapter on the life of the people covers nearly 70 pages and embraces such minutes phases of popular activity, as the use of the water-clock, the antiquity of which is traced to Mauryan times and the use of which is referred to in Gupta inscriptions. The Lunar calendar was generally followed and it is inferred that the general practice must have been to reckon each day from the rising of the full moon. Inscriptional evidence shows that women too indulged in intoxicants; and there is reference in literature to the Brahmanas also tasting wine. Of more significance is the section on maritime activity manifest in the Gupta age. Travelling by boat in the rivers was a common feature. Dāmalipta (Tāmralipti) and Valabhi were noted for their maritime activities. The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasēna is held to refer to a river-battle between Mahāsēna Gupta and Susthita Varman. The military art as was practised by the army, the life of the agricultural and trading classes and the normal pastimes of the people, come in for fair notice.

The next chapter deals with court life, wherein stress is laid on the royal coronation and consecration rites, on the symbols of sovereignty, on the association of wemen-guards and servants with the court and on the elaborate organisation of the royal seraglio, which recalls to the mind of the reader some phases of the Harem of the Ottomon Sultans, described in great detail by Mr. Penzer. It is held that the custom of Sati came into general vogue with the rise of the Guptas, though its origin can be traced back to much earlier times.

The chapter on administration is prefaced with an outline of the pre-Gupta governmental system. The polity of the age is studied in the light of Smriti literature, the influences of which are held to be reflected in the epigraphs of the period. Kingship was almost transformed into Godhead and deemed to be the embodiment of perfect justice. According to Nārada, "whatever a king does is right, that is a settled rule, because the protection of the world is entrusted to him. A ruler, though worthless, must be worshipped by his subjects." The Smritikāras have given elaborate accounts of exemplary judicial procedure. Consistent with the supreme position of the king, were the titles assumed by him, as embodied in the epigraphs, some of which were evidently held to be symbols of paramount sovereignty. It is held here that this power of the head of the State was absolute and that all the land was virtually State property; and it was within the power of the king to make

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offit to any one he chose. The survey of the special and ordinary officials officials of the age, in their several cadres, both under the Guptas of the kingdoms of the age, in their several cadres, both under the Guptas of the Runged and under non-Gupta rules, is illustrated with a useful and then traditions of democratic power wielded by the detailed examina-The traditions of democratic power wielded by the Great Assembly continued to survive. The civil, revenue and police officials as well as the judges and the officers of the army, are fully discussed under their individual denominations. The views of previous writers on the competence and functions of particular officials like the uparika and the gopta are made plain and comments offered thereon. The Adhikarana in session refers to a court of justice; the Dharmasthēnā of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions is held to be identifiable with the Dharmasana of the Gupta seals and of the works of Kalidasa. Evidence is given as to the strict control of religious institutions and corporations by recognised officials. The police department was an organised unit of the administration, though there is no confirming evidence for the fact available in the epigraphs. The various grades of provincial and local administrative officers are clarified by a study of the epigraphs which also throw light on the actual working of local administrative bodies. On the whole, the provincial administration is proved to have enjoyed a political continuity, defititely for over two centuries of Gupta sovereignty from the time of Kumara Gupta I. Village officers formed a recognised element of the local administration, the office of the Asthakulādhikarana about which there has been a variety of opinion is explained as that of an official supervisor or a representative of eight families, which probably constituted one type of village. Some of the Gupta seals reveal the working of committees or Panchayats. On the whole, the influences of the Gupta system of administration are shown to have persisted through four centuries, chiefly as a result of their political contacts, with the early Kālaccuris, the Rāshtrakūtas, the Chalukyas and the Somavamsi kings of Kataka. The units of local administration in the Eastern and Central Provinces of the Empire and also in the Western parts are described cribed under their respective and particular designations and illustrated in their differences by a tabular statement. After his full survey, the writer well remarks that the administrative system was rooted in the past and adapted to suit current requirements. It was marked by a benevolent autotracy tempered by constitutional checks and usages. Its efficiency was based upon an accurate system of accounts and an effective organisation of the fiscal resources; and, above all, it did not neglect patronage of culture.

The chapter on land, labour and corporate organisation is likewise based on a careful study both of the epigraphs and of Smriti literature. Even a perpetual grant of land did not imply that the State could not resume the lands so bestowed; and the evidence inferable from inscriptions may be held of staling official letters, records etc., was in wide vogue and was also pretion given about the different systems of land tenure, viz. the Bhūmicchidra, of land revenue and its incidence, land survey and measures, forced labour, the latest of actual slavery, the working of guilds and like institutions are water, the Some fulness. The trade-routes of the Gupta dynasty and its

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symbolism, particularly of the coins issued by the earlier rulers, is the last part of this chapter.

Fine Arts comprehend a study of the costumes, coiffures, cosmetics and ornaments worn by the different strata of the population. The survey of Gupta architecture is detailed in its specialised features, like the typical Gupta roof, the Sikara, and its influence which were wide-spread are all noted. Sculpture, including iconography, painting, music, drama, dancing—these receive some treatment and are supplemented by a notice of the poets, chroniclers and literary figures of the age, including philosophers and grammarians and logicians, Bauddha, Jaina and Brāhmaṇā.

The last two chapters deal with religion and religious institutions. The growth of Bhāgavatism, the development of Saivism, particularly the more fiery aspects of its cult like Mahākāla worship, the sun-cult, the lingering influences of Buddhism and its internal controversies, and the features of Jainism that were developed fairly vigorously till about the 8th century, are all detailed in proportionate measure. An attempt is made to interpret some features of Gupta symbolism from the point of view of the Purāṇas, some of which may not seem to be fully valid. Religious and Semi-religious institutions like Agrahāras, Jaina order and vihāra life and the great Buddhist Sanghārāmas, including the famous monastery of Nalanda and its elaborate organisation and academic activity, are the subject-matter of the last chapter.

The wealth of material gathered together in this book is very striking. Individually each topic relating to the different aspects of political, social and cultural life can lend itself to further elaboration, and be embodied in separate monographs; but all of them gathered as in this work, have received as full and adequate a treatment as may be expected even according to an exacting standard. The bibliography is most comprehensive, and up-to-date in the different sections with which the work deals. The plates of illustrations are well chosen; and the genealogical tables showing the early Guptas, 'the Vākātakas, the Later Guptas and their contemporaries, are useful. The table under appendix D should be instructive to the careful student. The errata list is of small compass, considering the great length of the work and the present difficulties of printing. A map of India showing the political divisions, kingdoms and the principal towns of the age enhances the value of illustrative equipment that has reached a high level of efficiency. We congratulate the author on this work, which is marked by thoroughness of preparation, carefully worded conclusions on disputed points and a clear presentation of previous views and of the different sides to each question.

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LIEE AND WORK OF MOHAN LAL KASHMIRI 1812-1877. By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. With a foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (Minerya Book Shop, Lahore). Pp. xvii and 372. Price Rs. 10.

Mohan Lal Kashmiri was among the first-hand authorities on the politics of Afghanistan and Central Asia in the critical days of the First Afghan War. Even more interesting to the student is the frankness with which he has revealed himself in his writings. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who writes the

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breword to this book, stresses the amazing aptitude of Mohan Lal for the pars and intrigues of Central Asian diplomacy and his great resourcefulness, mars and murgary and months. Mohan Lal was "a great traveller, brilliant even at the most critical moments. Kashmiri to local traveller, brilliant diplomat, reputed author, the first Kashmiri to learn English and probably dplomati, the first Indian to educate his daughter in England." The son of a Kashmiri Pandit, Budh Singh Zutshi, and the great grandson of the well-known Pandit Mani Ram, who was a prominent figure at the court of Shah Alam II, Mohan lal was educated in the Delhi English College where he attracted the attention of Sir Charles Trevelyan,—the brother-in-law of Lord Macaualy and later Governor of Madras—who was then a member of its managing committee. Trevelyan took the greatest interest in the boy, who had further the advantage of being instructed by James Prinsep as to how to draw and take sketches of different views. A memoir of Mohan Lal was prepared by Trevelyan and originally published at Calcutta in 1834 as a preface to the latter's Narrative of his travels into Bokhara, in company with the late Sir Alexander Burnes. Trevelyan says that Mohan Lal was among the first truits of the new system of English education just then introduced and did no small credit to it. When Mohan Lal studied in the English College then newly started as a branch of the original Persian College, there was great opposition to the study of English from certain religious quarters as described by Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi (vide. his Biography by C.F. Andrews). But the first batch of students who braved this opposition and proved a credit to themselves and to their teachers, included Mohan Lal and the famous Ram Krishna who subsequently became professor in the College. Now Mohan Lal met Lieutenant Burnes and impressed him so favourably that he proposed to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, to take him as his companion and Persian Secretary in the journey that he was about to undertake in Central Asia. This was the beginning of Mohan Lal's official career and of his extensive travels both in Asia and in Europe. In Asia alone his travels extended from Calcutta and Poona to Qochan and Bokhara. Everywhere he was honoured; and his friendship with the son of Shah Kamran, the Durani ruler of Herat, is thus praised by Trevelyan: Jonathan and David, and Pylades and Orestes, were not more distinguished examples of disinterested friendship than Sadat Malik (the prince) and Michan Lal." He was equally honoured by the Persian Prince Royal, Abbas Mirza and by the Barakzai chiefs of Kandahar. Amir Dost Muhammad of Rabul pressed Mohan Lal to enter his service; and the youthful, Kashmiri's brilliant intelligence and conduct so impressed Jabbar Khan, a brother of Dost Muhammad that he resolved to send his own son to be educated under an English tuton English tutor and arranged for his study at Ludhiana under the guidance of Captain Wada and arranged for his study at Ludhiana under the guidance of Captain Wade. All this happened before 1834, when Mohan Lal had just completed his return journey from Bokhara to Ludhiana. Dr. Gerard, his comtanion, helped him in unearthing some Greek antiquities at Jalalabad, where they opened they opened a stupa, for which it was suggested that he should be made an honorary member of every Asiatic Society. Of the success of his first was process. Dr. Correction of the success of his first works, Dr. Correction of the success of his first works. havels, Dr. Gerard's report was so enthusiastic that Mohan Lal's services immediate. Were immediatey utilised in the Political Department of Government; and he was appointed to the Political Department of Government; and he was appointed to the post of news-writer for the Company in Khorasan. the contrived to the post of news-writer for the Company in Calcutta, in surrous to get some training, at the Hindu (later, Presidency) College, Calculta, in surveying and drawing work. After some time spent in Delhi he

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was appointed to collect commercial statistics and travelled to Multan Bahawalpur and other places on the Indus frontier, and to make a special report on the routes from the banks of the Indus to Kandahar. His observations on the trade of Multan, of Shikarpur etc., were of great value; subsequently he settled certain disputes between the subjects of the kingdoms of Lahore and Bahawalpur and secured order on the line of navigation between it and Mithankot.

The most important part of the official career of Mohan Lal was his service on the mission of Alexander Burnes to Kabul in 1837. Though the mission failed in its main purpose and Burnes had to retire unsuccessfully from Alghanistan, our friend was made his political Assistant during the First Afghan War. He had opportunities of doing various small bits of service to the English cause in the course of the operations that led to the surrender of Dost Muhammad. A chapter is devoted by Prof. Gupta to explain the circumstances leading to the great disaster of the winter of 1841-42 Side-lights are thrown by Mohan Lal on this developing tragedy. In one place he says that though Burnes was himself pure, he allowed his English followers to take too much liberty with Afghan women. He gathered full information regarding the secret views of the Afghan chiefs towards the English and the story of his escape from the Kabul insurrection through the generosity of a cousin of Dost Muhammad reads almost like a miracle. He contrived to help in getting two of the insurgent chiefs assassinated and to persuade the Mullas of Kabul not to excite the fanaticism of the people against the British. During the disastrous English retreat, he had a narrow escape and was protected and brought back to Kabul by a friend; there he remained in confinement for over eight months. He had given his own criticism of the day-to-day British policy and valuable suggestions for the guidance of the British officers. He was now caught up by Akbar Khan and even tortured. The political situation in Kabul from January to September 1842 is revealed in Chapter X of the book through a detailed notice of Mohan Lal"s letters to the British officers. He contrived to supply regular information about the prisoners in Kabul to the English agents at Jalalabad and did not a little in getting them to a place of safety. Many of the prisoners were ignorant of the help rendered to them by Mohan Lal and made no mention of him in their accounts of their imprisonment.

When at last he escaped from the prison of Akbar Khan and reached India, Mohan Lal was given a comparatively petty place in the service of Government. This greatly disappointed him, and he resolved to visit England and claim the reward of his services in Afghanistan from the Court of Directors. After getting permission to visit Bombay, he sailed from that place to England where he was well received by his old patron, Trevelyan who was then Secretary at the Treasury. He received a warm welcome from the Royal Court, was granted a pension of £ 1,000 per annum for life by the Directors, visited Berlin and after a stay of nearly 2 years in the West, he returned to India in November 1846. His visit to Europe was the zenith of his career; because, as has been well remarked by Prof. Gupta, the Government of India "could no longer employ in its service an Indian who had access to the highest quarters in England" and so he was obliged to retire into the obscurity of private life, He pressed his claims for compensation for

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pupilies of grain and fodder that he had made to General Pollock's army, bying them from Kabul merchants. But in spite of a protracted inquiry bying men a protracted inquiry by his claims he could not get anything except bad treatment. An account is given of his miraculous escape from Delhi in May 1857 on the outbreak of the Mutiny. He lived for 20 years more after it and died only in 1877. Dr. Gupta's characterization of Mohan Lal and his personality is quite at-Certainly his Journal, Travels and Life of Dost Muhamad Khan finely written. Dr. Gupta speaks of his having kept a detailed diary. for the last 45 years of his life and says that "if it ever comes to light he will undoubtedly rank as the greatest Indian diarist of modern times."

He discusses in the appendix the matter relating to the assassination of wo insurgent Afghan chiefs at the beginning of the Kabul insurrection. The parative of Dr. Gupta is very readable in spite of the minute details which are embodied in it. It is elaborately documented with references from reord material, particularly bearing on the Afghan War. We wish that Dr. Gupta edits the works of Munshi Mohan Lal and makes them available to the student of history, since copies of them have become very scarce.

C. S. S.

CEYLON UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION 1795-1833, ITS POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Colvin R. De Silva, B.A.; Ph.D. (Lond.) Vol. I-Pp. vii and 291. Second edition. Vol. II-Pp. v and 321-616. (The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd. Colombo, Ceylon) 1942.

The narrative of this work covers the first four decades of British rule in Ceylon and is based upon record material available both in Colombo and in London. It was written—more than 10 years ago and constituted the thesis for which the author was awarded the Ph.D. Degree of the University of London and which was undertaken under the guidance of Dr. A P. Mewton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London and co-editor of the Cambridge History of the British Empire. The first volume was sold out quickly in its first edition and is now in its second edition. The plan of the book comprehends firstly, a survey of the general political condition of Ceylon on the eve of the British conquest and then traces the adminitalive history and development both of the Kandyan Provinces after they Were acquired and of the maritine Provinces from 1815, both being treated as separate with Island, the various as separate units, and lastly the economic history of the Island, the various lines of development that marked the period being drawn together at the end in one strand, so as to present a connected view of the general position pre-

The history of the Portuguese and Dutch occupation of Ceylon is treated in a summary of the Portuguese and Dutch occupation of Consultation and the lesson is put forward that the power collection and introduction; and the lesson is put forward that the Dutch power collapsed, on account of its intrinsic weakness and hastening decay, at the Poitish The British occupadecay, at the very first touch of the advancing British. The British occupation of the Mariti tion of the Maritime Provinces in 1795 is detailed at considerable length; it be specified the Maritime Provinces in 1795 is detailed at considerable length; it be specified to the Maritime Provinces in 1795 is detailed at considerable length; it betch Governor, Van Angelexposes the Maritime Provinces in 1795 is detailed at considerable beek, contrived to defence, which the Dutch Governor, Van Angelbeek, contrived to put up against the threatened English attack of 1795.

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The opinion is expressed that there is some colour lent plausibly to the charge of treason against the Governor, in so far as he showed a pre-disposition to a favourable capitulation. The exertions of Prof. Cleghorn in the matter of the help that he rendered in securing the Regiment de Meuron for the British side form an interesting chapter in the story of the British occupation of the Island, because, according to the diary kept by him, (Edited by the Rev. William Neil under the caption 'The Cleghorn Papers—A Footnote to History, published by A. & C. Black Ltd., 1927) we learn that he was one of the agents through whose instrumentality Ceylon was acquired by the British and the Regiment de Meuron was attached to the British cause, being taken over from the Dutch side and forming part of the British army for 21 years. The Maritime Provinces came into permanent British possession by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

British relations with the kingdom of Kandy are traced from their beginnings in 1762. The treaty of 1795 between the British and the Kandyan Ruler proved unsatisfactory to both parties, partly because it was signed just a little prior to the conquest of Colombo. The story of the confused events that followed the death of Rajaradhi Rajasinha in August 1798 is told also at length. The puppet Vikrama Rajasinha played his part defty. Our author thus summarises the situation in those fateful years which led to the first Kandyan war: "If (Mahadigan) Pilima Talauve was a traitor by intent, (Governor) North was certainly accessory to this treason. The negotiations can hardly redound to the Governor's credit.' The succeeding biting comment is interesting: 'His policy was simply in line with a fateful Kandyan tradition-calling in the foreigner to settle domestic disputes but discarding him on attaining that object. The pitcher, however, went too often to the well; grew leaky by degrees; and finally broke in its user's hands. (p. 77 ch.—Kandyan Relations to 1801).

Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha was already dominating the scene. called first Kandyan war was in essence, for the British, an economic blockade accompanied by military reprisals. It was not productive of any great injury to the Kandyan kingdom. The final fall of that kingdom in 1815 was the direct of domestic factions and rebellion. The place of Pilima Talauve was taken by his nephew, Ahalepola, who opened correspondence with the British inviting them to occupy the kingdom and who was indirectly assured of their aid, if he could raise a sufficiently serious and widespread rebellion. The rebellion came but it was clearly ill-organised. Governor Brownrigg was watching the events. Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha took a terrible revenge on Ahalepola's family; his four young children were beheaded in his presence and their mother was compelled to pound their heads in a mortar, this incident, the historicity of which is discussed by Mr. P. E. Pieris in his book Tri Sink I. for incident, the historicity of which is discussed by Mr. P. E. Pieris in his book Tri Sink I. book Tri Sinhala, forms the central theme of a popular Tamil tragedy dealing with the fall of the Kandyan kingdom. The capture of the king after slight operations and king after slight operations and his deportation to Colombo and thence to South India completed the British The Convention of 1815 pleted the British occupation of the kingdom. was signed by the Kandyan chiefs; and it vested the Kandyan sovereignty in the British Court of the kingdom. The Convention in the British Crown, to be exercised through the Governor of Ceylon, but preserved the rights of the preserved the rights of the chiefs and safeguarded the indigenous political, social and religious in the chiefs and safeguarded the indigenous political, social and religious institutions. It was a great disappointment to Ahalepola

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The British acquisition of the Maritime Pro-The relieur the subjugation of Kandy inevitable; and the weaknesses of the ingdom explained its easy disappearance. The inevitable aftermath of the British occupation was expressed soon. The chiefs came to be anxious for a restoration of the monarchy; and the Bhikshus were implicated in the plots. The rebellion that ensued was put down, being half-hearted in its source, Ine reserving in its plan and futile in its execution, though it was attended by hornible reprisals on either side. The British recovery of the Sacred Tooth. Relic quite accidentally in November 1818 marked the end of the rebellion, as it was considered a sign of God that the destiny of the British people was to rule the Kandyan kingdom

The system of administration was reorganised; and politically the history of the Kandyan Provinces was uneventful for long. They were incorporated with the Maritime Provinces in 1833 and from about that time Ceylon came to be in the proverbial position of a country that has no history, because her way lay along the path of peace under British aegis.

The second part of the work dealing with administrative history of the period surveys the arrangements made for the government of the Maritime Provinces from the time of their acquisition. At first they were administered directly from Madras. The power of the indigenous officials was largely diminished. But there was a great deal of speculation in tax-farming by Tamil adventurers which increased the difficulties of the British officials. With the appointment of Governor North from England administrative reforms were initiated, particularly in the sphere of land revenue. While North was reorganising the government, Ceylon was made a Crown colony, independant of the Company (1802) and power was given to the Governor to correspond directly with the Secretary of State. Governor Maitland attempted an extensive reorganisation and purification of the administration and he paid great attention to the maintenance of the Buddhistic religion. Under Brownrigg slavery was abolished. We get a very clear picture of the successive measures undertaken by the British government to put an end to slavery in the Provinces. Likewise a good picture is given of the Kandyan administrative despotism with its parallel hierarchies, civil and military, and with its system of graded courts. The Governor virtually succeeded to all the authority of the Kandyan king and appointed his resident at Kandy, while a separate Kandyan department was set up at Colombo. The admini-strative strative system introduced by the proclamation of 1818 is next detailed, as it had the effect of transferring the authorities of the chiefs in a great measure to Figure 10. Sure to European civil servants. The development of the judiciary is next treated, and we hear of occasional bickerings between the Supreme Court the and the Governors, the causes of which cannot be traced solely to personal factors and factors and in the course of which the Governor employed very readily the weapon of the weapon of legislation that lay in his hands in order to strengthen his conlentions and to extend the jurisdiction of the courts under his control. This the situation of the courts under his control. was the situation till about 1834, when the Maritime Provinces were incortorated with the Kandyan kingdom.

The third part of the work comprehending volume II describes the tonomic condition and progress of the island under the heads of land tenure, agriculture and the land tax, Rajakariya, cinnamon; trade; monopolies and customs duties; public revenue and finance. We learn that the tenurial system in the Tamil districts was very much simpler than elsewhere, both in its operation and in its incidence. The attempt to abolish service tenure gave rise to a variety of conflicting views; while the endeavour of North to create some uniformity in the quantitative sense of equalising the land tax failed. Rajakarya, i.e., customary service, particularly in the repair of roads and bridges had always been a source of oppression. The British found it cumbrous and unremunerative and they had to abolish tenure by service, Mr. G. Turnour of the Mahavamsa fame had a great deal to do with these administrative reforms. The problems connected with the cinnamon department were very complicated. It is too much for a review like ours to go into the details of the different topics dealt with in the Economic Section of the work. The working of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Ceylon appointed in 1823, was of some consequence to the Ceylon administration. There was some attempt to imitate the arrangements of Sir Stamford Raffles operating in Java. Racial discriminations were to be removed and the Ceylonese were to be associated in the Colonial Legislature and promoted to responsible posts, while retrenchment was to be caried out in all departments. The reforms adopted because effective from October 1833 and they are held to constitute a definite landmark by which the administration was reorganised and modernised. It is not too much to say that the foundations of the present day political and economic structure of Ceylon were laid during the period 1796-1833 and the reforms of the latter year completed and rounded off those foundations and they thus began a new era in the history of the Island, and this is the main justification and view of this important and informing work.

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EARLY ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN BENGAL. VOLUME I. 1765-1774. A CHAPTER IN THE EARLY CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA UNDER BRITISH RULE. By D. N. Banerjee, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Pp. x and 729. Price Rs. 15.

In 1936, Professor Banerjee brought out a work dealing with the history of the land revenue system in Bihar and Bengal, in the first seven years after the acquisition of the Diwani in 1765, in which he detailed the experiments made by the Company to implement such a system of revenue assessment and collection as would reconcile the two mutually incompatible aims that were in its view then—viz, an increase in the revenue and a diminution of the oppression to which the ryots were exposed, both of which were in the minds of the Directors and of several of the superior Civil Servants in Bengal. In this volume are explained the processes by which the Nawab Nazim of Bengal was reduced after 1765 to the status of a mere stipendiary, while the Company built up its supreme political authority, both in administration and from the point of view of constitutional law. Likewise, the participation of the English servants of the Company in the inland trade and its disastrous effect on the Provinces, the nature and extent of the control exercised from England on the Government of the Provinces and an inquiry into the basic principles that

marked the British rule in those days have been comprehended in the treatmarked the based upon a careful and detailed examination ment which is almost entirely based upon a careful and detailed examination ontemporary sources and records and the author has fully attained the object he aimed at, viz., scrupulous accuracy of statement, rather than indulgnce in positive and dogmatic assertions.

Prof. Banerji may be congratulated in an abundant measure on the grice he has done in this publication to further the knowledge of the actual basic structure, methods and ideas that marked the evolution of the Presidency of Bengal in the epoch-making years from the crisis of Plassey to the implementing of the Regulating Act. The position of the English adminisintion was peculiar and had to undergo a marked revolution in those years and this book and its companion on the Early Land Revenue System will go a long way towards enriching the literature on the early constitutional and administrative history of British rule in India, of which at present there ere only too many gaps.

In a lengthy introductory chapter, the author examines the meaning and some of the Diwani Farman and the nature of the position to which the Mawab Nazim was reduced under the operation of that Farman and the treaties of the 20th February and 19th August 1765. In illustration of the Company's absolute control over the Nawabi, the author discloses relevant extracts from the proceedings of the Council of Fort William, Secret Department, passed at the death of Mir Jafar and at the accession of Nawab Najimu'd-Dowlah, when Nandkumar was turned out of power and Muhammad Reza Khan was forced down the New Nawab's throat and made his allpowerful minister. For additional point, the author quotes the letter of Nawab Najibu'd-Dowlah, addressed to the President, and placed before a meeting of the Select Committee on the 1st of June 1765, and the arrangements detailed by the Committee in its letter to the Directors of the 30th September 1765. As usually happened, claims were however put forward at preserving the ancient dignity of the Subah." The status of the Resident at Murshidabad, the extent of his authority over the Nawab Nazim and his Durbar, and his relation to the Council and the purely political character of the business of the Diwani that was taken up by the Company except that of settling the amount of the annual revenues of the Provinces, excluding the Company's former possessions—the gradual deterioration of the joint ministenal control that was first set up and the transition to the monopolistic hold of Muhammada was first set up and the transition to the monopolistic hold of Muhammad Reza Khan, the self-satisfactory encomiums paid by Clive and the Select Committee to themselves for securing the Diwani and the devastating effects of the select committee to themselves for securing the Diwani and the devastating effects of the select committee to themselves for securing the Diwani and the devastating effects of the select committee to themselves for securing the Diwani and the devastating effects of the select committees to the select committees the select committees to the select committees th ing effects of the export of large quantities of bullion year after year for the China invest. China investment—these are all detailed, both in their operation and results.

Next, the author turns to the administrative system of the Presidency; he deals exhaustively with the position of the Governor, his oath and penalty bond and the different items of his remuneration—with the incidental survey of Clive's Jack: of Clive's Jaghire—and the relations between the Government and the military. Special stress is laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about a laid on the last topic as there were very many disagreeable about the control of the civilian disputes about the subordination of the army and the control of the civilian over it is subordination of the army and the special powers of the element over it in the three Presidencies, and on the special powers of the Covernor, such as were actually given to Clive during his second tenure of the These cond chapter. These constitute the subject matter of the second chapter.

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The composition of the Council and of the Select Committee which, under Clive, overshadowed it almost entirely;—the episode of the introduction of 'the Four Gentlemen from Madras' into the Council in 1766 the Public and Secret Departments of the Council and the Committees constituted in 1771 for controlling the different departments, the association of membership of Council and mofussil Residentship and the procedure adopted at meetings of the Council for consultations, minutes and dissents, are all treated in considerable detail in Chapter III. A large amount of space is naturally devoted to the relations between the Council and the Select Committee and the dominating influence of the latter which tried to effect a distribution of governmental functions between itself and the former in 1766-67. The reinstitution of the Secret Department in the Council was in reality a challenge to the general superintending power claimed by the Select Committee; while the great controversy between the Council and the Committee in 1771 ended in the discomfiture of the latter, though it continued to function till the last quarter of 1774. The account of these institutions and of their activities constitute a tangled skein of complicated issues that have been attempted to be unravelled with considerable care by our author. The relations between the Select Committee and the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors have also been incidentially noticed. The constitution of, and the discipline imposed upon the Civil Service in the period, particularly with regard to the three convenants which were in force then have been carefully analysed. Thus we read: "A writer would be bound by the terms of the first convenant between 1756 and May, 1764; by those of the first and the second between May, 1764 and July 1770; and by those of the second and the third, between July 1770 and May, 1772." The three convenants are examined in their mutual retations and in their attempts at the restriction of private trade, the lending of money to zamindars and others and other practices. The abuse of the dastak and of the burjat (compelling the Indians to buy goods above the market price) are explained in their destructive reaction on the economic life of the Province. The great question of the securing of monopoly in the inland trade, under the scheme of Clive, in betel-nut salt and tobacco, as a measure of reforming the Civil Service has been examined by a detailed account of the rise and fall of the Committee for Inland Trade. In this matter, our author holds that Clive was not justified in making in the House of Commons, in March 1772, his remarks against the decision of the Court of Directors in regard to the question of the Salt Society that he made.

It is firmly held by Prof. Banerjee that the inland trade policy of the Company and the abuse of the dastak proved the main causes of the ruin of all Indian merchants. The reform of the Civil Service which proved a hard nut to crack, even for Clive, and of which an odious example was furnished by the career of W. Bolts, not to speak of several others approximating to him in unscrupulousness and abuse of opportunity, was naturally a most difficult topic, which we find treated in the book, with an appreciable degree of charity.

Its proper complement was the equally hard task of the taming of the insubordinate officers in the army. The neglect of the administration of civil justice involved in the Diwani, till 1772, was productive of several marked abuses. Arbitration, as an element of judicial procedure, occupied an

integral part in the indigenous system; but the proper regulation of it was most difficult for the English officials and the institution of the Sudder Adalat most difficult for the English officials and the institution of the Sudder Adalat most difficult administrative and procedural problems; in 1772 entailed very many difficult administrative and procedural problems; in the judicial system of Calcutta with its zamindari and faujdari Cutheris and the usual Presidential paraphernalia of Justices of the Peace, Quarter Sessions, Mayor's Court etc., which were further complicated by Royal Charters, rendered the situation only more complex and prevented any organic reform being effected.

Surveying the basic principles of the administrative system of the English Presidency in the period under consideration, stress is rightly laid by our author upon the subordination of the military to the civil authorities, and the resultant prevention of any sort of encroachment by the latter upon the sphere of the former. Another equally important feature is the mutual help forthcoming to one another from the three Presidencies, particularly in the matter of monies for investments, in which, however, Bengal bore the greatest burden and has consequently been rightly termed the 'milch cow' for all the other settlements of the Company in the East. As noticed elsewhere stress is laid on the drain caused by the diversion of bullion for China and other investments.

Credit has been rightly claimed for several new view-points and interpretitions, and also for adverting to the good points discernible in the conduct of the Court of Directors and of several of their superior servants displaying a commendable sense of fair play and justice in their attitude towards the Indians under their administration; e.g., the sentence of capital punishment inflicted on four soldiers by a Court Martial at Berhampur, early in 1774, for the murder of a native inhabitant; and what is more commendable, the deeming of that sentence as a severe, but necessary, example. Extracts from the original records and sources have been put in abundantly, both as footand in the appendix matter. Several points of nicety and a few corrections of existing notions are to be found in the book, like the exact personal connotation of the term Juggut Seet, occurring in the records, and the miserable quarrel between Hastings and Batson. The accuracy and wealth of fully ment that mark the work have been enriched by a glossary and a carehely prepared appendix; and the great care taken in quoting from the records most accurately adds to the credit due to the author.

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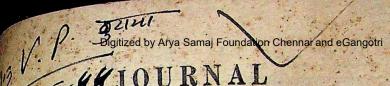
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OF .

GURUKULA KANGRI

INDIAN HISTORY

(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR)

XXIII, Part I.

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EDITOR .

Rajasēvāsakta

DEWAN BAHADUR S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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Journal of Indian History

The Administration Buildings of Akbar's Fathpur Sikri

By

S. K. BANERJI,

Reader, Lucknow University,

In the historical outline of Akbar's new dar-ul-khilafat we have attempted to give its genesis and progress. A closer contact with the chief saint of Fathpur and the birth of two sons in quick succession gave Akbar spiritual satisfaction and added to the stability of his throne. So he next thought of founding saint's residence and making it a city around the construction of headquarters the and the connected with the day-to-day administration were early taken in hand. Those discussed in this paper are the Diwan-i-am, the Diwan-i-khas, the Daftar-khana, the mint, the treasuries, the Shifa-khana or the hospital, the Langar-khana, the caravanserai and the water works.

A. The Diwan-i-am.

It stood in a large enclosure, surrounded by cloisters on three sides, the north, west and south. In the middle of the west side were the emperor's throne-seat with additional space screened off on two wings and his retiring room and on the east, which is devoid of cloisters, was a broad stone platform, the kerb of which quadrangle The traced. measured 368'×181' and at its north-western angle, there can still be Was a communication with the Diwan-i-khas to enable the emperor to pass from one to the other without any loss of time.

At its sould be a second and from and from At its south-west angle lies the Turki Sultana's hammam and from its top 41. its top the terrace of the adjoining cloisters was approachable. From the terrace of the adjoining cloisters was the terrace that led to a chart to a chamber, it is clear that it was used as a promenade by the

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As an administrative institution, the public audience hall was a necessity to a mediaeval ruler. Here Akbar, seated on his throne, carried out some of his daily routine in the presence of his subjects, high and low, all being freely admitted to the enclosure. His functions might be divided into four; one was to publicly announce his ordinances in the presence of his subjects; secondly io administer justice without any distinction of class or creed: thirdly to listen to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects; fourthly to attend to the formal or ceremonial part of his work, e.g., to receive an ambassador, to weigh himself on his birthday and to receive benedictions at the hands of the maulavis or the pandits on the birth of a son, success of a campaign or safe return from abroad. The ordinances would be generally formulated in the Diwan-i-khas but for a wider publicity they were announced here A mediaeval king as the supreme court of justice had ample opportunity to show his impartiality as a judge. Akbar fully realize ed this as is evident from his sayings of which a few may be quoted here.

- (1) It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.
- (2) If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?¹
- (3) Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes.
- (4) Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degress of circumstances and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto.²
- (5) Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world.
- (6) Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration.
- (7) Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs.3

^{1.} See A.A. III 387.

^{2.} Ibid. p. 398.

^{3. -}Ibid. p. 399.

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It was perhaps to emphasize his supreme responsibility as ruler that led him to separate his throne-seat by stone-latticed screens from the adjoining wings where his ministers and other high officials stood in attendance. Also as there was no loggia to separate the gentry and the nobles from the common people standing under an awning as in Shah Jahan's time nor silver and gold railings to indicate the greater nobles from the lesser, we conclude that in Akbar's durbar all stood in promiscuous order and that the meanest churl could if he chose rub his shoulders with the richest grandee of the empire.

One or two judgments may be cited: (a) he had found his brother-in-law, Mirza Sharafuddin Husain, though descended from Khwaja Nāsiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrār⁴ to be a turbulent and mischievous fellow and threw him into prison in 1572 where he remained for two years when another descendant of the saint of Samarqand, Abdul Shahīd, and one highly honoured by the emperor himself,⁵ requested him to release him. So Sharafuddin had three points in his favour, viz., he was a descendant of the noted Ahrār of Samarqand, was recommended by another descendant and was the emperor's sister's husband. Still Akbar refused the request but he continued to show due reverence and honour to the Khwaja. The latter was not mollified by the emperor's attentions and feeling highly aggrieved left the court;

(b) Akbar had two zealous Shias, Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqub, put to death for murdering several Sunni Muftis of Kashmir. The case was a complicated one and referred to the bigotry of the followers of the rival sects to each other. Mirza Muqim, a Shia Sayyid, who had become the manager of Husain Khan Tukariya's jagir was recieved well by Akbar and was appointed his Vakil in the kingdom of Kashmir. When some Shias had wounded Qazi Habib, a zealous Sunni, the ruler on the decision of the Sunni Muftis put the chief of the assailants to death. Now Mirza Muqim interfered needlessly and got three or four of the Sunni Muftis killed for issuing the fatwa or mandate for death. When next Mirza Muqim returned to Fathpur in company of Mir

^{4.} Beveridge wrongly calls him Abdullah See A. N. III, 109.

the Durbar-i-am standing in the crowd, sent for him and placed him by

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Yaqub, the Vakil of the ruler of Kashmir, Abdun Nabi and the other ulama decided on their deaths and executed both of them,6

(c) The third case was that of Masud Husain Mirza, the blind Muhammad Sultan's son. After a persistent rebellion for a number of years he was captured in 15737 and was brought to Fathpur along with three hundred followers 'wrapped up in cowhides or the skins of asses, hogs and dogs drawn over their faces.' A few were put to death by various ingenious tortures, the rest being let off. Masud himself was treated kindly and his sewn eyes were opened by the king himself. The horrid tortures so shocked Husain Khan Tukariya, that for fear of a similar treatment to his prisoners, he released them without the emperor's sanction and was forgiven the irregularity. It is clear from these illustrations that Akbar did not err on the side of leniency and some of his judgments were delivered at the dictates of others.

Where he scored was in administering summary punishments to the influential culprits. It is said that he kept a trained elephant to carry out his orders of trampling them to death. In the courtyard is shown a stone ring to tie the animal. The author of the official guide to Fathpur⁸ disbelieves this tradition on the grounds that

6. Here Akbar appears to be arbitrary in his decision and was probably instigated by the Sunni divines of the court. The following observations may be made or questions put in this connection:

(a) Why should Akbar have taken notice of the murders that had

taken place in a neighbouring kingdom?

(b) Mir Yaqub being the Vakil of the ruler of a kingdom should have been inviolate in his person. But probably the Sunni divines of the powerful Delhi empire were not willing to recognize his sanctity especially as he was a zealous Shia or admit the independence of the ruler of Kashmir.

(c) Mirza Muqim himself had committed no murder but had sent the accused Sunni Muftis to another Shia and this latter person had killed the divines. Should not a lesser punishment to the Mirza have sufficed?

- (d) Again, the last observation may be made also in the case of the Sunni Muftis who suffered death for their official decrees. Even if they were guilty of bigotry, a lesser punishment should have been considered adequate.
- (e) It appears that both Kashmir and Delhi were riven with sectarian factions and both Husain Khan and Akbar were only tools in the hands of their Ulama.
 - 7. The Tabaqat-i-Akbari. Vol. II. 260.
 - 8. Mr. Muhammad Ashraf Husain.

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Akbar's merciful nature would revolt against such cruel punishments and that his ladies, usually present in the durbar, punishments and that his ladies, usually present in the durbar, would be horrified at the sight. Neither appears to us as sound would be horrified at the sight. Neither appears to us as sound reasoning. Akbar, like his grandfather, was magnanimous but also strict. He meted out cruel punishments to his maternal uncle, khwaja Muazzam, and to his playmate of childhood, Adham Khan. He caused the death of a negligent lamplighter by hurling him from the battlements of his palace. He had even enjoyed the sight of poor faqīrs fighting and killing each other and had gone to the extent of succouring the weaker side and prolonging the contest. Also, though the room to the west of the baldachino might be available to the royal ladies, it would be too much to expect them to take part in the day-to-day proceedings of the durbar. Even if they did, they could be made to leave the place at the time of the actual execution of the criminals and avoid the painful sight.

Acording to the Ain-i-Akbari, Akbar showed himself to his people twice in the morning, once immediately after the sunrise and again after about three hours. We would think that the most fitting place for the purpose would be the spacious Diwan-i-am where a large crowd could easily find accommodation; if for any reason he was unable or unwilling to go there, he could utilize the opening in the walls of the upper storey east of the Khwābgāh, the people gathering in the south enclosure. The emperor's throne-seat faces the east and a sun-worshipper like Akbar would receive the salutes of his subjects, facing the sunrise. At least long afterwards, one of his descendants who bore his name had built the Musamman burj in Delhi facing the east from the same motive.

The cloisters around were meant for those who needed shelter from the sun or rain or who came from a distance and waited for the emperor's decision on their complaints. All bonz-fide visitors from a distance were probably allowed to stay at night.

Since the space available on the elevated ridge was strictly limited, Akbar made other uses of the Diwan-i-am. One we have already mentioned, viz., that a part of the south-west terrace next to the Turki Sultana's hammām was utilized for a promenade and parapets of this portion were raised to six feet to protect

^{9.} G. Sanderson, the author of 'the Guide to the buildings and gardens, agrees with this view. See p. 40.

the ladies from the vulgar gaze of the crowd below. The extensive courtyard was used as a hippodrome for chariot races. It would appear that in the mediaeval times when bullock chariots were commonly resorted to for a comfortable journey, a special kind of fast-running oxen was bred and in order to encourage their production, royal patronage was extended in the form of prizes.

To conclude our observations on the Diwani-am.

- (1) It is the largest administration building where the emperor met his people in a body. No distinction was made between the visitors, all having just standing space in the courtyard. The equality of all classes of subjects under the empéror's despotic sway is a marked feature of the mediaeval age. The royal proclamations were made here and all complaints were received and if possible judgments were delivered here.
- (2) The people had the darshan of their emperor at sunrise in this hall.
- (3) The throne-seat, the rest of the verandah and the retiring apartment at the back are all very plainly built, the only decorations being the exquisite stone screens on the two sides of the throne and the imitation stone tiles on the roof. This plainness is in a marked contrast with the decorations of the baldachino or Nashiman-i-zil Allah of Shah Jahan's public audience hall in Delhi fort, Akbar's own Khwabgah or the places of his queens.
- (4) The economical Akbar utilized the building in other ways also.

B. The Diwan-i-khas.

At the north-west angle of the Diwan-i-am, at some distance is the Diwan-i-khas or the private audience hall where Akbar held conferences with his chief officials. Since the gathering would consist of about a dczen people, it is small as compared with the public audience hall and measures only 43' square on the outside and 28' 8" within. Though appearing two-storeyed from outside, actually it is one storeyed but from the middle of the tesselated floor rises a pillar to half the height of the room. The top of the capital is connected with the four corners of the room by broad stone beams, each beam being supported at its two ends by three tiers of radiating brackets. The central pillar with its marvellous Saracenic carvings ends in these Hindu brackets making it an

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emblem of Akbar's ideal of unifying the Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture in his new capital.

According to the tradition, Akbar was seated in the central which looks like an inverted lotus and the ministers, present either in the gallery or on the ground-floor, attended him by turn. The momentous decisions affecting the safety or the prosperity of the empire were taken here by him and his cabinet and also the letails of a particular department were gone through with the id of the minister in charge. There are two offers at the north-west and south-east corners just above the galleries, which could be closed on the inside by data of stone and again on the outside by stone doors fistened by padlocks. The Chishtiwal guides assert that these were flled with money to be given away in charity at the emperor's orders. The Ain-i-Akbari too tells us that a crore of dams was kept ready in bags each containing one thousand for such purposes but the place mentioned is the Durbar-i-am and not the Durbar-ikhas. One doubts whether the coffers were meant for such purposes. There was no room for a crore of dams in them. Also a Durbar-i-khas was not meant for the needy people and usually no outsider would be allowed an entrance when the king and his abinet were engaged in some deep deliberation. The proximity of the royal treasury known as the Ankh Michauli would make a large assemblage of poor people undesirable and the hall was too narrow for a large gathering. We agree with the official guidebook issued by the Archaeological Department that the coffers were meant to keep important state-documents and other valuables.

An interesting discussion was once raised by H. G. Keene¹⁰ whether this building did not represent the Ibadat-khana or the teligious debating hall built in 1575 by Akbar. 11 V. Smith has demolished Keene's suggestion conclusively. 12 Our conclusions

^{10.} See his 'Hand-book to Agra.' II. It was ordered, according to the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, in Zulqada, 982. Which : AH which is equivalent to February-March 1575 and not to January as stated by V. Smith.

^{12.} In an article on the Ibadat Khana in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society London, for October 1917. See also A.N. III 157-160, the Tabaquat-i-Akbari, II (text) 311, Bad. II 203-5. Bad. III (text), 45 gives the life of Mian Abdullah Niazi Sirhindi. There it is stated that the new khinqah (monastery) of Shaikh Salim had been converted into the king's

are in agreement with the latter writer, that the courtyard of one of the two monasteries of the saint of Fathpur, viz., the new one, was the site chosen for a fairly large hall¹³ divided into four divisions¹⁴ and accomodating some two hundred or more of the participants in the religious discussion. Since both the monasteries have disappeared, it is difficult exactly to locate the Ibadat-khana. But we are convinced that it was situated near the Jami masjid, for the monasteries meant for pious people connected with Shaikh Salim must have been built in its neighbourhood.

The Diwan-i-khas is an incomplete building and the original plan seems to have been the inclusion of a dome in the centre as the central platform on the roof and the four kiosks at the angles would suggest. In all Mughal buildings, the highest point is also the central and this building had no reason to form an exception The roof is approachable and must have been used by Akbar either as a promenade or for an outdoor meeting of the cabinet,

To conclude:

- (1) It was the second administration building of great signifcance where weighty problems were solved by the emperor in consultation with his cabinet. It is on the correctness of the decisions that the success of Akbar's rule mainly depended.
- (2) The seating arrangement was peculiar and might have been suggested by the Hindu conception of the reigning deity being seated on a lotus and surrounded by her votaries. The column is one of the best illustrations of the Indo-Muslim architecture and a cast of it is preserved in the South Kensington Museum.15 The traceries in the window openings, the three-tiered corbelled capital and the supports at the angles are its other commendable features. Like so many other buildings at Fathpur it had once on the outside between the brackets supporting the dripstone, carved paterae birds. These were later on removed by some zealous inconoclast.
- (3) Without the dome the building looks truncated. Though originally intended, it was later on deliberately dropped to allow

15. See 'the Guide to Fathpur Sikri,'

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^{13.} T. A. has the primary meaning of which is a courtyard. 14. Aiwan literally means galleries which would apply to the divisions if they were situated high up from the ground,

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the open central platform on the terrace to be used for outdoor sittings in the morning or the afternoon.

(4) The proximity of this building to the Diwan-i-am and the treasury and also its inapproachability to the common people from the city prevent us from identifying it with the Ibādat-khana.

C. The Daftar-khana.

The third administration building was the Daftar-khana built in 1573. It had two disinct functions; one to keep record of the proceedings of the royal courts. Abul Fazl expresses it: order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance and that the administrative orders might be preserved.16 Thus all the doings, orders and sayings of the emperor, his grants in jagir, salary or gift, the records of his wars and campaigns together with the proceedings of the general assemblies and the records of his capital punishments were carefully taken down by two clerks each day whose turn recurred once a week. Besides these fourteen clerks there were several copyists or Taliqahavises as they were called who made abridgments for the record office properly signed and sealed by the waqianavis, risaldar, mir-iarz and darogha. If today Akbar's reign appears rich in details and the historians have devoted a large number of pages on this reign, it was because the official sources were available in such an abundance.

The other function was to keep the records dealing with the land settlement and other branches of the finance department. Raja Todar Mal in 1577 had completed some of the settlements in Guirat and 'made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement of those territories. The But in the early years this section was in the making and the Ain-i-Akbari does not mention it specifically in the list of its functions which were to keep (1) the details of the Abwāb-ul-māl or revenue of the empire, (2) the arbāb-ul-tāhāwīl imperial palace and (3) the Taujih, the details of the army expenses (very written statement of accounts was called a sanad. How

^{16.} A.N. III. 167. A.N. III 91 and 93.

elaborate were the proceedings of a grant of jagir or salary may be seen in the pages of the Ain-i-Akbari. 18

The Daftar-khana was situated on the south of the enclosure adjacent to the Khwābgāh. The site was on a precipice of the ridge on which the palaces were built and so to make it level, piers as thick as 6' 3" have been used and the platform rests firmly on those piers and arches connecting them. In some cases the spaces between the piers have been filled in to form rooms, utilized either as residences for the watchmen or as additional space for the records.

The office itself consisted of one room 36' 8"×23 9" surrounded by a verandah 18' wide and a flat roof with sufficient slope to allow a free exit of water. In order to ensure against all damage, the walls were made 4' 4" thick. Variety was imparted by the provision of a balcony towards the south giving a wide view of the picturesque country and the east end of the spacious mosque. The bases of the pillars have a fan-shaped design, probably adopted from the outspread tail of a peacock, which though unusual at the time was freely used by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The three-tiered brackets supporting the stone beams that span the ceiling are noticeable inside while still heavier brackets in four tiers have been used on the exterior.

On the west side, adjoining the main building were a number of cells used as an extension of the Daftar-khana or for the residence of the police that kept a watch on the building. It formed the southern edge of an enclosure and across the courtyard were the Khwābgāh and other rooms of the Khas mahal. The west side of the courtyard contained a railed platform, probably used by the emperor for going through, in the open, some of the records of the Daftar-khana. The full purpose of the enclosure is not clear and a surmise only may be attempted. It may have been kept open to allow the royal occupant of the Khwabgah fresh air or to provide an extension to the record office or to serve as the assembly. ground for the people anxious for a darshan of their emperor peep ing through an opening in the wall east of the Khwābgāh. It is unfortunate that when peace reigned throughout the land after the conquest of Bengal and Todar Mal had perfected his land settlement even in the conquered provinces, 19 Akbar's difficulties in

18. I, 259-63.

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¹⁹ The date of his Bengal settlement is 1581 A.D.

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supplying water to the growing population at Fathpur increased supplying four years he had to abandon his grandiose schemes for and within four years he had to abandon his grandiose schemes for the development of his pet city. But the Daftar-khana confined to a single large hall together with additional cells and cellars continues to attest to the greatest administrative measure of the mediaeval period. The records of Akbar's administrative system were all stored in this office and if only all his historians had been as judicious and farseeing as Abul Fazl, these might have been better utilized to give a fuller picture of their times. As it is, except Abul Fazl, no one made a full use of them and most of the unused records were allowed to remain uncared for and ultimately to perish. Still the Daftar-khana proudly holds its head high reminding the beholder of the noble intentions of its founder and the mightly results that once lay within the reach of the historians by a study of its archives.

The Mint. D.

As mentioned elsewhere²⁰ Akbar reorganized the mint department in 1577. The occasion was his halt in Kotputli²¹ near a copper mine. He established six mints for the gold coinage and a few others for silver and copper and Khwaja Abdus Samad was placed in charge of the whole. A. Fazl has given interesting details22 of the mint house, its artisans and the processes by which the finished products were produced and specially mentions the purity of the fold coins of his master's reign giving them precedence over even Alauddin's.23 Fathpur mint²⁴ where the Khwaja usually resided is indicated by the local guides, though E. Smith doubts the identity and surmises that it might as well be a stable.²⁵

21. In Narnaul Sarkar and in Agra Suba. 22. A.A. I, p. 16-38.

23. Ibid. 18. The Muslims while making an amulet of a gold coin Renerally choose one of Akbar's because of its purity,

24. Its existence is proved by the mint marks of numerous coins, e.g. of the Nos. 66, 67, 69, 124, 134-5, 138 and 161 of the Catalogue of the British Museum. British Museum and Nos. 88, 192-7, 433-40 of the Catalogue of the Indian Calculation, Calculation of the Catalogue of the Indian to the Indian to the India Museum and Nos. 88, 192-7, 433-40 of the Catalogue of the

25. The official 'guide' of the archaeological department is definite that erved as a state of the archaeological department is definite that The official 'guide' of the archaeological department is defined as a stable though it concedes that it might have served temporarily a mint in All. for a mint in Akbar's and Jahangir's reign. See p. 12.

^{20.} See my article on 'An historical outline of Fathpur Sikri.

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Let us briefly describe the building. It is an enclosed area, a quadrangle, 263' X 238' being surrounded by domed cloisters 16' 6" high and 49' wide. The cloisters are in two rows separated by a narrow arched passage running round the building. There are two entrances one at the south-east end and the other at the centre of the east front, both high enough to allow the animals to pass through and on each side of the entrance are stone seats. On the west side there is a basement storey formed in the sloping ground stretching towards the village of Nagar in the plains below.

The chief objections to its use as a stable are: -

- (a) In that case an enclosed building with the arrangements of the cloister was not needed. A more open and less costly structure would have been a better and healthier arrangement.
- (b) Also neither the watch-tower nor the seats at the two entrances would be needed;
- (c) Nor the buildings in the quadrangle of which the foundations can still be traced;
- (d) such an elevated and hence valuable piece of land would not be assigned by the sagacious emperor to the upkeep of a mere stable. The latter in proximity to the Durbar-i-am and the treasury would be looked upon as a nuisance;
- (e) not far off near the Naqqār-khana was the police chawki or the military headquarters where if needed more accomodation could have been provided for the horsemen. The distance of the chawki would be 200 yards or less from the mint;
- (f) the elevated site was chosen for the mint for better protection and on the basement storey on the west were provided horsemen or the police. Probably the two high entrances were meant for these horsemen who entered the mint to keep guard over the place. The tower and the staircase at the north-west corner indicated that the building was used for a more important purpose than as a mere stable;
- (g) the tradition, assigning it to a mint, should be accepted where no conclusive refutation be forthcoming. Even E. Smith²⁶

26. The talented author of 'The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri'.

taking into consideration all the evidences, falls back upon the tradition and accepts the building as a mint.

(h) during the excavation in 190527 a large quantity of ashes was discovered. These were the burnt remains of the metals or fre used in refining gold and silver; the ashes of horse-dung fire would not be traceable after a lapse of three centuries.

E. The treasuries.

There are the remains of two of them, one popularly known as the Ankh Michauli and the other situated near the mint, on the opposite side of the road. The former, situated near the private audience hall, was at one time taken to be the place where Akbar played at hide and seek with his women. This tradition is macceptable as the building is out of bounds for them. The proximity to the Diwan-i-khas on the one side and to the hospial on the other, the secret coffers within the wainscoting and the extensive vaults underneath now closed to the visitors indicated a better and more public use of it, vtz., for keeping treasures. Akbar was too grave a person to waste his time in idle frivolities. Badauni states that in the year 1575 when the Ibādat-khana was built Akbar was spending many a dawn 'in prayer and meditation with his head bent over his chest.'28 Again he and A. Fazl relate another incident when three years later Akbar in the midst of a qamargāh hunt released all the animals entrapped within an enclosure.29 cut his hair short and showed less liking for meat.30 The mints were reorganized and the treasuries established between these two dates when Akbar might be considered to have continued in his pensive mood. Instead of frivolity, Akbar should be accused of 'melancholy and oppression of heart' and it would be inconsistent with his character to waste money over a building meant merely for an idle game. Also it has no secret corners to hide and hence the game cannot be played there.

According to A. Fazl³¹ the emperor had twelve treasuries for storing money, nine for different cash-payments and three for precious stones, gold and inlaid jewellery, besides nearly one hundred

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^{27.} See 'the Guide' p. 12. 28. Bad. II 203.

^{29.} A.N. III 346-7 Bad. 261.

^{30.} See two of his 'happy sayings' in A.A. III 396. 31. See A.A. I, 14.

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others for the imperial worships. Of course the author counted only those that were situated in the capital; otherwise the treasuries of the smaller towns could be counted in thousands. The daily, monthly, quarterly and yearly accounts were kept of the receipts and disbursements, and the finance department was centralized under the fostering care of the emperor so that no treasury of the other towns could keep more than two lacs of dams or 5000 rupees. Also in accordance with Akbar's orders, a crore of dams³² were kept ready in purses and bags of 1000 dams for distribution in the Durbar-i-am. The emperor, though economical, was prone to charity and his benefactions in the open court before a crowd must have touched the hearts of his people and helped him in keeping a hold on them. The Ankh Michauli has an elongated hall and two siderooms, and the central roof is supported below by carved struts resting on moulded corbels projecting from the walls. The stairs leading to the roof and the underground vaults are closed now.

The other treasury not far from the mint or the Durbar-i-am is a quadrangle 66′ 6″×62′ surrounded by rooms on all sides but those on the west and the north have fallen down. On the east side are four rooms and on the south two, one, 53′×16′ in size and the other 14′×8′ with a few steps leading to a platform 3′ 6″ high. The space between the platform and the floor was hollow and probably meant to be a treasure-chest, on the top of which the treasurer took his seat. As in the Daftar-khana there is a balcony with steps leading to it from where a picturesque landscape lay open to view. In the spandrels of the arches are paterae birds showing the Hindu taste of the masons.

The building has been called the quarters of the darogha of the stable.³³ Considering that Birbal, the master of the stable, had his house near the other stable on the west of Jodh Bai's palace, it may not be expected that Akbar would assign in addition, to a minor darogha, a building bigger than his Khwābgāh or Turki Sultana's house or Mariam-ki-kothi. The only plea of the author for his assumption is its proximity to the mint, identified by him with a stable. Since we have rejected the latter assumption, we are unable to accept the former either.

^{32.} Equivalent to 2½ lacs of rupees, 40 dams being equal to a rupee. 33. See 'the Guide'.

F. The Shifa-Khana

On the north of the Panch mahal impinging on the west wall of the Ankh Michauli lies the hospital. The tradition of its being hospital has been rejected on the ground that it is too close to the Panch mahal, i.e., the zanana quarters and it has been suggested that as it has a spacious courtyard, a double gateway and a guardroom, it must have been used as the servants' quarters or as a parking area for the palanquins or carriages of the lady visitors to the royal harem. We are unable to accept the suggestion. We have again and again found Akbar allotting a larger space to a public building than to a private one.35 The allotment of a large space for the servants or palanquins wil be as inconceivable as providing the doors and windows with coloured ornamental borders, the carving on the soffit of the ceiling or supplying the guard-rooms with artistic pegs. It is possible that this hospital was reserved for the immates of the royal palace36 and for the favoured noble families. This will be in agreement with the tradition as well as meet the objections of the author of the Guide-book.

The area of the hospital is 127'×108' consisting of twelve private wards, each 14'×9' 6" with painted ornamental borders round the doors and windows. The pegs inserted on the sides of the doorways and the recesses represented the busts of horses. In front of the rooms was a verandah 11' wide protecting the patients from the cold north winds of the winter. The ceiling has exquisite panelled carvings and its outside has imitation stone tiling.

G. The Langar-khanas or alms-houses.

At the back of the Nagina masjid are the remains of two houses which together formed the emperor's almonry. Akbar by nature as well as from policy was disposed to be kind to his subjects and in order to win their hearts had introduced several kinds of charity, e.g., grants of musa'adat, inam or loan, khairāt, sayurghal and cash was paid either in one instalment or once a month or a year. He also distributed free food to the beggars and other needy men of the city and had assigned one alms-house for the Muslims called

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^{34.} Ibid.

^{35.} Compare the size of the Khwabgah, the Diwan-i-khas, an individual 36. The women alone counted more than 5000. See A.A. I. 44.

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the Khairpura and the other for the Hindus the Dharampura. When for his religious debates flocked in a large number of religious men especially Hindu yogis or mendicants, eager to expound their yogic secrets to the royal enquirer, provision was made for their comforts by the allotment of a third alms-house called the Yogipura and reserving it especially for their use. 37 Akbar was so interested that he held private interviews with them. All the three almshouses were placed in charge of Abul Fazl and his relations.

H. The Caravanserai.

Like all truly great mediaeval monarchs of the east, ³⁸ Akbar was anxious to develop trade and in order to provide an easy mart for the manufactures of the new capital he encouraged the merchants from all parts of the country and outside it to repair to Fathpur and stay in the state caravanserai. It was a large building with rooms surrounding a quadrangle 271′×245′, with 4 wells at four corners and a magnificent gate 38′ 5″ high in two storeys of design similar to the Badshahi gate of the Jami masjid. The rooms, 19′ 9″×11′ 5″, in size, are spacious, considering that the king's Khwabgah measured only 14′ 3″×14′, with an inside verandah of 8′ 6″. They were of moderate height but the outside walls of the sarai were raised to 25′ and loopholed in order to add dignity to the building and afford better defence to the residents.

The site was well-chosen, for being adjacent to the artificial lake and with the extensive hunting ground on its east and a garden in its vicinity,³⁹ it was situated in ideal surroundings. In order to afford an easy approach to the travellers a road ran by the side of the lake and the garden.

Since the lodgers were mostly merchants hailing from all quarters of the globe laden with cash or rich merchandise, adequate arrangements were made for their protection. The superintendent of the sarai was assigned his office and residence on the high ground overlooking it so that he could observe all that passed in its courtyard and a number of military policemen together with their horses were located just beneath his residence.

The all-vigilant Akbar took recourse to extraordinary devices to provide comfort and at the same time to economize space and

^{37.} See Bad. 334.

^{38.} For example, Sher Shah and Shah Abbas of Persia.
39. See the sketch-map at the end of 'the Guide book'.

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here we have an example of it. The screened viaduct from the Jodh Bai's palace to the Hiran minar meant to enable the royal Isles to reach the beauty spot of the city, led to the roof of the north wing and the whole distance, properly protected from the gaze of its lodgers, was a throughfare for the fair sex. The practical though parsimonius Akbar had no hesitation in making the viaduct run over a sarai where were lodged all kinds of strangers.

I. The waterworks or the Kārkhāna-i-ābrasānī.

To supply water to the large population of the city was a taxing problem to Akbar and he tried to solve it as best as he could. He stored rain water but mainly depended on well water raised with the help of the Persian wheels. Since one set could not supply the vast area he had at least two of them, one situated on the south of the Hiran minar and the other by the inclined road leading to the Hakim's hammam.

Let us describe the former water works, some remains of which may be seen even to-day. The chief well on the south of the Hiran minar, measuring 23' in diameter was protected by an octagonal stone structure 71' in diameter and raised 11' 5" above the present ground level. The water raised was conducted into accepted reservoir and the process was thrice repeated till at last it ran on to the roof of some low cloisters built on the inner side of the Hathipol gateway and finally on to the top of the gateway from where the water was allowed to flow through conduits to the various buildings. There were two sets of channels, one supplying the lower part of the north town and the other feeding Mariam's hammam and even the Anup talao of the Mahal khas. The area further to the south was supplied by a second set of waterworks, eg the Hakim's hammam, the Khwabgah, the Daftarkana and the sardens below were all fed by it and the conduits running beneath the Khwabgah and along the road leading to the Daftar-khana can be traced. The drainage system was satisfactory and the overflow of the first waterworks may be noticed to pass beneath the covered way connecting the girls school with the Turki Sultana's house along the east side of the Pachisi court and then by the D: by the Diwan-i-khas to empty itself into a large tank in the northen slopes of the ridge. The network of the conduits devised for tarrying and the ridge. tarrying water to the different parts of the city depicts Akbar to be expent the topof the topography of the place and especially of the natural slope of the ground of the ground. In spite of all his ingenuities in summer when the

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quantity of water in the wells would decrease, a copious supply would not be possible, so Akbar had ultimately to abandon the city.

This is all that need be said about the administration buildings. From their study one may say (1) that Akbar allotted to public buildings space on a generous scale and that he personally looked to the details of their construction⁴⁰ (2) that in the short space of 5 or 6 years, a city had grown almost out of nothingness and like other mediaeval towns it was provided with not only the centralized machinery of administration but also with means of comfort like the caravanserai, hospital, alms-houses and waterworks, (3) that Akbar economized space and placed the administration buildings within reach of his Khwabgah. Since there were more than one treasury and waterworks it was inevitable that all of them were not within his easy reach.

- (4) While the town was growing, Akbar was perfecting his administration including finance, evolving a new set of religious and philosophic conceptions, waging wars in Gujrat and Bengal and annexing those provinces.
- 5. While as emperor he was solving knotty imperial problems in his Diwan-i-khas, he did not forget to provide comforts to the different strata of his subjects; e.g., for his women he built the Panch mahal, the hammāms, the latticed viaduct and possibly the Hiran minar, for his beggars, the three alms-houses mentioned above, 41 for the merchants the sarai and for the pleasure and enjoyment of the Fathpuris, the lake, the adjoining garden and the waterworks and these must have meant for Akbar ceaseless work. Like Sher Shah he had placed before himself a noble ideal. As he himself says, 'A monarch is preeminent cause of good' and that 'Divine worship in monarch consists in their justice and good administration.' Since he had acted on his ideal, his reign was one of progress and prosperity and today he bears the title of 'the Great.

40. Otherwise the Diwan-i-khas could not have been left incomplete nor the Khwābgāh be so small in size.

^{41.} According to this 'happy sayings' on p. 383, his object was that 'mendicancy should disappear from his dominions' but he regretted that though he supplied the needy persons with provisions, their avarice was not satisfied.

^{42.} At one stage he was prepared to resign if one capable of governing the kindom better than him could be found. See the sayings on p. 387.

Raja Ram Narain and the Post-Plassey Affairs

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By

SAYYAD HASAN ASKARI, Patna College, Patna.

In papers already¹ published it has been shown that Raja Ram Narain, who rose from the humble station of a clerk of Rs. 5 to the coveted and responsible post of the Naib Nizim and de-facto ruler of Bihar, owing to the patronage of Alivardi and his nephew, Haibat Jung, remained faithful to the latter's son, Sirajud-dowla whose enemies naturally kept him in the dark till the successful completion of their conspiracy. The Rajah of Bihar, however, failed to rise equal to the occasion and, despite the exhortation of some2 sturdy chieftains of his province to avenge the blood of their sovereign, he thought it advisable to show an apparent compliance with the Bengal Revolution, hastened to send nazranas congratulations to the new Nawab, and even carried out his express orders to release one of his boon companions, Mirza Ghulam Ali, and to send back to Bengal the brother and family of the author of Seyarul-Mutakherin. But he had very reluctantly recognized Mir Jafar and he showed no such readiness to comply with the Nawab's orders regarding the detention of M. Law and his party at Patna and rendering all possible assistance to Major Coote who had been sent, early in July, in pursuit of the French. Law himself informs³ us of the secret help he received from the Rajah of Bihar. Ram Marain was too strongly and faithfully attached to the family of his late master to place any trust in the overthrower and usurper of their position and he was not yet quite aware of the aims and diplomacy English. He was fully suspicious of the Mir Jafar's kinsmen at Patna, of whom Mir Md. Kazim.4 his elder

^{1.} J.I.H. Dec. 1939; I.H.Q. 1938-39.

^{2.} S. M. Note the wrong rendering of the original version by Raymond.
3. Hilly (77)

^{3.} Hill's 'Three Frenchmen in Bengal', p. 109. 4. Clive and Orme have mispelt their names and even Firminger has Wrongly taken the brother for the son-in-law of Mir Jafar. B.H.R., 1758. Even Dr. Ashirbadilal Srivastava has been unable to correct the mistake. See his "Shujaud-dowla".

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brother, had been paymaster and commander of his troops for some years, and Md. Amin Khan, the brother-in-law of the new Nawab, was capable, ambitious and consequently dangerous. They sent interesting reports to Murshidabad and tried to poison the ears of Coote against Ram Narain. As a result of several⁵ occurrences Major Coote was convinced of the veiled hostility of the Rajah of Bihar, Coote had sent many complaints to Clive and informed the latter of the proposal of Md. Amin Khan "to cut off Ram Narain if I would support him", but he had "declined to interfere till properly authorized." The more pressing necessity had led him to march with all expedition as far as Chapra where he stayed in the saltpetre factory from the 4th of August. He could not proceed further as the 3 harkaras whom he had despatched from Bankipur garden had brought the disquieting information about Raja Balwant Singh of Benares and Fazal Ali Khan, the Nawab of Ghazipur having accommodated Law and his party and gathered their men on the borders of Bihar, for the obvious purpose of opposing the-English. Some unpublished correspondence between the two feudatories of the Nawab of Oudh and Raja Ram Narain, in possession of the present writer, give unmistakable indication of the intimacy existing between them. The difficulty of the route, owing to the 3 rivers that had to be passed and the strong current of river Ganges near Benares, had also to be taken into consideration. Major Coote and his council of war gave due weight to these obstacles and they wisely decided to return to Patna.

On his reurn from Chapra Coote wrote to Clive that Ram Narain should be deprived of 'governorship' and Md. Amin Khan be appointed in his place. He wrote "this is the person⁶ whom I recommend, both on account of being so nearly related to and so firmly attached to the Nabob, and because he is a man of sense, is known here, and is acquainted with the province..... Is upon the spot.... could assist with a party in executing a sudden stroke of this nature such as the present emergency seems to demand without raising Ram Narain's suspicions and so giving him time to prepare and strengthen himself which a man sent from any other place with a force sufficient to effect would occasion. I think the force I have with me sufficient to effect this purpose, should you judge it proper to be undertaken." Before this letter could

^{5.} All this in Orme.

^{6.} Life of Clive by Malcolm.

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reach Clive, the latter, acting on the previous communications from Coote, had addressed a letter containing Mir Jafar's instructions for a combination between Coote, Md. Amin Khan and Mir Md. Kazim to depose Ram Narath. The letter despatched from Murshidabad, on the 1st of August, contained the following decision. "In this morning⁷ received 2 letters of 28th and 29th instants have since had a meeting on the subject of these with the Nabob, the result of which is that I desire that you will, on the receipt of this, return to Patna, and secure yourself in the Company's factory. Give for your reason for your return that the French had gone beyond your reach and into the territories of another Prince. Write to Shujaud-dowla that respect for him has prevented you from pursuing your enemies into his country, and assure him, in general terms, of the friendship of the English, desiring he will give the French up. You are to consult with Mir Md Amin Khan and Mir Md. Kazim what measure to be pursued with regard to Ram Marain who is a Rascal. The resolution here is that if it can be effectively done, he is to be demolished; if not, nothing is to be done till after the rains. The Nabob desires you will acquaint his brother-in-law and Mir Kazim with the contents of the letter, not choosing to trust his sentiments in Persian lest the letter should miscarry."

Coote received the letter on the 12th, and on the following day, consulted Md. Amin Khan about the advisability of attacking Ram Narain in his citadel whose garrison at the time did not exceed 2000 men. But the Khan who had hopes of being joined by 15008 of Ram Narain's troops caused the attack to be deferred. During the short period of about a fortnight, however, the whole aspect of the affair had altered, for different passions had bow begun to operate. Raja Ram Narain, being apprized by his friends and agents at Murshidabad of the orders to wrest the government of Bihar from his hands, had succeeded through these friends in pacifying Mir Jafar and exciting his distrust and suspicion against the ambitious designs of his brother-in-law.9 The Major was directed to suspend all hostilities and leave Ram Narain in the sovernment of his province, if he owed his allegiance. Ram Narain spared no. pared no pains on lavishing civilities and attention on Major Coote.

^{7.} M.C. (Malcolm's Clive).

^{8.} Orme's History of Indostan. 9 Orme; and Broome's Hist. and Progress of Bengal Army.

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The latter waited on him on the 15th, in full Darbar, and on the 21st August, again visited him. "After a good deal¹⁰ of confidential discourse had passed, the Rajah declared that provided his life, honour, and station were secured to him on the faith of the English, as well as the solemn assurance of the Subedar, he was ready to take the oath proposed, and if the Major would say that he could be accountable for the same, he would immediately do it in full Darbar." Mir Jafar's kinsmen knew nothing of these but they were made to attend the open darbar, held on the 22nd, when Ram Narain swore allegiance to Mir Jafar and embraced his kinsmen, each on his part swearing to bear no ill will or attempt in no way to injure the other. "But neither of the rival parties placed any faith on the protestation of the other and all were determined to abide by the present resolution as it suited their several interest."

professions, promises engagements11 and "Deceitfull observes Malcolm "which are adopted at a particular crisis to lul suspicions for the moment can never be defended but in their extreme cases, when, after confidence has been established, the violation of faith by one party enables him to take such advantage of the other as gives the latter no alternative except a counterplot, a submission to fraud and injustice." The aptness of this observation becomes quite clear when we study the relation between Mir Jafar and Ram Narain. "Mir Jafar,12 actuated by resentment towards Ram Narain, and being in dread of his power and machination," remarks Ives "sometimes seemed resolved that he should be treated as a disaffected person to his government. At other time, moved by political caution and timidity, he would contradict the orders which just before he had resolved should vigorously be carried into execution." He had accepted Clive's advice to displace Ram Narain, but the sudden outburst of suspicion and distance full trust of his brother-in-law determined him to placate the Rajah for the moment and effect¹³ his purpose by other means. Probably it was not long after Coote's departure from Patna in September, and due to Mir Jafar's encouragement, that, one day, when Ram Narain was amusing¹⁴ himself in his garden, he found himself threatened by the threatened by the sudden intrusion of his Bukhshi, the elder bro-

^{10.} Crme and Broome.

^{12.} Ives' Voyage and Historical Narrative p. 172.

^{13.} Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 103.

^{14.} Seyar-ul-Mutákherin (S.Mi).

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ther of the Nawab, at the head of a great throng of his followers, and he had to effect his escape to a set of separate apartments in the adjoining garden and then to his residence in the citadel. "Ram the adjoining garden suspicious of the Nawab and his brother Narain (again) became suspicious of the Nawab and his brother and he complained bitterly before his people against them until Mir Sharfuddin, and Gaindamaî, the agent and friend of Jagat Seth, came as envoys from the Nawab to pacify and conciliate the Rajah of Bihar and they became busy with their task." As a matter of fact, Mir Jafar was no match for Ram Narain in intrigues and all his ill-concerted schemes miscarried and were counteracted by the Rajah's artifices, specially because the new Nawab and his fellow conspirators in Bengal grew dissatisfied with one another and Clive's sagacious diplomacy found expression in attempts to back those whom the Nawab was bent upon displacing in favour of his own nominees.

Within a few months of his accession Mir Jafar began to feel serious dissatisfaction¹⁶ with the restraint on his authority and developed a notion of emancipating himself from the ascendency of the English. "But warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, he saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos (Hindus) in whom the English would find the same resources against himself as he with the English had derived from those against Sirajud-dowla.' "The Hindus filled the chief offices in Bengal." Raja Durlabh Ram was looked upon as the head of the Hindu party. He was the first treasurer and paymaster of troops

15. Note the wrong translation by Raymond. "Mir Jafar informed of the miscarriage that might bring disagreeable consequences sent him etc.," and "they spared no pains in persuading the Governor to remain quiet during the troubles at Purneah" are unwarranted, misleading and interpolations. The total land Covindama.

polations. The text has, moreover, Gaindamal, not Govindamal.

16. Orme; Scrafton; M.C. 343-4; M.W.H.I. 56-58. Note the interesting observations of Malcolm and Gleig regarding the "depressed, degraded condition of Mir Jafar, his kindred, his nobles and their followers"; about Mir Jafar being "the first soverign of Bengal before whom the English had not stood as humble suppliants for commercial privileges"; the Nawab discovering that "he had promised a great deal more as the price of his elevation than the exhausted state of the provinces would enable him pliant" to make good"; his "feeling of rancour" against "the wary and him," and far-sighted Hindus "who looked more to the English than to means of self-defence"; and their consequent "creation of divisions amongst whose unions would have been their destruction".

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and had a large body of horse and foot under him. "His brothers and relation occupied the most beneficial employs at Court." He and his family were in close association with Ram Narain, as is apparent from the unpublished 17 correspondence available to the present writer. Durlabh Ram's influence was greatly increas ed "by his being intimately18 associated with Jagat Seth," the representative of the richest banking firm in India. Above all, it was the English protection that made him "formidable to his master." The English who suspected Mr Jafar of being bent upon "checking their power and evading the execution of the treaty" had realised the necessity of "strengthening themselves by forming19 a party in the Court to be a continual check upon him." Col. Clive had "entered into strict engagement20 with Rai Durlabh to protect him" and the latter "promised his power and interest the post gave him to oblige the Subah to his faithful execution of the artitcles of the Treaty." "The close connection21 which appeared between us" says Scrafton "widened the breach between them till mutual distrust and suspicion reached that pitch that each began to strengthen his party." "Rai Durlabh endeavoured to gain the officers of his army to him and the Subah dismissed from his court those who showed too great attachments to a minister he had made22 too powerful." Rai Durlabh was suspected of having fostered the discontent and encouraged the insurrection23 of Ram Ram of Midnapur and Achal Singh, the Diwan of Purneah. Clive refers to "the chain of 3 rebellions (including that of Ram Narain of Bihar) the Chiefs of which held a correspondence²⁴ and were connected together. "Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, also suspected Rai Durlabh of being concerned in the alleged conspiracy of Ram Narain with the widow of Alivardi and the Nawab of Oudh and this was the reason why Siraj's innocent, idiotic brother, Mirza Mahdi, was suddenly cut off" on a surmise²⁵ that Rai Durlabh was intending to make him Nawab. Rai Durlabh was naturally alarm-

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17. Dastur-ul-Insha.
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^{18.} M.C.

^{19.} Scrafton, p. 104.

^{20.} Scrafton, p. 104.

^{22. &}quot; p. 105. p. 105.

^{23.} Orme.

^{24.} M.C.; Orme; Scrafton.

^{25.} Orme, S.M.; M.N., 690. Clive letter quoted by Malcolm 23rd

ed and "on the pretence of sickness he absented himself from the Court and declined accompanying the Nawab in his projected expedition to Purneah and Patna."

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According to scrafton, Mir Jafar had projected a very extensive plan to which he was by no means equal." They included the destruction of Rai Durlabh and his party," the suppression of the Purneah rebels, "getting by force or strategem the Nabob of Patna into his power and giving that province to his brother." "Having made himself thus powerful he finally proposed to awe the English into relinquishing the remainder of the money due to them." Clive had advised the Nawab that "instead of draining the treasury for keeping26 such an immense army on foot, he had better dismiss one half of them and rely on the English who were his natural allies and bound by mutual interests. This was naturally not acceptable. But the condition of the Nawab's troops was far from satisfactory. Only 3000 could be sent with Khadim Husain Khan who was commissioned to crush the Purneah rebels and wrest the government from their hands. Rai Durlabh would not suffer his 10,000 troops to leave the city and the Nawab's forces clamoured for the discharge of their arrear pay. Scrafton, who was Resident at Murshidabad, gives in his letter, dated 3rd and 7th November, to Clive, a vivid picture of "the Nawab's distraction, irritation and alarms at the treachery and rebellion with which he is surrounded." He wrote on the 9th November: "The Nawab pitched his tent in the garden yesterday and had about 200 men under him. Not an officer has joined him yet with any force nor will they till Rai Durlabh marches. I was an hour alone with Rai Durlabh. I see all their schemes and what all these seeds of division will inevitably produce. I conclude with the sentence that if Shujaud-dowla joins Ram Narain, adieu²⁷ to the Nawab and the remainder of the treaty, for he certainly carries Bengal."

Clive had already informed Scrafton on the 6th November²⁸ "I shall march with whole army. I have written to the Nabob and

^{26.} Scrafton 104. Acting on a similar advice, at a subsequent stage, (1768) Shujaudaula disbanded most of his efficient troops and allowed himbistorian "the first step towards the annexation of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Rohilkhand.

^{27.} Scrafton's letter quoted by Malcolm I, p. 332.

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Ram Narain. The march of the army is absolutely necessary as well to support the Nabob against his enemies as to see justice done to ourselves." Mir Jafar also wrote to Clive, then at Calcutta, "desiring him to march with his troops, hoping either to awe him by the parade of his numerous force, or win him by profitable offer to abandon Rai Duriabh." But Scrafton suggests another motive. "Mir Jafar had now begun to apprehend that should he march from his capital, it was possible that Colonel Clive might join with Rai Durlabh and attack his son whom he had left governor in his absence."30 "Clive who saw the Subah's jealousy determined to check him effectively. "Force alone could not effect this for debauchery introduced by the prize money of Plassey and the unwholesomeness of the climate had reduced our army to about 450 European and 1200 sepoys. Policy was,31 therefore, deemed a necessary ally." Before Clive took the field, over-ruling the objection of the Select Committee that "by proceding to Patna the safety of Calcutta might be endangered" by observing that "by refusing the Nabob our assistance we must lose that influence32 with him which seems essentially necessary to obtain his fulfilling the rest of the treaty and by continuing to us our valuable possessions," he "demanded security for the payment of all the arrears then due to the Company" and "secured the revenue33 of 3 districts of Burdwan, Nadia and Hugli." This necessitated the reconciliation of Rai Durlabh through whom, as Diwan, all financial arrangements must pass. This was done on the 23rd November, two days after the Midnapore rebel whom Clive had persuaded to surrender on the promise of the Nawab's pardon and of English protection, was presented by the English troops. As for the second rebellion, Clive claims that "on our approach34 into the Purneah country the rebels of that quarter quitted their entrenchments and dispersed but some of the chiefs were overtaken and made prisoners, so that two of the chief rebellions are effectively quieted." In fact, Khadim Husain Khan" for fear³⁵ of being obliged to share the honour of the success with another, in a victory which he thought could not

^{29.} Scrafton.

^{30.} Scrafton, p. 106.

^{31.} Scrafton, p. 106.

^{32.} Clive's letter quoted by Malcolm.

^{33.} M. C.; Orme. Scrafton, p 107. 34. M.C.

^{35:} S.M.

escape him, had not waited even for Mir Kazim Khan, who had been despatched by Mir Jafar, and expelled Hazir Ali Khan and taken Achal Singh, his diwan, a prisoner and installed himself as the ruler of the country. Mir Kazim, on his arrival, found the country already reduced and returned to Mir Jafar's camp at Rajmahal.

The expedition of Khadim Husain Khan36 having put in the Nawab's power to depart from Rajmahal, he marched on to Azimabad (Patna). Clive had found the Nawab at Rajmahal and was accompanied by Rai Durlabh, "whose political37 sickness had vanished" says Scrafton, "at the approach of our enemy." Two days be fore the army commenced its march for Rajmahal, on the 2nd of January, 1758,38 the English detachment forming the advance, Rai Durlabh with his 10,000 and the artillery of the state, coming next, and the Nawab with his main army amounting to 40,000 bringing up the rear, "each division remaining one march apart from the other." A general conference had been held wherein Clive had represented to the Nawab the necessity of abandoning his designs against Ram Narain lest the Rajah should, on the aproach of the army, "offer any term to Shujaud-dowla³⁹ for his assistance unless prevented by assurances he could rely on." He had added about the possibility of the English army being suddenly recalled to Calcutta to defend it against the French and the Nawab being left to fight with his own resources in Bihar. As in the case of Ram Ram of Midnapore and Rai Durlabh he professed his services as a mediator. The real motive of Clive's offer is apparent from what we get hom Scrafton "It would be a check on the subah to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us.". On the Nawab giving an unwilling consent, Clive immediately wrote to Ram Narain, advising him to of sof of safety and favour. A letter from Clive, sent from Colgunj, 40 on the 12th January, acquainted the Selected Committee at Calcutta that "by a letter received from the Nabob the day before, he had received some intelligence that Ram Narain would not accommodate matter, or trust his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his person in his hands without the following condition his hands without the following condition his person dition, viz., that he shall recall his 2 brothers from Patna, send him

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^{38.} S.M.

^{38.} Orme p. 107.

^{.39.} Orme.

^{40.} Firminger, p. 5.

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3000 horse to assist him in collecting the revenues, allow him to appoint a Foujdar at Shahabad, and that the Nawab himself should return with his army to Muxudabad (Murshidabad)." "As yet the Colonel could not give any credit to that intelligence having but 2 days ago received a letter from Ram Narain expressing his earnest desire to obtain the Nabob's favour through our means." Orme writes in this connection "All advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ram Narain to be taking measures for his defence and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna. But he had not received the letter from Clive. As soon as it reached him, he wrote an answer, without any stipulation or sign of mistrust that he would proceed without delay to wait on Clive or the Nawab." Watts and Scrafton also refer to this letter of Clive to Ram Narain "on the faith of which he came and made his submission." Scrafton adds that the Colonel's reputation for the inviolable observance of his word was such that Ram Narain immediately left the army and came with a few followers to the English Camp." There is, however, a story behind this affair of Clive's assurance and Ram Narain's submission, which we find in the pages of the Patna historian.

"Ram Narain being certain41 about the Nawab's design against himself and having no confidence in Mir Jafar's promises and action or those of his followers, concluded that his own power and dominion, could never subsist upon a solid foundation unless he made an alliance with the English. Accordingly he gained Gaindamal on to his side (i.e. the very man who had orders to persuade him) and he sent him, as his own agent, to the English Camp with a commission to spare nothing that might procure him, duly sealed and signed, a letter according to his heart, from Clive. Ram Narain⁴² himself prepared the draft of such a letter which he made over to Gaindamal. The latter waited on Mir Jafar Khan and informed him that Ram Narain would not come to pay his respect without the mediation of the English, and if a letter signed and sealed by the latter was sent, the matter could be quietly settled, otherwise, God alone knew what might happen." On the Nawab's raising no objection, Gaindamal, applied to the Munshi or the Persian Secretary of the Nawab, and having gained him on to his

important omission in Raymond's 42. Here is an instance of an translation.

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party, he obtained from him such a letter as he wanted and brought party, the Nawab. But as Mir Jafar could neither write nor read fuently, when once duly seasoned with a doze of bhang he was incapable of attending to business, specially after his meals, so the two shrewd ones made a choice of such a moment to present their draft. The old Nawab, excused himself on his having a headache and his not being able to read at present; but he added, however, that he would hear the purport. Such a purport, therefore, was mentioned to him, as differed widely from the real contents of the letter, but however, suited his intention and mind. So after having heard it, he ordered a letter to be drawn up accordingly, and shown to Colonel Clive. The Colonel took a copy of it, signed and sealed the original, and then returned it to the Nawab. It contained "an invitation to come to the English camp, with assurance of his taking it upon himself to have him confirmed in his government, and to see him secured in his life, honour and property, without being called to any account⁴³ whatever, for either the management of the revenue, or any other matter." Gaindmal, furnished with such a piece, took his departure from thence, without returning to the Nawab's camp, hastened triumphantly to Ram Narain's place and conveyed to him the pleasing news. The sight of such a letter could not but quiet the Rajah's mind, and as he had carried his point, and was totally freed from his fear he resolved to wait upon the Nawab." He left Patna by boats44 on the 22nd whilst his escort marched along the bank of the river "and disregarding the advice of Gaindmal he repaired directly to the English Camp" and met Clive on the 25th at Haibat Jung. On the following day, Clive sent Mr. Watts to introduce the Rajah to the Nawab "who received him with a constrained 45 graciousness." The Rajah's precautions, says the author of the Seyar, could not but highly displease the Nawab. However he, for the present, repressed his resentment; and a few

43. The affair had an echo with fatal consequences for the Rajah when he came into a clash with Mir Qasim in 1761.

45. Scrafton, p. 109.

^{44.} Orme; M.N. 105a. The historian Karam Ali writes, When Maharajah Ram Narain felt reassured by the messages sent from Raj Mahal, and learnt that it learnt that they had reached the frontiers of Azimabad, he sought the audience through the mediation of Colonel (Clive) and Gainda Mal, the agent of Jagat Seth Jagat Seth, and met the Nawab at Monghyr. Although the Nawab had set his heart on the Nawab at Monghyr. Although the Nawab had set his heart on deposing him and installing Mir Md. Kazim Khan in his place, yet on account of the Nawab at Monghyr. Although the Ram Narain he yet on deposing him and installing Mir Md. Kazım Marain he was unable to the protection afforded by the English to Ram Narain he was unable to execute his design.

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hours after sent him word to encamp at a spot he pointed out to him; and as the Rajah "was now sure of protection he complied with the command and marched 2 or 3 days after with him until they arrived at Jafar Khan's garden, close to the subah of Azimabad."

Ram Narain had been commanded to follow in the rear, probably to mark his inferiority and submission, but they gave rise to the report that46 the Nawab had placed him out of the reach of succour in order to destroy him. Clive who did not receive either intelligence or letter from Ram Narain for several days had the suspicion and was satisfied of the safety of the Rajah only when he received the latter's letter on the 3rd February. The Nawab arrived at Patna on the 28th, and on the 4th of the next month, the English troops halted at the Garden of Jafar Khan. Early the next morning, Khaja Hadi, a general of Mir Jafar, who commanded 16,000 men made a forced march, passed to the left of the English towards the city, and took possession, of the gate, (Pucchim Darwazah) and had instruction not to admit any one into the city without the Nawab's permission. He was suspected of an attachment to Rai Durlabh and, according to Scrafton, the Nawab had a design of embroiling him in a skirmish with the English force, indifferent as to who had the advantage for he would be rid of both. Clive sent word to the Khaja that the Subah had laid snare to destroy him, and advised him not to oppose him as he was determined to enter the city. Khaja Hadi immediately allowed Clive 'with more pleasure than reluctance' to pass to the English factory and sent word to the Nawab that he presumed that his orders did not extend to his friend, Sabat Jung (Clive). Mir Jafar followed with sullen silence, mortified at his disappointment, and, on the 6th, sent his "inconsistant excuses" to Clive about the forced march of his general. He, however, requested Clive to encamp at Bankipur, 5 miles (west) to the English factory where the Company47 had a garden. Clive had already decided to do so but he grew suspicious of the designs of the Nawab of removing the English troops to such a distance and keeping his whole army between them and the city. "And then ensued" says Scrafton "a scene of plots and conspiracies wherein the several actors displayed the arts of treachery and dissension with all the

^{47.} The site is still known as Company Bagh. Coote had also encamped here in 1757.

refined subtlety of eastern politicians." The same writer adds refined subtlety of the campaign was to break the power of the The Subah's views of the campaign was to break the power of the Minister (Durlabh Ram), make his brother Nabob of Patna, oblige the Rajah of that rebellious province to submit to him, and finally to awe the English into relinquishing the treaty money. Let us now see how the different parties endeavoured to counteract him."

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According to Orme and Broome, 'Promises, intrigues, intimidation and even bribes were alternately employed to draw Clive to an acquiescence to Nawab's designs which continued invariably to deprive Ram Narain of the government of Patna and to confer it on his own brother.' Rai Durlabh, who had always suspected the Nawab, was now convinced that he and Ram Narain were48 tending to the same centre which was the destruction of a master they Rai Durlabh "had won49 the greatest could never trust. part of the Nawab's officers who were more likely to espouse Ram Narain's cause than the Nawab's". These officers, notably Khaja Hadi, and Mir Md. Kazim⁵⁰ (not to be confused with his namesake, the Nawab's brother) "had entered into a written agreement to support each other." They frequently sounded Colonel Clive and endeavoured by every artifice51 and strategem to set him at variance with the Subah, while their party at Court acted the same part with the Subah by continually insinuating to him that the Colonel was won over by Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain and would certainly attempt his life. Whilst the affair was yet unsettled, an affray occurred in the market between some of the English sepoys and Ram Narain's horsemen in which some lives were lost. Colonel Clive had kept his headquarter at the English factory to the westward of Patna, the Nawab's camp was to the eastward, but a vast number of his troops as those of Ram Narain were in the city and all used the same market. A dispute arose which afterwards came to blows. 52 The Colonel permitted his men to go and take their revenue. revenge. One or two of Ram Narain's horsemen were killed.

^{48.} Orme and Scrafton, p. 111.
49. Scrafton, p. 109.

^{50.} We get here the probable motive of his assassination at the instance of Miran. S. M. This Mirza Kazim was a relation of the author of the Seyar.

51. Clive writes about the "envious and the self interested who from the Englsih and induce him to break his promises to Ram Narain".

52. Orme; Scrafton, p. 111

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The alarm spread throughout the city. "The Nawab who had his headquarter on the eastern side of the City immediately suspected that Colonel Clive, Ram Narain, and Rai Durlabh were forming a design to attack him. He put all his troops under arms and so was done by Ram Narain and Rai Durlabh". The excited state of men's minds was such that this trifling dispute might have been attended with more serious consequences. "But as this disorder was entirely accidental so nobody was prepared⁵³ to take any advantage of it." The commander of the horse whose people had begun the skirmish with English sepoys was ordered out of the city and apprehension of the occurrence of such incidents induced Clive to move his troops to an island54 in the Ganges, opposite to his former position at Bankipur, instead of carrying out the latest request of the Nawab to move on to Dinapur, for he himself wished to occupy the Bankipur site. Clive was determined to be on guard against treachery. But Mr. Watts, whom he had sent to the Nawab to discover the meaning of his last request regarding his shifting from the westward to Dinapur, reported that the Nawab did not appear to have entertained at this period the treacherous55 designs imputed to him.

The Court of Murshidabad was full of alrming reports at this stage. Scrafton, the English resident, there, was told that 'Jagat Seth's⁵⁶ last letter from Patna, dated the 7th February, mentioned "that the Nabob's intention to assassinate Ram Narain had been frustrated almost the instant of its execution and that Ram Narain reurned without visiting the Nabob." The report even added that Sunder Singh's 57 forces fell on the Nabob's army at night, and murdered him." This produced great confusion and consternation in the city. Miran began to collect his forces and artillery. Scrafton made a frantic appeal for help from Calcutta and arrangments were devised for sending down to Calcutta⁵⁸ the money in Scrafton's possession and the Company's Navy and Army. For two days all business in the city was stopped. Scrafton, however, subsequently wrote that the "report seemed to have taken rise

56. Firminger, p. 8.

^{53.} Scrafton, p. 111.

^{54.} M.C.; Orme; Firminger.

^{55.} Orme.

^{57.} Though this news was incorrect yet it shows the close connection the Rajah of Tileni of the Rajah of Tikari with that of Patna.

^{58.} Firminger, p. 8.

from some dispute between the Nabob and Ram Narain." Clive's from some dispute between the Nabob and Ram Narain." Clive's letter, dated the 7th February, informed⁵⁹ the Calcutta Committee, letter, dated the 7th February, informed⁵⁹ the Calcutta Committee, letter, dated the 7th February, informed⁵⁹ the Calcutta Committee, letter, dated to the Nabob and treated with great civility," though the Colonel had his suspicion about the Nabob's intending to bestow the province on his brother'. Clive laso referred to the encampment in the island to the north of laso referred to the encampment in the island to the north of laso referred to the encampment all treachery" and to the despatch of the Mr. Watts to the Nabob 'to learn his true sentiments.' Watts had also instructions to "complain seriously about the Nawab's conduct to Ram Narain whom he had kept in the camp instead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary, to his promises at Rajmahal."

The Patna historian furnishes us with interesting informations regarding the way "Ram Narain availed himself of the letter he had obtained at the expense of so much art and so much good luck." "One day Mir Jafar after having 60 amused himself with the songs and dances of the actresses of the city, conferred the govemment of the province on his elder brother and at the same time required Ram Narain to render a full account of the management of the revenue for so many years past. Ram Narain who had attached himself to the English on purpose to parry such stroke did not fail to complain to Clive. The Colonel sent a message to the Nawab to dissuade him from such a design. The message displeased that princes, who in conversing with Colonel's agents and envoy (Watts) grew warm "What does it mean? Shall I leave such a government in the hands of Ram Narain and behold my own brother without employment. What for pray? And for whom?" The Colonel sent word in answer, that it was for such contingencies as these that he, on the Nawab's desiring to be accompanied by the English, in his expedition to Azimabad, had objected to his being of the party and had reminded him that it was improper in him to desire concurrence of the English in what concerned his finances and the government of his dominion, as he might come to observe many actions of his contrary to some parties and to good faith, and that once the English had embarked with him in this regulation they would think his honour as well as their own concerned in preventing wrong measures. "I added," said the Colonel, "that the interference of the English might produce an

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^{.59.} Firminger, p. 9.

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P. 45

alteration and change our union and friendship into disputes and discontent. All this you did not hear and now that you have brought me so far and have made me to write, as mediator and as guarantee, a letter confirming under my hand and seal a number of promises all made by yourself, how can I take a share in offering so much injustice. And how can I be guilty of breaking my word after having solemnly given it." The Nawab, surprised at the style of the message, denied that either the Colonel or himself had even entered into any such agreement. The Colonel, in reply, sent for the Minute written by the Nawab's Secretary which the Colonel had kept as a voucher. The Nawab got it read and paid great attention to its contents. He was surprized at what he heard, and sent for the Secretary and Gaindamal⁶¹ and expostulated with them on this strange affair. The two men who were closely linked together in this business took care to answer in such a manner as to confound the old man totally. They observed that they had brought that Minute to him and offered it to his perusal and that he had ordered it. They added, that it was not strange at all that their contents should have slipped out of his memory in the variety of business and avocations that crowded upon his princely mind. Mir Jafar feeling he was in the wrong found he had no other part to take but that of abiding by the Colonel's pleasure."

It was on the 14th of February that Clive visited him "for the first time since they parted from Rajmahal." "The Nabob" says Orme "imputed the delay of Ram Narain's appointment to Durlabh Ram who had the accounts and management to settle." "It is probable" says the English historian "that Durlabh Ram finding Clive less impressed with resentiment against the Nabob than he wished, thought the delay62 would not fail to exasperate him." Clive sagaciously averted a collision and a crisis. He realised the meaning of a speedy settlement and reconciliation to which the

62. Clive wrote to Rai Durlabh on 17th February "The delay I look on entirely owing to you, during which time I hear many reports. I am much surprised at your not finishing this affair." (B.M.P. III, p. 4-4).

^{61.} Gaindamal or Geramul had to pay the penalty of his tricks for despite Clive's anxiety for 'our reputation', he was dismissed by the Seths from their servcie at the orders of the Nawab. Even Ram Narain had to write to Clive "You have shown us much favour in the affair of Geramul. It was proper he should be turned away. I am the Nabob's slave, and know no reason why he should be displeased with me." (B.M.P. IIIm. p. 518, 522, 526, 530 and 535).

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Nawab was rendered less averse because of the rumour that Nawau shujaud-dowla was about to take the field with a party of Euro-Shujand by Law and a great body of Marhatta horse and by the peans of the arrival of a Marhatta agent of the Peshwa and the Bhonsla to demand the chowth for Bengal amounting to 24 lakhs. It was on the 23rd February, 1758 that a grand darbar was held attended by Clive and most of the English officers. Mir Jafar nominated63 his, son, Najud-dowla, to the government of Patna, with Ram Narain as his deputy. The appointment of Najmuddowla was merely nominal, not derogatory to the authority of Ram Narain, who continued responsible to the Nawab with his former power, and privileges. It was also settled that Ram Narain should pay 7 lakhs to cover "the balance remaining due in the adjustment of accounts of the province." "Clive now signified to the Nawab that he might spare the English 5 out of 7 lacs he was to receive from Ram Narain....the Nawab offered bills on Ram Narain for 2 lacs payable at 5,000 Rs. a month with which Clive was contented." In an unpublished64 letter of Raja Ram Marain for 2 lacs payable at 50,000 Rs. a month, with which Clive to the payment of the two instalments of 50,000, each through Ganga Bishun, from the Dutch factory to Mr. Amyatt for being remitted to Sabit Jang (Clive). As an instance, to quote Watts,65 "that 10 favourable oportunity was let slip, no single occasion lost that would be turned to the Company's advantage," one might mention how "Clive finding the juncture to be favourable" secured the unwilling acquiescence of the Nawab in the grant of exclusive privilege of saltpetre common in Bihar" by which the Company was annually gainer of about 2½ lakh; and something more than 10,000." Clive also enlisted "fine athletic men⁶⁶ from the inhabilants of Bhojpur" and organized the third battalion of sepoys.

Mir Jafar also endeavoured to collect heavy fines or exactions such individual of the province as had taken advantage of the

^{63.} Orme. Mir Jafar had a precedent in Alivardi who had allowed Ram Narain to govern Bihar as the deputy of Sirajud-dowla.

64. D. I. Clive wrote to the Nawab on 17th March, 1758 "Rajah Ram he will pay Rs. 50,000 every month till the whole is discharged" (B.M.P., III, 65, M.B.P., p. 129.

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recent troubles or proved refractory. "The Chiefs of aller the districts were summoned to pay homage and none came empty handed." Sunder Singh of Tikari and Kamgar Khan Mai⁶⁸ of Narhat "who had been fighting for 3 months, and only laid down arms on the approach of the Nawab, "were summoned to attend the Durbar. "Sunder Singh would not come69 until he received 'assurances from Clive of being treated with justice." As for Kamgar "he was most at fault" and "he evaded" according to Orme. But the more reliable contemporary Patna historian says that Kamgar Khan had been attached to Mir Md. Kazim, the elder both of the Nawab, who had invited him to the Court. He responded "to bring to an issue70 some differences which he had with Sunder Singh, but he received nothing but promises from the Nawah." "Sunder Singh", says the same writer, "had all along sided with Ram Narain and he carried his point with a high hand." Sunder Singh "had observed how much stability had accrued to his friend's government by the interference of the English and he made no account of Mir Jafar to whom he seldom paid his court. On the contrary, he very assuduously cultivated Ram Narain's goodwill who now interfered so far in this affair that he got Kamgar Khan to be arrested and confined:" Ormes refers to another powerful Chief, Pahalwan Singh, the Rajah of Chainpur and Bhabhua at the south west extremity of the province amongst the mountains along the Karamnasa river. "He had incurred the displeasure of Ram Narain and likewise refused to appear until he received assurances of security from Clive.

These attentions to the mediation⁷¹ of Clive grated upon the Nawab's mind and he returned to his former antipathies on intelli-

^{67.} Clive received a letter from Sunder Singh on 24th Feb., 1758 saying "I have received 2 or 3 Parwanahs from the Nawab to go to him but I only sent Babu Fateh Singh. Till I have some encouragement from you I will stay here." Ram Narain wrote to Clive on 25th Feb., "the reason why Sunder Singh waits to pay his respects to the Nawab by your means is that he owes a great balance" (B.M.P. III, p. 414-417). The letter in D.I., in the subject of Sunder Singh's default are interesting and revealing.

^{68.} Kamgar was the uncle of Raja Asad-us-Zaman of Birbhoom. We find reference to 'Raja Sunder Singh's victory on Kamgar Khan in Ferminger, p. 7.

^{69.} Orme.

^{70.} S.M.

^{71.} Orme.

gence that neither the Marhattas nor Shujaud-dowla were likely gence that down were likely to prosecute their intended project of invading Bihar. "He reto prosecute to prosecute the plan of the prosecute to prosecute the plan of the prosecute the plan of the prosecute the prosecu ther in his place." But not daring to undertake these measures whilst the English force remained in the province, he endeavoured to induce them to return and promised speedily to follow. Clive was determined not to risk the tranquillity of the province by leaving Raja Ram Narain in danger. Though he sent a considerable portion of his force on 1st April with orders to proceed by easy marches towards Bengal he remained behind himself with a sufficient detachment and warned 73 Durlabh Ram to keep his troops in the province until the Nawab had commenced his return. In the meanwhile, the Nawab had turned his mind towards amusement,74 entertaining the assembly of fakirs and religious men, seeing dances, and hearing songs of actors and actresses, and celebrating the Holi ceremony like the Hindus in the palace of forty pillars, rebuilt by Siraj's father, and also on sandy spots on the river. It was in one such moment of mirth and jocularity that the author of the Seyar and his brother supplicated successfully through Ram Narain for the release of their paternal⁷⁵ estates in Monghyr and Palmoon districts. He then proceeded on 19th march to Bihar, visited the mausoleum of the celebrated saint, Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, and enjoyed his belly full of Kabab. He was resolved on outstaying the English,76 but his hopes that in the interval the English troops would have been far advanced on the way, followed by the Colonel, enabling him to return to Patna, and effecting the removal of Ram Narain, was frustrated. "A momentary77 instance of general satisfaction occurred on the 14th April, 1758, by the arrival of Patents and Sanads from Delhi. Next day Ram Narain Proceeded to Bihar seeing that Clive still remained at Patna. The Nawab instead of retiring as he had intended from Bihar to Patna, proceeded from thence to Barh, on the Ganges, 35 miles below Patna. Clive³⁸ left the city on the 27th and on the 30th he,

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^{72.} Orme: Scrafton, p. 112. 73. Orme: Scrafton.

^{74.} S.M.; M. N. Karam Ali refers to a dancing beauty of Azimabad hamed Farzana for whom Mir Jafar became specially infatuated and whom he took into 1. he took into his service. M.N. 65b.

^{76.} Orme.

^{77.} 78.

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with Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain, met the Nawab. The latter now gave up his original intention and publicly expressed his perfect satisfaction in Ram Narain's integrity and fidelity and formally dismissed him to his government. He ordered a part of his army to proceed to Murshidabad and kept the rest to amuse himself with hunting along the hills. Clive was permitted to be accompanied by Rai Durlabh to make arrangements for the payment of the arrears due to the Company.

Ormes has justifiably gone into raptures on the 79 success of "this political campaign in which an army of 50,000 had marched 300 miles out of their own province and continued four months on the field without firing a musket but produced the full accomplishment of all that Clive intended." Clive is said to have maintained his desires on all interests by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality or the profits of advantage." Mir Jafar "was disappointed in all his views" and "had the mortification to see80 all his projects vanish" whilst the Colonel not only got certain important districts mortgaged to the Company for the remainder of the treaty but obtained also the farm of the saltpetre in Bihar, the consequences of such as acquisition being so well-known to the English. No less important was the closer connection established with, and the steady adherence gained of, those whose interests he had espoused, and who were of signal service to him and his countrymen. He had realised his aim which was, to quote Scrafton, "to reduce the Nabob's power to proper limits which nothing could more effectually restrain than supporting Ram Narain in the Nabobship of Patna and Rai Durlabh Ram in the ministry." The Rajah of Patna who had been described by him as a "rascal" and whose removal had been openly suggested by him to the Nawab appears to have somehow satisfied Clive through Durlabh Ram that he had no treasonable intention with the result that he received the certificates of "being a person⁸¹ of moderate and peaceable disposition," "a gentoo universally beloved and respected," "an honest

^{79.} A letter of Clive, dated February 18, 1758 says "for ourselves we been so factoring the most have been so fortunate in these transactions as to attach to us the most considerable powers in the transactions as to attach to us the most considerable powers in the second c considerable persons in the kingdom, and by the constancy by which we supported Pow Power and Power Power and Power Powe supported Ram Ram, Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain to acquire the general confidence and make our friendship be solicited on all sides".

^{80.} Scrafton, p. 112.

^{81.} Letters of Clive quoted by Malcolm

man (though) not a great sepoy." The real reason for the change is to be found in what Clive wrote to his friend, Mr. Pigot: "Ram is entirely in our interest.' No wonder that the contemporary historian of Bengal, and Bihar wrote "let it not be concealed." that the primary cause of the predominance and domination of the English and the sluggishness of the authorities was the accompanying of Clive (with Mir Jafar), with a force, and his interviewing Maharaja Ram Narain."

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^{82.} Muzaffer Nama by Karam Ali.

Some Old Guns in the Indore Museum

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By

D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., Curator, Museum, Indore.

There are thirty-four old guns in the Indore Museum. They are of different sizes and types. Nineteen of them are inscribed either in Persian or Devanagari characters. Seven guns are of almost the same type and size-4 feet 8 inches in length and 11/2 inch by the diametre of the muzzle—with the effigy of a tiger. They bear Persian inscriptions. Two of these seven guns bear the date 938 Hizri (1531 A.D.) and the name of Sher Shah, the Pathan Sultan, who had seized the throne of Delhi from the Moghal Emperor Humayun. Four guns bear the name of Raja Mansingh, the well known ruler of Jaipur and general of Akbar. They are all dated in the second Ilahi year introduced by Akbar and 12, 14, 17 and 17 of the month Farvardin respectively (1556 A.D.). The seventh gun bears the name of Itikadkhan¹ bin Asaf but no date. Itikad Khan was a high officer in the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, which shows that the gun was made in the reign of one of the two Emperors.

How and when these seven guns which must have been the property of the Moghal Emperor of Delhi, were brought to Indore is an interesting question which requires some discussion. It is well known that Malharrao Holkar, the founder of the illustrious Holkar family of Indore was a great maratha general. He must

I. The title of Itikad Khan was successively held by several members of the family of I'tmad-ud-Daulah, father of Nurjahan and Wazir in Jahangir's reign. For some time his second son, Abul Hasan, better known in history as Asaf Khan, was styled as Itikad Khan and then the title passed on to his third son, the younger brother of Asaf Khan. In Shahjahan's reign, Mirza Bahman Yan, son of Asaf Khan and grandson of I'tmad-ud-Daulah, got the title of Itikad Khan and was raised to the rank of 4000 in 1651 A.D. He continued to enjoy royal favour in Aurangzeb's time also and was promoted to the rank of 5000 in 1662. I express my sincere thanks to Dr. Surendranath Sen M.A. Ph.D., for giving me this information.

have seized these guns some time during the maratha operations at Delhi and brought them to Indore, which he had begun develop as his capital from about 1740 A.D. In the develop as his capital from about 1740 A.D. In the Marathas were supreme at the Delhi court and Malharrao Holkar was the most powerful man of the time. Copies of some of his letters written to Ahilyabai from Delhi and dated in this year have been found and have been published by Sardar M. V. Kibe in the Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission held in Patna. In practically every letter of his he instructs his daughter—in—law to make proper provision for guns, muskets etc. In one letter he advises her to get one hundred muskets manufactured.² In another letter dated Delhi the 10th February, 1765 Malharrao speaks of having despatched four big guns and asks Ahilyabai to keep them in the city.³

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sed in's id-000 ilso nks It is just possible that the four big guns referred to in this letter may be the four guns in the present collection on which the name of Raja Mansingh is incised.

Two more guns in the Museum bear inscriptions in Roman characters. One of them measuring 6 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 3 inches by the diametre of the muzzle bears the inscription ANNO 1653 LAMBERT Bargeringk Me Fecit Dunkerck. The other gun measuring 3 feet 5 inches in length and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by the diametre of the muzzle bears the inscription 1673 BATAVIA and a cross. The words Maharaja Prasanna were incised on the gun in Devanagari characters at some later date.

How and when these two guns which were evidently manufactured by European gunmakers were brought to Indore is also an interesting question. These guns seem to have been brought to Indore also by Malharrao Holkar. It is known that he was one of the prominent generals in the famous Maratha campaign against the Portuguese in 1739 A.D. It is recorded in a Marathi historical document that when the Marathas captured the Dhārāvī fort, near Bassein, on 6 March, 1739 eight complete, and one broken, guns

^{2.} जंडरेही शंसरपानेतो कारखाना लावून तयार करवावे अम्ही येथन तोफा थीर चार पात्रिला आहेतला शहरान्तठेवणे

and some other pieces of artillery were found in the fort. One of these guns is said to have been preserved in the Silekhānā of H. H. Maharaja of Dewas (Senior). It must have been brought to Dewas by Tukoji Pawar, who was also one of the prominent Maratha generals in the Bassein campaign and who must have received it as his share of the booty. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the two guns above referred to went as the share of Malharrao Holkar and were subsequently brought by him to Indore.

The nine guns form thus important war trophies of Malharrao Holkar.

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4. Selection from the Peshwa Daftar 16.141.

A Supplementary Note on Vatsaraja Pratihara

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By

Dasharatha Sharma, Bikaner, Rajaputana,

While discussing the location of the original kingdom of Vatsarāja Pratihāra in my paper. "The Imperial Pratihāras-a revised study," published in the last volume of this Journal, I cited the following verse from the Harivamsapurāṇa of Jinasena:—

Sākeṣvabdaśateṣu saptasu pañchottareṣūttarām
pat Indrāyudhanamni Kṛṣṇanṛapaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣṇām |
pūrvām śrīmad Avantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje parām
Saurāṇamadhimaṇḍale jayayute vīre Varāhevati II Varāhevati |

Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the verse, According to Fleet, the verse means that in 705 Saka-samvat (783-784 A.D.), when the book was finished, there "were reigning-in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamanapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhawan in the Jhālāvād division of Kathiāwār—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Yatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjáin); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."

Drs Sten Konow and G. H. Ojha, on the other hand, regard Vatsaraja, not as the ruler of Avanti, but of the western quarter and interpret the last portion of the verse as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsaraja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varaha."2 I have, in the paper referred to above, supported the second position and given, I believe, some fairly conclusive arguments. ments to prove that Vatsarāja ruled at Jālor in Gurjaratrā. These reasons reasons need not be repeated here; we shall, however, put before

^{1.} Indian Antiquary, VI, pp. 195-196.
2. This is Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's translation of the verse in the block. Br. A.S., XXI, p. 421, footnote 4.

our readers a new piece of evidence. As Gurjaratrā lies not to the west but a little to the east of Wadhawān, the place where the Harivamśapurāṇa, was composed, some scholars seem to have thought it a bit unlikely that Vatsarāja the ruler of Gurjaratrā, should be named as a western monarch. But that there is nothing unusual about the reference might be seen from the following quotation from Hemachandra's commentary on his own Abhidhāna-chintāmani, a lexicographical work of great historical value:—

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"atra Prāgjyotiṣa-Mālava-Chedi-Vaṅg Āṅga-Magadhāṇ prāchyāḥ, *Māravaḥ Sālvāścha pratichyāḥ*; Jālndhara-Tāyika-Kaśmīr-Valhika--Vāhīka--Turuṣka- Kārūṣa-Lampāka-Sauvīra-Pratyagrathā udīchyāḥ, Ondrāḥ Kuntalāścha apāchyāḥ."³

It is only according to this conventional indication of directions, given by a writer who flourished not far away from Jinasena's place and for whom the main quarters should naturally have been the same as to the earlier author, that we can justify the description in the verse quoted above. Indrāyudha being a ruler of Pratyagratha could be put in the north; Vatsarāja, as a ruler of Maru, in the west; Ṣrīvallabha, the ruler of Kuntala, in the south; and the ruler of Avanti in the east, ever though their positions with reference to Wadhawān might have been different. The above quotation might, thus, be regarded as another important ground for supporting the views of Drs Konow and Ojha and assigning the rule of Vatsarāja Pratihāra to Gurjaratrā, the land which gave them the name Gurjara in the travels of Arab Geographers as well as the inscriptions of the Rāstrakūtas and other contemporary powers.

^{3.} IV, 27, p. 383-384 of the edition by Pandits Hargovindas and Bechardas (Yashovijaya Granthamālā, 41).

Editorial

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OBITUARY

We note with very great regret the passing away last month . of MM. Dr. R. Shama Sastrigal in Mysore, at the age of 76. The late Shama Sastri was in the Mysore Education Service from which he retired some years ago after a long period of varied activities in the department. He was in the regular service of the department and subsequently occupied important positions such as that of the Curator of the Manuscripts Library, Director of Archaeology and for some time acted as Professor of History. The discovery of a single manuscript of the Artha Sastra of Kautilya and its publication in the Mysore Government Oriental Series brought him deservedly into fame, and thereafter his work was along lines of research work in Ancient Indian History and Vedic Jyotisha. He was selected amongst a handful of scholars on whom the Calcutta University conferred the Doctorate Degrees on the occasion of the visit of Prince Edward of Wales to the University in 1921. He had since been engaged in vedic astronomical research and has published several papers on the subject. He looked hale and hearty when last we met him in Mysore and could have lived on longer. His early death is a loss to the ancient Sanskrit scholarship.

Sir Aurel Stein, Ph.D., D.Sc., D.P.L., F.B.A., K.C.I.E., Correspondent de l'institute de France etc., was born at Budapest in November 1862, and studied Oriental languages and antiquities in the Universities of Vienna and Tubingen, and in England. He became the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore and subsequently the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassah. He conducted antiquarian researches in Kashmir and the Afghan frontier, and made explorations in Chinese Turkestan, in Central Asia and in Western China, for which he was awarded the Royal Geogrphical Society's Gold Medal in 1909. In 1910 his services were transferred from the Education to the Archæological Department. He then undertook successive expeditions of search, and geographical and etc.

the old trade-routes in use from the 2nd century A.D.

Archæological Tour in Gedrosia.

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PUBLICATIONS

Critical edition of Kalhana's Rajatarangini (1892) Bombay Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir (3 vols.) (Eng. tr. 1900), Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan (1903), Ancient Khotan (2 vols.) (1907), Ruins of Desert Cathay (2 vols.) (1912), Serindia (5 vols.) (1921), The Thousand Buddhas. Innermost Asia (1928), On Alexander's Track to the Indus (1929).

(Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India)

No. 37—An Archæological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan.

No. 42—An Archæological Tour in Upper Surat and Adjacent Hill Tracts.

No. 43—An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia.

The Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi—contains antiquities recovered by Stein during his explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran. He was engaged in a revision of his translation of Kalhana's Rajātarangini for the Kashmir Government, when he died.

THE VIKRAMADITYA BIMILLENNIUM

The year 1944 marks the year 2000 of the Vikrama era in familiar use in India, almost all the length of the Christian era. Notwithstanding this long and familiar use of the era as well as the name, the information we possess as to who the hero was and what the historical cause that gave rise to this era are far from certain, namely, the event and achievement it is intended to celebrate. Though our knowledge is hardly precise and definite there is still left enough to justify the memory and make rejection impossible. Vikramaditya is spoken of in the vast body of our literature, and he is generally described as far-famed for his liberality and patronage of culture. He is described as a hero not merely capable of human achievement but even superhuman. Casting aside all that looks legendary there remains the substantial fact that he lived and did something of benefit which left a deep impression upon the people to remember the name with gratitude even now. The only fact that modern research has been able to make clear is that he was a prince who flourished in the region of Rajputana and Malwa, and fought against a vast body of barbarians invading the country and subverting everything before

He is said to have been dispossessed of his kingdom and his father killed in its defence. Being a mere dispossessed prince, his famer and joined with him the surrounding people still in tribal organisation and inflicted defeat upon the invaders. The date of the event, according to the Jain accounts is 466 years after the death of Vardhamana. According to the tradition, it marks the date that tradition has consistently maintained as in the middle of the 1st century B. C. or more precisely B. C. 57, as the beginning of the era. association of the tribes with him is remembered in the fact that the era of 57 B.C. is said to mark the starting point of the era of the Malava tribes for marking time. The fact, therefore, of an achievement of destroying the invading hordes headed by the Sakas is borne out in Vikramaditya being described as a Sakari. The enmity of the Sakas continued till Vikramaditya himself was overthrown by the Sakas, and the victory of the Sakas was marked by the foundation of another era which goes in the name of the Saka Kings.

In the year 2000 of that era we are today in the unfortunate condition, notwithstanding a vast amount of work done, of not being able to say precisely what event marks the era and what the actual character of the achievement of the hero who gave his name, or of the particular tribes who associated themselves with it.

The occasion seems suitable for a systematic revised publication of all the critical work connected with the name Vikramaditya, and all the literature bearing upon it, fable, legend and history. These may be collected, sifted and the facts garnered with a view to consolidating such historical knowledge as we may gather of him and his achievements in this direction. Would it be too much to expect that an all-India effort be made and a Vikramaditya Commemoration volume brought out? It must be an all-India work and must be quite worthy of the hero and the occasion.

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

An appeal has been issued by an influential body of gentlemen to institute a memorial to the late MM. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. This had sprung from the suggestion made at a meeting presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Professor's important directions in the advancement of Sanskrit studies. He ment Oriental Library. He was mainly responsible for the satrting

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and working of the Sanskrit Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research. He took an important part in the revision of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogarum of Sanskrit works in addition to his having been intimately associated with the university in the Sanskrit department all through.

Contributions are called for in an appeal issued for the purpose which we hope will receive gratifying reception at the hands of the public.

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress proved to be a successful gathering and adopted certain important resolutions on the scheme of Indian History which had been under consideration. The general scheme has been adopted and arrangements are afoot to give effect to the resolutions set hereunder, upon the most important items of business done.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Annual Report-1943.

The Indian History Congress has completed 8 years of its existence. During this period it has held six sessions and made steady progress in the achievement of its main objects viz., to promote research in Indian history on scientific lines, to coordinate the work of scholars and to prepare a scientific and comprehensive history of India. The increasing number of its members and the growing volume of its transactions which contain learned papers by eminent historians testify to its growing popularity.

The Congress has endeavoured to stimulate historical research both by providing a forum for unbiassed discussion and by encouraging the scholars of different shades of opinion and belonging to different areas to come together and deliberate on the main problems of history. It has laso striven to facilitate research by drawing the attention of the Government of India Provincial Governments and Indian States to the need of opening their archives to bonafide research students and of establishing well-equipped Record Offices. The response of the various authorities has been encouraging and it is a matter of gratification that the Government of India have made their records till the year 1880 available to research students, and some more Provincial Governments have framed rules for the examination of their records. Much records. Much remains still to be done in this direction. The records of the Imperial Record Department of a date later than 1880 should be thrown open to inspection. open to inspection and the earlier records should be published as early as possible. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar pool and Bihar need regular Record Departments which should bring their scattered records scattered records at one central place. Many Indian States whose old records will throw a flood of 1. I have a flo will throw a flood of light on medieval and modern history, have not yet organised regular Peace I am for the organised regular Record Offices and have not yet opened them for the use of research scholars. use of research scholars. Efforts in this direction will have to be continuously made. Another metter made. Another matter which requires attention is the publication of earlier records and the preparation of the preparation of the publication of earlier records and the preparation is the publication of the preparation of records and the preparation and publication of the catalogues of records in

the various Record offices. The beginning made by the Imperial Record Department in this direction is commendable.

The Congress has also urged the need of securing photo or typed copies of the records relating to India in foreign countries. It has emphasised the desirability of establishing a central national copyright library and of amending the copyright Act so as to make it obligatory for every publisher to deposit one copy of every book published in the Library. No action has so far been taken in this direction, but unceasing efforts must continue. till we succeed in establishing a central institution of the type of the British museum or the Bibliotheque Nationale.

In this connection it is necessary to draw attention to two matters (1) the search for manuscripts, and (2) the cataloguing and description of works of art, including paintings. It is true that there are Societies which are interested in the search of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages. But their efforts lack thoroughness. Some note is made of manuscripts that are discovered, but little effort has been made to collect them or to obtain copies of them. In many parts of India there is no agency for the collection and recording of manuscripts and much valuable material is being lost. It is essential that a thoroughgoing search for all such material should be undertaken and micro-films of manuscripts should be made and kept in a central library.

(2) Numerous works of art lie scattered all over India, and like architectural monuments and sculpture they are of great value for the history of Indian Culture. But no attempt has been made so far, to make a record of them. It is high time that an inventory of such material should be started and accurate descriptive records with photographs should be prepared.

In this connection the Congress may consider the desirability of approaching Governments and States, and requesting them to legislate if necessary to prevent the transfer of works of art which are a national heritage to countries outside India.

The realisation of the third object, the preparation and publication of a comprehensive History of India has been the constant preoccupation of the Congress. The exploratory preliminaries resulted in the preparation of a draft syllabus in 1941 which was based on the suggestions received from various members. At the last session a definite step forward was taken by appointing three Editorial Committees for the three periods of our history and a coordinating committee to coordinate the work of different authors in selecting authors and have completed the task. The Editorial Committees article on much of their work by correspondence. Some members of the draft syllabus and drew up a tentative list of the writers of the various bets for their approval, and final decisions were taken at a meeting held at 7

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in October 1942 and reconstructed the scheme of chapters and drew up a list of writers. It was circulated to the other members and their appropriate to the members and the members are the members and the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members are the members and the members are the members are the members and the members are the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members and the members are the members are the members and the members are the members are the members and the members are the members are the members are the members and the members are the was secured. Again in May 1943 a majority of the members of this Con. mittee met in Delhi and revised the earlier syllabus and list of writer with the syllabus and list of writer thouse And now the lists of contributors have been finally settled. The same ditions procedure has been followed in the case of the Ancient Period, so the mange for now the whole scheme has been finally put in shape. On the basis of the approved lists, the consent of a number of writers has been secured. It is mre ann a matter of gratification to note that with very few exceptions the scholar approached have offered their ready co-operation to our project of the History of India and have agreed to write. Judging from the willing ive been response of the Indian scholars, it is hoped that the History of India will soon be a reality, and will be a worthy moment of Indian historical scholarship.

The Hyderabad Congress also appointed an Executive Board to arrange for the publication of the History and to secure necessary funds for the purpose. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had kindly consented to be its chairman. Its members, include prominent public men, Vice chancellors of the Universities and Dewans of the Indian States besides the members of the Coordinating Committee. The Board has approached the Government of India, Provincial Governments, prominent Indian States, the Universities and a number of industrialists for contributions. Their response is highly encouraging. The Allahabad University has given a donation d Rs. 5,000 and the Patna University of Rs. 2,500. The Delhi University has promised a donation and it may be expected that other contributions will soon follow from the Governments, Princes, Industrialists and the Universities. Now that the volumes and chapters of the history have been finally planned and the list of writers finally adopted, the task of collecting necessary funds will be greatly facilitated and I hope that within the next year we shall be able to collect the necessary funds to proceed with the work of printing and publication. An appeal for a sum of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 lad has been issued and in the course of the next year deputations will go spears to round to collect the funds.

In this connection it is necessary to make mention of the efforts made to coordinate the various projects of the History of India and to secure unity of action. At the last session it was the general wish of the members of the Congress that efforts should be made to secure coordination with the Bhanatian and with the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad. Unfortunately political conditions made it impossible to make the made to secure tools with the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad. it impossible to make much progress in this direction. Rao Bahadur K N. Dikshit discussed the Dikshit discussed the matter with members of the Parishad in August 1911 but, owing to the but, owing to the absence of the Rector and the Secretary, it was not possible to come to possible to come to any decision. Our efforts with reference to the other scheme have proved for the control of the other scheme have proved for the control of the control scheme have proved fruitful. Mr. K. M. Munshi who sponsored a scheme of a History of Indian of a History of India has agreed to co-operate with the Indian History Congress in bringing out a comprehensive history of India. We are grateful to him for his congressions. to him for his co-operation and for his ready response to our appeal of unity in the noble course of the n unity in the noble cause of promotion of knowledge.

I have also to report that the Indian History Congress has now become a body registered under Act XXI of 1860.

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SESSION

The Indian History Congress was invited by the Muslim University to this Come The Indian Indian at Aligarh in 1942, but owing to the disturbed political of writers in the country, and the inability of the University the session in 1942, no meeting could be belt in for the session in 1942, no meeting could be held last year. Thus were compelled to have a break of one year, but we hope that in The same annual sessions will be held.

The transactions of the Hyderabad session including the proceedings been published and are laid on the table.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS

There have also been some changes in the list of Sectional Presidents. Using to the sad and untimely death of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in Imay 1943, a vacancy occurred in Section I. As the arrangements for exsion proceeded, Mahamahopdhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, expressed inability to preside over Section II owing to the pressure of his official is as Principal of the Morris College. In the month of November we me informed by Dr. Qanungo, the President of Section IV, and by Rao bladur G. S. Sardesai, President of Section V that owing to their serious they would not attend the session and preside over their respective ations. Thus in the course of the year four Sectional Presidentships out five fell vacant. The Executive Committee has filled these vacancies by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, Principal Sri Ram and Dr. K. K. Datta to preside over the respective sections. I am to these gentlemen for their co-operation and response to our

The number of new members enrolled during the year is the number of members who have renewed their membership. The membership still wars to be sessionwise, for generally members renew their membership by if they are likely to attend the Congress session. May I hope that the they are will maintain their association with the Congress continuously even they are unable to attend the session, by renewing their membership every and paying their annual subscription.

As in the past, this year also the Indian Universities, the Government of some Provincial governments and Indian States and many learned statutions have nominated their representatives to attend the session. The nave nominated their representatives to attend the send its representatives to our Country of Poland has also been gracious enough to send its representatives to our Country of Poland has also been gracious enough to send its representatives to our Country of the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to attend the send its representatives to our country of the send its representatives to our country of the send its representatives to our country of the send its representative to our country of the send its represe tres to our Congress.

l am thankful to the authorities concerned for the co-operation.

We are grateful to the Aligarh Muslim University and Dr. Sir Ziauddin the Vice of the elaborate the vice-Chancellor, for then the vice-Chancellor, for the vice-Chancel

Thave to express my sense of gratitude to Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasathe President and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President-elect, for Unifailing and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President Shaikh wifailing support and willing co-operation. I have to thank Shakh

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Abdur Rashid, the Local Secretary for his zealous and untiring efforts for the success of this sixth session.

The income during the years 1942 and 1943 has been Rs. 2406-10-3 and expenditure Rs. 1267-15-9.

(Sd.) TARACHAND.

General Secretary.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION.

The annual business meeting of the Indian Hisory Congress Association was held on Monday, the 27th December 1943, at 3 P.M. in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh Muslim University. In the unavoidable absence of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the Vice-President, presided. The following business was transacted:

- 1. After the minutes of the last meeting were confirmed, the condolence resolution expressing sense of grief on the death of the following scholars was moved from the Chair: Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Mr. D. V. Apte, Mr. Y. M. Kale, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai, Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda, Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sir Aural Stein, and Sir Denison Ross.
- 2. The General Secretary then read the annual report on the work done, which was adopted by the house.
- 3. The Treasurer presented the accounts of income and expenditure during the years 1942 and 1943 which were recorded. The budget estimates of the year 1944 were then presented by the Treasurer which was approved.
- 4. The General Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. Tara Chand, Shaikh Abdur Rashid and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, to consider the Rules of Business and report at the next meeting of the Association.
- 5. On the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Association adopted the following ammendents to the Constitution:
- (i) In section 9, substitute 'fourteen' for 'ten' before 'other' members', and make corresponding change elsewhere.
 - (ii) In section 9, add "office bearers" after the word "following".
 - (iii) In section 12, substitute (b) for (a).
- (iv) In section 14, add (1) The President for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge."

The sections as amended will now read

"9. There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following office bearers (a) a President, (b) two Vice-Presidents, (c) a General Secretary (d) a Joint Secretary, (e) a Treasurer, (f) a Local Secretary and fourteen other members.

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12. (i) The office-bearers (b) to (e) and the Sectional Presidents be elected at the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the gasion, of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till be election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.

14. The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall normally be the convener of the Executive Committee. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observation of all rules, regulations and bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote.

The president for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge."

6. The General Secretary then reported that the three Editorial Committees appointed at the Hyderabad session had drawn up a final scheme of volumes and chapters of the projected comprehensive History of India, and have allotted chapters to writers. The scheme as drawn up by the Editorial Committees has met with the approval of the Coordinating Committee. It was further pointed out that most of the scholars selected chapters relating to the volumes dealing with Medieval and Modern periods have expressed their willingness to co-operate, and have also commenced

The General Secretary next read out the names of the members of the Executive Board and reported that active measures were being taken for the collection of funds. The Universities of Allahabad and Patna have promised donations of Rs. 5.000 and Rs. 2,500 respectively, and the Government of India was likely to make a substantial grant.

Names of the members of the Executive Board:

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., LLD.

The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, P.C., LL.D., B.C.L.,

Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt. Dr. Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, Kt., D. Litt.

Sir Mirza Ismail, K.C.S.I., Prime Minister, Jaipur State. Pradhan Shiromani N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E., Dewan of Mysore.

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, M.A., Secretary to H.E.H. The Nizam's Government.

Sir Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law, Chief Justice, Bahawalpur. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt., F.B.A., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, D.Sc., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh

Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, D.Litt, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, Prof. Amandanand Sinha, D.Litt, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, Prof. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, Calcutta.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D., Madras. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta.

Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc., Head of the History Department Allahabad University.

Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., Keeper of Imperial Records, Delhi.

Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of History Dept. Annamalai University.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Head of History Dept. Osmania University Hyderabad.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D. Litt,, Allahabad University.

Dr. Tara Chand, D. Phill., Principal, K. P. University College, Allahabad Secretary.

7. The names of the office bearers, President and Sectional Presidents for the next session, as elected by the Executive Committee were reported

President.-Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi.

Sectional Presidents.—Mr. M. S. Vats, Sec. I upto 711. MM. V. V. Mirashi, Sec. II 711 to 126, Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi, Sec. III 1206 to 1526. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Sec. IV 1526 to 1764. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad. V. Modern History.

Office bearers of 1944.—President: Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

Vice-Presidents.—(1) Dr. R. C. Majumdar. (2) Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.

General Secretary.-Dr. Tara Chand.

. Joint Secretary.—Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Treasurer.—Dr. Banarsi Prasad.

8. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee:

Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh University.

Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Madras University.

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Benares Hindu University.

Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona.

Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Osmania University.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Srinagar (Kashmir).

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore University.

Dr. S. K. Banerji, Lucknow University.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay University Librarian.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta.

Dr. I. H. Qurashi, Delhi.

Dr. N. D. Chatterji, Lucknow University.

- 9. The following resolutions were adopted by the Association.
- (1) Books presented by the authors or publishers to the Indian History Congress during the year may be exhibited at the ensuing session of the Congress.
- (2) That Indian States be requested by the Executive Committee to throw open their record offices to bonafide research students and afford facilities to them to do their work.

- 10. The Association thankfully accepted the invitation extended by the University of Madras to hold the next session at Madras in 1944. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Professor of Indian History, Madras University personally conveyed the invitation of the Madras University.
- 11. The Association then conveyed its thanks to the Universities of Allahabad and Paina for their donations towards the project of the comprehensive history of India.
- 12. Dr. S. N. Sen proposed the vote of thanks to Lt. Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the University as well as to the office bearers and members of the Reception Committee for the splendid arrangements they had made for the meetings of the Congress and the comforts of the members attending the session. He also thanked the volunteers who by their untiring zeal and devotion had largely contributed to the success of the session. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Prof. Puntambekar, Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Prof, Potdar, Dr. I. H. Qureshi and Mr. B. N. Puri associated themselves with the proposal which was adopted with acclamations. Dr. Majumdar, the chairman, then surveyed the work which had been done by the Aligarh session and expressed his thanks to the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary Shaikh Abdur Rashid.

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P. V. KANE FESTSSHRIFT, Edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, Oriental Book Agency, Poona 2.

This is a collection of 75 papers contributed by scholars in honour of Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane who had attained to his 61st birthday in May 1941. Mr. Kane who is now an advocate of the Bombay High Court and practising his profession successfully, started life as a schoolmaster after a distinguished educational career. After a few years of work as a teacher, lecturer and even acting professor he had to change and go into the life of a practising lawyer. He has stuck on to the profession to which he was driven almost by necessity as it were. Nevertheless, the scholar in him had not been extinguished. He continued his interest in Sanskrit studies and has a considerable volume of work to his credit in the way of edition and publication of valuable works, and standard works on the Dharma Sastra on Sanskrit literature he has contributed in papers and published in Sastras" in two volumes. Apart from editing and annotating work such as the works of Bana, he wrote on Sanskrit Poetics, the Purva Mimamsa system and on the vedic basis of Hindu law as well. Much of his work on Sanskrit literature he has contributed in papers and published in important journals, in commemoration volumes to scholars and papers presented to the various conferences, the all-India Oriental Conference in particular of which he attended eight sessions. It is but fitting that this conference at its last session in Benares elected him President of the coming session—quite a fitting recognition of the valuable work of the author.

The commemoration volume goes to 550 pages and contains 75 papers on various topics of interest by scholars from various parts of the country and even abroad. The subjects embraced are various, and range all over from Rig Veda details down to the period of Sambhaji II. Not to be invidious they are all of them contributions of value on various topics of interest. It contains such subjects as the Smriti as the source of the Dharma Sastras, Rig Veda citations in the Mahabharata, Vishnu in the Veda, the legends of Sunahśēpa and come down all through including the age of the Tamil Sangam, the Āgnāpatra of Pandit Ramachandra and Mahratta occupation of Gingee. The papers constitute a volume quite worthy of the wide scholarship and the persevering and systematic work of the author in his own chosen line of studies

THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GITA By Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharyar, Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. (Price Rs. 2).

This little book incorporates the Lectures delivered by the Professor to the university of Madras as Honorary Reader. The purpose of these lectures is to present an exposition of the Gita as a handbook of religion for all Hindus. The Gita has been declared by competent critics like Prof. Das Gupta in his "History of Hindu Philosophy", as a handbook of the Pancharatra According to Prof. Srinivasacharyar, the first six chapters of the eighteen

deal with the metaphysics of morals and realisation of the self. The next six chapters of the Gita treats of the religion of morals. Similarly the last chapters of the religion of the Vedanta, and offers universal redemption six expounds the religion of the ternal bliss of Mukti. In these divisions, and summons all humanity to the eternal bliss of Mukti. In these divisions, and summons all humanity to the Bhagavad Gita, and has expounded the professor has followed the text of the Bhagavad Gita, and has expounded it in a fashion that the non-specialist reader might understand and appreciate. He has left aside completely all questions of criticism on the Gita and its character as part of the Mahabharata, nor has he proceeded to examine the problem of the authorship. These latter questions have been vexing scholars till recently, and there has been a considerable output of literature. But in this course of lectures, the Professor has left these questions aside, and has given a mere straightforward exposition of the Gita as a handbook for those who seek the solace of religion. It is well done to serve the purpose and may usefully be read by all those who may be anxious to understand the Bhagavad Gita ordinarily.

THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY DYNASTY OF THE ANDHRA DESA BY
B. V. Krishna Rao, (Messrs. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras).
Price Rs. 15. 25 sh.

This is a work which attempts to describe the history of the country. popularly called Andhra Desa nowadays and relates to the period of history when the whole of the Dakhan, the region between the Vindhyas and the Tungabhadra had fallen into a certain number of smaller kingdoms from out of the Andhra empire in the best of its days. The whole of the Dakhan broke up early in the 3rd century and fell into the divisions which constituted the empire as was usually the case with the break-up of empires in Indian history. Several small kingdoms arose from out of this, some of them describable as even politically subordinate to the Andhras, and others into geographical divisions which formed the heart of the empire at its highest. The period extending from the early years of the 3rd century down to the end of the 7th century A.D. was a period of re-formation of kingdoms which settled into a new order in the early years of the 7th century A.D. This confusing period, Mr. Krishna Rao the author of this work, undertakes to unravel According to the author, "Andhra Desa today covers, therefore the entire area of the eastern half of the Dakhan extending from the Chanda district in the Central Provinces in the north to Bangalore and Kolar in Mysore in the Central Provinces in the norm Madras to Bangalone Mysore in the south. A straight line drawn from Madras to Bangalore, and thence in a northerly direction towards the point where the river Variable of the Manjira tiver Varada (Wardha) joins the Pranhita along the valley of the Manjira and towards the east across the plateu to the Mahendragiri and Rishikulya in Ganian in Ganjam and back to the sea represent the country of the Andhra Desa."

This apparents This apparently is the claim which the work attempts to justify. The work falls naturally is the claim which the work attempts to justify. falls naturally is the claim which the work attempts to justify.

Empire (circa con the following parts. Book I deals with the Ikshvaku Empire (circa 200-260 A.D). Book II deals with the Kalingas from 250 A.D. 630. Book III deals with certain minor dynasties during the period 250-440, the division being the Brhatpalayanas of Kodura, the Andhras of Khandarapura, the Salankayanas of Vengi and Mathara or the Pitrbakta Kalinga Im the Salankayanas of Vengi and Mathara or the Philosophia. Then follows the period of the Vishnukundins A.D. 420-620. The fifth and the last book gives us an account again of the minor dynasties of the eastern the last book gives us an account again of the minor dynasties. of the eastern Dakhan during the period A.D. 350-610. These included (1)

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the eastern Gangas of Kalinga, (2) the Sailodbhava dynasties, (3) kings of Sarabapura, (4) the Nalas of Nandivardhana. Within these limits and in these divisions the work attempts to present a history of the country in far greater detail than has as yet been attempted by scholars.

The plan of the work is ambitious and the actual performance does exhibit a considerable volume of labour through a long period of years as is claimed by the author. He claims to have set about the work of the dynastic annals and vicissitudes of the country "in a fresh and original setting," which he considers could not be achieved except by a study of history in comparison with the contemporary dynastics of Dakshinapatha and South India. His main source of information is epigraphic material which have all become available through the labours of the departments of epigraphy as well as other bodies interested in the subject such as the Andhra Historical Society.

The author starts with the Ikshvakus as an imperial dynasty who did succeed to the whole heritage, at least were acknowledged as the rulers of the whole Andhra territory, and thus became the imperial successors of the imperial Andhra dynasty. The Ikshvakus formed a dynastic succession of four rulers whose active period took up the major part or the 3rd century and have left monuments and inscriptions from the north-eastern part of the country. From the details of these inscriptions, Mr. Krishna Rao tries to build up an imperial history for this dynasty. They certainly got into marriage alliance with the Chutu Nagas of the Southern Mahrata and Karnataka country, but it would be difficult to sustain that their authority was acknowledged over the rest of the Dakhan.

He passes on to the history of the Pallavas, the Pallavas of Kanchi as they are familiarly known. The political history is one of the greatest difficulty, and so far we have not as yet succeeded in giving a satisfactory account, although many efforts have been made in different directions. Mr. Krishna Rao's account throws in a mass of material into the account without exactly being able to draw up a good consistent and orderly succession of all the historical rulers. Several of his identifications and affiliations are open to question. He has limited himself to the extent of not accepting any evidence except from inscriptions, and he leads himself into general conclusions such as the Kanchi or Kanchipura Pallavas had not come into existence as late as 230 A.D. He quietly states there are no materials "for a study of pre-Pallava history of Kanchipura and Tondamandalam". According to him, the Cholas "did not seem to be anywhere in the south before the advent of the Pallavas. "The early Chola rule in the south . . . cannot be accepted as historic fact". He would colly provide the Cholas with a homeland somewhere in the Nizam's Dominions, and transport the and transport them across to the Delta of the Kaveri in the 7th century AD. or later. This kind of a presumption marks the whole of his discussion in regard to the kind. regard to the history of the early Pallavas. While a change which he finally suggests finally suggests may possibly prove satisfactory it would not be through his work which shows a wilful shutting of the eye to a considerable mass of evidence and any mass of the eye to a considerable mass of evidence and any mass of the eye to a considerable mass of evidence and any mass of the eye to a considerable of evidence and any proposed arrangement of his on the face of it would be impossible. With be impossible. With respect to the later dynasties such as the Vishnukundins and the Paletter I. kundins and the Brhatpalayanas, this work provides a considerable mass of material to a serious student of history.

Apart from the wilful neglect of evidence referred to above, there are several errors of fact and method. He would take up a word for the first part of which Fleet quite haltingly suggested Jola and transform it the whole word Cholavadi, and make it altogether the whole territory the Cholas from where he would transport them across the Pallava territory to the Kaveri delta.

His philological suggestions are as bad. He would suggest river Hagari as the equivalent of Pallava $Pr\bar{e}hara$. The word Talavara which occurs in the Ikshvaku inscriptions he had been at great pains to transform into a number of Telugu words: Talavara to Tagivara and what not, instead of taking as a simple local modification of Sanskrit Sthalavara the equivalent of Sthaniya, a dignitary who had authority over a group of villages within the larger division of a Sthana, and known generally in Sanskrit Sthanika which the Jain Prakrit dictionary gives as a simple equivalent. The quotation given from Subodhika commentary on the Kalpataru only goes to confirm what is the ordinary term. The attempted derivation of Kanchi is another instance in point. There is much more that could be said by way of pointing out merely errors, but it is hardly worth-while. Some of the major errors however could not well be passed over.

As for the boundary proposed for the Andhra Desa, the map that he has drawn up takes in practically the whole of the Tondamandalam within the limits of the Andhra country; and that apart, the following errors are noticeable in the map which should have been avoided. Cholavadi is located the north of the Krishna altogether, and in the heart of the Nizam's Dominions. Then the river Tungabaddra is shown with the two streams Badra in the west coming from the Ghats and Tunga in the east joining o form the river Tungabaddra, whereas the geographical fact is the eastern stream is the Bhadra and Tunga is the western. The Banappadi placed to the north of Kolar and within comparatively narrow limits extends south-Wards from the river Pennar north, whereas Banappadi or Perumbanappadi the Tamils the equivalent of the Brhat-Banas of the Sanskritists tembraced within it the whole of the Palar basin and took into it the sea coast Town of Cuddalore as the Jain Sanskrit work Lokavibhaga actually states it. There are errors of the kind throughout the work and it is hardly worthwhile mentioning them in a review.

While, therefore, recognising fully Mr. Krishna Rao's enthusiasm and he has not succeeded in giving us a sober and acceptable historical account of a difficult period of history.

CORRESPONDENCE, VOLUME II DAULAT RAO SINDHIA'S the Government Central Press, Bombay). Price Rs. 15 Pp. xxxii & 456.

So far eight volumes, including an extra, one, have been published in Bahadur G. S. Sardesai; and we have got down to the epoch of Wellesley's Holkar that proved a turning point in the policy of the Com-

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pany towards the Indian powers. The English Diplomatic Correspondence with the Nagpur State, covering the entire period 1781-1820, was completed in a single volume. But in the case of the Sindhia State the relations were far more complex, and this volume is the fourth one devoted to its affairs and will be followed by another which will bring the narrative down to 1818. The fortunes of Daulat Rao Sindhia, the able but in many respects unfortunate and ill—starred, successor of the great Mahadji, are treated here, as they varied, from his offensive and defensive alliance with the British in the summer of 1804 in the course of operations of the war with the Holkar, by which he was enabled to recover Gwalior and Gohad in the succeeding summer, and then through the miserable years of his interference with the princes of Rajputana, down to the end of the Second Ministry of the noted Sharza Rao Ghatge. The Treaty of Burhanpur supplementing that of Sarji Anjengaon had definitely registered the decline of the Sindhia State to a secondary power; and it is from this decline that by his cleverness of conduct during the war with Holkar that Daulat Rao contrived to regain a portion of his lost power. After this was achieved the Sindhia felt himself free, owing to the self-imposed restriction of their imperial responsibility by the British under Barlow to have an unlimited freedom of operations in Central India and Rajputana. The cession of Gwalior and Gohad to him by Sir George Barlow opened a new era in his fortunes in which he found himself free to deal with the small powers in his neighbourhood and became thereby elated in mind into an over-weening sense of his importance. Out of his interference in Rajput politics developed the heart-trending tragedy of barbarous immolation of Princess Krishnakumari of Udaipur, "the Indian Iphigenia" the episode of which has been dramatised so feelingly by Edward Thomson.

The Editor Mr. Roy, brings clearly into relief the innate, condition of decline in the Sindhia's power which was hidden even to the eyes of most contemporary observers by the obvious pomp of his purposeless interference in the confused politics of the Central Indian adventurers throughout the years under survey, by the most bitter rivalry between the unscrupulous Sharza Rao and his rivals, the Ingles, and their combination in 1809 naturally boded no good to the realm. Ghatge tried hard to effect some improvement by economising in the expenditure of the army; but the attempt was rendered barren of its purpose by the Sindhia himself, who had degenerated in personal habits into a sot in the meanwhile. Thus by 1809 the rich heritage of Daulat Rao had come almost to be crippled. The chronological table given by the editor of the events has been divided into periods of the respective ministries; and the summaries of the letters given at their commencement are very satisfactory and clear. Small printers' devils can be found here and there (e.g. Wellescly in line 3 of page 3 of introduction).

Sharza Rao's personality is well brought out in all his characteristic features of conduct and in the strength and weakness of his ministry. Letters Nos. 280 and 282 from the Resident Close contain the following sentences regarding the effort made by him in his second ministry:

"Notwithstanding the strong probability which now appears that Gatka will succeed in firmly establishing his sole authority, there are however some circumstances which militate against it or which at least must tend to retard the ultimate accomplishment of such a design. These are the discontent excited by his conduct in nearly all classes of people, the alienation from

REVIEWS

Sindia of all the neighbouring states without perhaps a single exception, in Sindia himself in his administration of the Government, and the evidently imperfect inclination on the part of Ambajee Inglia to come forward in support of that system of affairs in which he is called upon to participate."

A close parallel can be dsicovered between the type of minister represented by Chatge and that belonging to the class to which the contemporary Spanish Minister, Godoy, is a specimen. The varying views and capacities of the British Agents with the Sindhia are also revealed as another factor that contributed to bring about the inevitable instruction of Sindhia's schemes and produce a crippled power in the end.

C.S.S.

OUDH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1785-1801. By Purnendu Basu, M.A., Ph.D. (Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1943). Pp. iv and 219; Price Rs. 12.

Dr. Basu follows up in this monograph on this period of the Anglo-Outh relations the work of Dr. A. L. Srivastava and Dr. C. C. Davies on the earlier phases in the fortunes of the Nawabi and carries the narrative of British relations with Oudh from the year of Hastings's reitrement to the practical diminution of the extent of the kingdom by one half which was effected by the settlement of 1801. Nawab Assaf-ud-Daulah was the ruler during the greater part of the period under survey; and his younger brother, Sa'dat Ali-who succeeded, after what may be termed a short interregnum, was the principal actor on the side of Oudh in the closing part of this period. Our author 'characterization of Asaf-ud-Daulah's temper, moral weaknesses and torpid indifference to the administration is based upon a study, among other sources, of contemporary literature, particularly in Persian, both published and unpublished. The power wielded by Almas Ali Khan can be cited an instance of the influence of a person who has, on the whole proved himself be like a beneficent factor in the life of that unfortunate and distracted kingdom. Our author thinks that if Almas had been appointed Minister in 1797 after the retirement of Jhaodas, he could have extracted the Oudh affairs from the dire strait into which Assaf-ud-Daulah had plunged them. None of the successive ministers, Haidar Beg Khan, Raja Tikait Roy, Raja Jhao Lal, and Tafazzul Husain Khan could effect any improvement, because the Nawab's caprice and negligence and the haphazard and corrupt influences exercised by the other favourites on the administration prevented any serious reform reform from being effected or even begun. The military degeneration observable in the army and the financial bankruptcy which came to be more and more marked are respectively detailed in two chapters both full of interesting and well-documented information. The remark is justly made that the degree of the degree of safety of the kingdom from the surrounding states was not quite so and safety of the kingdom from the surrounding states was not quite so apparent to contemporaries and the Company was justified in demanding again and again that Oudh should continue to pay for its protection it was Asset and again that Oudh should continue to pay for its own difficulties It was Asaf-ud-Daulah's weakness that even more than its own difficulties chabled the Company to maintain a part of its army at the expense of the Nawab Vizier till 1798. Centralized control of any kind was not possible could be hor could be attempted in the army administration of the Nawab. But our

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author is careful enough to point out that his control over the Subsidiary Forces, though admitted in theory to some extent, was reduced in practice to nothing at all. The growing bankruptcy of the kingdom was naturally worse than in other cases of dependent and controlled principalities and rendered more glaring in their operation and effect by the English countenance of a number of private claims against the treasury a good portion of which was mere patronage. Down to about 1786 Oudh was used as a fruitful source of financial supplies by the Bengal Government which was justified in its demands to some extent by its monetary distress. Cornwallis did not lay extra burden upon the kingdom, because there was no pressing necessity for him to do so; but Shore was compelled in the last years of his rule to realise large additional payments from the Nawab Vazier. As regards the question of the exemption of English traders from customs duties the difficulty was as pointed out in the book and as in the case of Nawab Mir Kasim, felt to be more in the field of preventing an abuse of the privileges granted than in the definition of the privileges themselves.

Coming to the subject of the reaction of the Company's alliance on the Oudh administration, we learn that while Cornwallis tried to effect reforms by taking the minister into his confidence and encouraging him to make a bold stand against the Nawab's dissipation, Shore was primarily interested in the regular receipt of the subsidy and only, secondarily in question of reform The deposition of Wazir Ali after a display of vacillation by Shore, is held to be both politic and just, and the attitude of vacillation was justified perhaps at the moment. The later settlement of 1801 by Lord Wellesley has been justified by successive writers on various considerations. Wellesley would have preferred as his first choice the complete transfer of Oudh to the Company; and his second choice was the possession of Rohilkhand and the Doab. A good criticism of the settlement is attempted by our author of which the inevitable conclusion is that while the Nawab clung to his theoretical and shadowy rights, the Governor-General was forced by considerations into hiding what was in fact the reality, viz., that Oudh had long ceased to be an independent State at all, and it is the essential falsity of the attitude of both powers that explains the friction and misunderstanding marking the course of negotiations that led to the final settlement. The treatment is clear and marked by a felicity of expression and language.

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GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS. By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur, Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1943. Price Rs. 3-4-0. Pp. LXIV and 273.

The introduction of this book gives a brief account of the history of the glorious dynasty of Marwar from its earliest beginnings. After dealing with the main outlines of the history of the several states of Western Hindustan in the first millennium of the Christian era, he comes to Rao Jaya Chandra and his son, Harish Chandra, and to the migration of the latter's descendants towards Mahui and Marwar. From that point he traces, in brief compass the doings of the successive rulers of the line and chronicles them in a plain and

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dear manner. The achievements of Rao Maldev, Rao Chandrasen and Raja Singh, the favourite of Akbar, are given in sufficient detail. The Udaya Singh, the favourite of Akbar, are given in sufficient detail. The doings of their successors mostly in service under the Mughal Emperors, are doings of their successors mostly in service under the Mughal Emperors, are doings of their successors mostly in service under the Mughal Emperors, are doings of the Maharaja Jasvant Singh and his equally famous posthumous son, Maharaja Ajit Singh. The valorious deeds of the heroic Rathor Durga Das and the remarkable careers of Maharaja Ajit Singh and his son Maharaja Abhaya Singh, in their relations with the declining Mughals and the expanding Marathas follow. The subsequent rulers of the glorious dynasty are noticed in their principal activities rght down down to the close of 1942.

After this introduction comes the collection of appendix matter of which the most important is that marked A. Our author is convinced that neither the Chauhanas nor the Rashtrakutas nor the Guhils could be held to belong to the Gurjara race or to have migrated from the north or to have been descendants of foreign tribes. Another conclusion at which he arrives is that Rai Jaya Chandra did not cause the downfall of Hindu dominance in Northern India, as is usually alleged and his grandson, Rao Siha, did not commit the murder of the Palliwal Brahmans. Besides a lack of details regarding various episodes and actions in the long history of the house of Marwar, in the course of which he upholds the title to greatness of several personages like Rao Chandrasen and Rao Amar Singh, and corrects several errors regarding the rulers of the line that have appeared in the Historical works of W. Irwine, Kinloch Forbes, Tod and other writers.

A noticeable feature of the book is that our author is a great admirer of the houses of Jodhpur and eagerly rebuts the charges of defects, both personal and institutional, or bearing on the prestige of the family that have been brought forward by other writers. The Introduction and the appendix matter form a source of useful reference for the student. The get-up of the book is of high standard and reflects credit on the author and publishers alike. However, occassionally small errors occur, as for instance, Todd being put for Tod. We congratulate the author on this useful publication of his.

C.S.S.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE MAHABHARATA—(V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition). By The Late V. S. Sukthankar, M.A. (Cantab), Ph.D. (Berlin). Volume I. Edited on behalf of the Committee by P. K. Gode, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Published for the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee by the Karnatak Publishing House, Chira Bazar, Bombay 2 (India). 1944. Price Rs. 15|-. Pp. xvii plus 440.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar was the General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata for nearly seventeen years and shortly before his unfor the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which he aptly styled as "the Content of Our Collective Unconscious." Memorial Edition Committee, says in his preface to this volume of the work

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that Dr. Sukthankar kept on, side by side with his critical text work on the great epic, an intensive study of its content and inner meaning which brought about in his mind profound psychological changes in the last ten years. The literary life of Dr. Sukthankar was one planned action, in which "every detail was scrupulously worked out and revised many times before it saw the light of day."

This book contains under one cover the critical epic studies of the scholar, of which perhaps the most important is his "Prolegomena to the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata" which can be held to be the bedrock of the textual criticism of the great epic. The contents include the Foreword attached to the first fascicule of the Adiparvan which attempts to guide the reader through a complicated mass of critical apparatus. It proceeds on the idea that a text prepared on eclectic principles will be capable of presenting a more faithful picture of the original than any single extant codex could do. The Prolegomena which was originally published with the last fascicule of the Adiparvan, traces the genesis of the movement for a critical or correct edition of the Mahabharata, and the work done before Dr. Sukthankar took charge of the work. The recensions of the manuscript material, in their two main groups and principal sub-groups are next examined. A principle followed in the collation of the texts is that when the commentary ignores a lengthy and difficult passage, there is a strong presumption that the text of the commentator did not contain that passage. The Javanese Bharatam is traced in its Sanskrit quotations to both the Northern and Southern recensions. Nannaya's Andhra Bharatamu of the eleventh century is valuable for the light it throws on the condition of the Southern Recension of the time. The Southern Recension is longer and the story is much richer in details with particular reference to the Adiparvan. According to the Editor, the Sarada version is certainly the best extant version of the Adiparvan. The Devanageri script lent itself as being the commonest medium of contamination of the different versions. Consequently the Devanageri Mss. are the most numerous and at the same time the least important for the purpose. The Grantha version is held to be more heavily interpolated than the Malayalam and, at the same time, to be influenced by the N. recension.

Even in its early phases the Mahabharata textual tradition could not have been uniform and simple, but mulitple and polygenous. There is also given a critique of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri's edition of the epic in its S. recension. The caution is held cut that a recension or version should not be condemned merely on the ground that it lacks certain passages found in a rival one. Also the Parvasangraha Parvan (Adi. II) supplying the clue to the solution of the preplexing question of reconstruction of the original has not materialised at all.

Thus we learn that there is no royal road to this difficult task of returning to the original and therefore the caution is rightly given that not too much should be claimed for the first critical edition upon which Dr. Sukthankar was engaged. Further we read in his introduction to the Aranyakaparvan that although in many cases the compilers of the puranas appeared to have drawn their material from the Mahabharata there must be a few cases in which both the epic and the puranas might have drawn independently upon a third common source.

In the Collection of Epic studies, Dr. Sukthankar gives in the first section the reasons for adopting his recdings of the texts; he also explains why the reasonable edition cannot proceed to fully implement the canon of the the critical of the Classical Philologists. A study of the commentaries of the Epic should be undertaken not so much for the sake of their explanations and glosses as for the readings and the pathantaras recorded in them. In atabular form is given the list of the five major commentators arranged according to their probable chronological sequence, their approximate dates and sundry data about them. In section 6 of the studies we have a texthistorical study of the old clan of the Bhrgus and the Bharata. In the course of the study much information is given of the close association of the Bhargavas with the ancient Kshatriyas, marked by, among other things, a frequent repetition of legends and a uniform distribution of data about them throughout the entire length of the Epic. From this the conclusion naturally follows that "in our version of the Mahabharata there is a conscious-nay deliberate-weaving together or rather stitching together of the Bharata legends with the Bhargava myths."

In the next section of the Epic studies is given the story of the discovery of an old Napalese Ms. of the Adiparvan which is held to be the oldest extant one, being between 700 and 800 years old. Next is examined the relationship between the Ramayana and the Rama episode of the Mahabharata, by means of parallelisms in diction and phraseology. A note on Arjunamisra holds that his commentary and texts are superior to those of Nilakanta. The Nala episode of the Mahabharata is examined in its relation to the Ramayana. Herein is postulated the view "that the period of composition of the Ramayana, which is a work with a distinctly more unitary character, falls within the much longer period of the evolution of the Mahabharata, which latter compared to the other is a very complex and complicated work indeed."

Minor topics in the form of epic questions discussed connected with the epics and statements regarding the progress of the critical edition reached in 1940 and 1943 respectively bring to a close this first volume of the works of Dr. Sukthankar printed with infinite care indicative of the love borne towards him by his fellow-workers like Professor Gode.

C. S. S

THIRUMALIRUNJOLAI MALAI (SRI ALAGAR KOVIL) STALAPURANA.

By K. N. Radhakrishna, B.A., B.L., with a foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar, Published by Sri Kallalagar Devastanam, Madura, 1942. Pp. 315

+ 194. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

India is a land of temples and particularly so South India. The beginnings of many of them are however lost in hoary antiquity and many traditions and legends have grown round their origin and growth. Such legandary from exaggerations and want of chronology, yet serve as a means by which the culture and traditions of the country have been preserved. Besides a study of the South Indian temples is a fascinating subject because they

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must rawn contain a veritable mine of information about Hindu architecture and sculpture.

One of the celebrated Vaishnava shrines in South India is that of Sri Kallalagar situated thirteen miles north—north-east of Madura. It has a long and interesting history even from the Sangam age, and the Vaishnava Alvars have sung about the presiding deity of the temple. It has received the fostering care and patronage and much embellishment at the hands of the members of different dynasties that have ruled over the region, the Pandyas, the Vijayanagar Emperors, the Banas and the Madura Nayaks, The book under review embodies the Stalapurana and allied orthodox literature relating to the origin and growth of this famous temple. But more important than that, the book contains a thought provoking and comprehensive study of almost every aspect of this great temple by Sri K. N. Radhakrishna, the Executive Officer of the Sri Kallalagar Devasthanam, who has contributed a long and learned introduction to the Stalapurana covering more than 300 pages. He has made use of all sources of information on the subject, literary and epigraphical, and his presentation is attractive and forceful.

The author first reviews the history of Thirumalirunjolai malai and its environs from very early times and gives a list of the references to the place and its temple in different works which bear testimony to its antiquity and renown. Some one hundred and twenty inscriptions have been copied from the temple by the Madras Epigraphy Department and the more important of them are then discussed in a chapter in their bearings on the history of the local area and the temple. In the next two chapters the author traces the history of the temple with the help of the Vrishabhadhi Mahatmya and describes the different shrines and sub-shrines in the Stala. He feels that Buddhism and Jainism flourished in the region round the Alagar Hills. The temple is a fertile field for the student of architecture and sculpture and the author's description of the different items of sculptural and architectural interest as also the jewels and ornaments in the temple is extremely useful and interesting.

Mr. Radhakrishna's book is thus a very useful and welcome publication which contains a great fund of information about the ancient and sacred Thirumalirunjolai. The value of the book is enhanced by the large number of illustrations in art paper and a topographical sketch of the place which have been included in it. We wish that the authorities of the numerous temples in India produce works of a similar nature which would enrich our knowledge of the artistic and cultural achievements of the people of ancient and mediaeval India.

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hen his has raditions and laws. The development of the polity was twofold or rather brefold, because after Shahu the Peshwa polity underwent some important threfold, because after Shahu the Peshwa polity underwent some important threfold, because after Shahu the Peshwa polity underwent some important threfold, because after Shahu the Peshwa polity underwent some important danges. It was Shivaji who gave it a new life and a new impetus. He appressed the feudal element, paid the officials of the state liberal salaries and dispensed with the incompetent and the disloyal. His idea of Swarajya as a centralised state. Still it was a people's government, modern in the daracter. It maintained the old democratic bodies which discharged police, idicial, social and economic work.

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ANCIENT INDIA AND SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE BY DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A. PH.D.—VOL. I. ANCIENT INDIA, PP. 844; AND VOL. II, SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE PP. 911—ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY, POONA, RS. 10 EACH VOLUME, 1941.

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Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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Journal of Indian History

Maharaja Dalip Singh after Deposition

Conversion, Marriage and Exile

Social Success and Political Failure

By

K. S. Thapar, B.A. (Hons.), B. Litt (Oxon), M.A. (Pb.),

Barrister-at-Law, Department of History,

Government College, Lahore

After the Treaty of 1849 had been signed, Maharaja Dalip Singh, then only 11 years old, was put under the charge of Sir John Login and sent to Fatehgarh under a strong escort. He continued to live under the same guardians during all his stay at Fatehgarh and also for a few years in England.

At Fatehgarh we find Dalip Singh, a child of twelve, placed in peculiar surroundings. He has been removed from Lahore and the associations of his childhood. His mother had been removed from him a year earlier, and his Sikh Ministers and relations are longer with him. Here he is under the care of Sir John and Lady Login who are very kind to him and show him that love and consideration which he had never received from his brothers or Uncle. If we examine the names of his entourage we come across Very few Sikh attendants that had accompanied him from Lahore. We find no Sikh priest or Granthi and only one Brahmin Parohit, His favourite Mohammadan attendant Meean Keemah also soon asked to be allowed to return to Lahore. A young Brahmin named Bhajan Lal was procured in his place. This young man had been educated. educated in the American Mission Schools. In this impressionable age Dalip Singh was left in such surroundings and with these people about him. He saw Sir John Login at his family prayers every morning and evening and himself yearned for the same sort of prayer. He had a religious mind and was so much impressed by the soon He had a religious mind and was so much impressed. by the scene he witnessed every day that he requested Sir John

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Login to instruct his (Dalip Singh's) priest also to come at fixed hours. Dalip Singh had this craving within him and being of a tender age was easily susceptible to any direct or indirect influence under which he came. His conversion was a result of these circumstances under which he was placed. He was barely twelve years of age, when he expressed his desire to embrace Christianity, The Government acceded to this request with apparent reluctance, Sir John Login was on leave when Dalip Singh definitely made up his mind to become a Christian. Captain J. Campbell, temporary Governor, in his official despatch sent to Lord Dalhousie, dated the 20th of December, 1850 says, "On Sunday, the 8th instant, His Highness the Maharaja communicated to me through Master Thomas Scot, his desire to embrace the Christian religion....". On the 9th of December a letter was sent to Sir John Login at Calcutta, His reply came on the 20th December, asking the Maharaja not to be hasty. "I have arrived at the conclusion", continues Campbell in his despatch, "that he is more deeply impressed with the subject than his years would seem to render likely." Lord Dalhousie, though highly pleased at the prospect, was afraid that it might be deemed to have been brought about by putting undue influence on Dalip Singh. As he says in one of his private letters, "My little friend has taken us all aback lately by declaring his intention to become a Christian. The Pandit, he says, tells him humbug.... he has had the Bible read to him and he believes the Sahibs religion." In the same letter he says, "The house-hold of course are in grand state. Politically we could desire nothing better, for it destroys his possible influence for ever. But I should have been glad, if it had been deferred, since, at present it may be represented to have been brought about by tampering with the mind of a child."1 This was Lord Dalhousie's policy throughout the affair. He was anxious that no impression of unfairness should be given and tried not to give any chance to the clamorous section to make capital out of some lack of vigilance in the matter. Writing on the 16th of May, 1850 Login says, "Lord Dalhousie is afraid if he were asked to recommend a tutor that it might imply an interference in the boy's religious faith." Even after the ceremony his attempts were to give it as little publication as possible and the ceremony itself was made very modest.

When the official despatch of Campbell, referred to above, reached Dalhousie he asked for information regarding the follow-

^{1.} Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie, dated 3rd March 1851,

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MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH AFTER DEPOSITION

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ing points: Where was the Bible procured from? Who introduced this subject to the Maharaja's mind? and whether anybody had this subject to him upon it or had engaged him in any question been talking to him upon it or had engaged him in any question regarding it. At this Sir John Login instituted an enquiry and prepared a report which was submitted to the Governor-General. Evidence in writing was taken of the Maharaja's retinue, the Dewan Ajodhya Parshad, Fakeer Zehoor-ud-Din, the Prohit Golab Rai, the family priest of the Maharajas of Lahore, and Sardar Boor Singh, that no improper influence had been in their estimation made use of to make him change his belief in the religion of his people. Lady Login's version of the affair is this: 2—

"This young man (Bhajun Lal) never—the—less was the only creature in his entourage who had any inkling that Dalip Singh was turning his inquiries in the direction of the Christian faith and he was sceptical with regard to many of the 'pious stories' in the Shastras e.g., that of the virtuous Rajah who distributed daily in alms ten thousand cows before he broke his fast, and yet came short of eternal salvation because his servants, unknown to him, had placed amongst the daily tale of cows one that had already been numbered in the charitable dole.

"But although he used to make Bhajun Lal read the Bible to him and discuss it together, it was, as the young Brahmin quaintly put it 'sometimes Bible, sometimes a few conjuring tricks of which he was very fond, sometimes games in 'Boys own book' and all he did he did of his wilful will. It was plain that neither Bhajun Lal who never had the courage to sacrifice his worldly prospects by embracing Christianity, though evidently convinced of its truth—nor any European had exerted their influence over the Maharaja in order to turn his mind in that direction."

This is, we might say, the official version of the story.

After hearing all, Lord Dalhousie, we are told, expressed himself as entirely satisfied that no improper influence had either directly or indirectly been used by Login or any other English gentleman connected with His Highness's establishment.

Lady Login deplores the fact that 'very little effort was made hy his own people to instruct him in the Sikh religion.' "And His lighness left Punjab", so runs John Login's memoranda, "without

^{2.} As given in her Recollections, p. 95.

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any religious attendant of his own sect or any copy of their sacred book, nor had he expressed the least desire since he left Lahore to have the want supplied." When Login wrote this he probably forgot that Dalip Singh had a religious mind and Sir John himself admits in one of his letters that Dalip Singh had 'devotional feelings." We can hardly expect a boy of twelve to ask for any particular instruction. Having known that he had an enquiring mind and was constantly thinking of religious beliefs the Government did not feel it their duty to provide for the same. When we have the assertion that Dalip Singh was sceptical about the teachings of his Prohit and liked the Bible the temperament of the boy is clearly revealed to us.

We can at best accept Sir John Login's view with great reservation, or else we cannot explain two or three of his letters. Writing to his wife as early as May 1849, or shortly after he was appointed as the Maharaja's guardian, he says, "It is an amusement to him to have an English writing lesson with me, so I give him a precept to write out and translate: 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.' I intend, as I cannot put the Bible in his hands yet, to let him have such principles as these to season his studies with and I hope to see more of him as I get rid of duties that are pressing."4 And again in another letter he says, "I do so need you to assist me. I am anxious to give this young Maharaja (and Shahzada) a favourable impression of us as Christians." On the 6th March, 1850, he writes to his wife, "I shall be glad when you join me, as I cannot expect to have more than two or three years in which we can influence the young Maharaja's mind favourably towards our domestic life and I must not lose them on any account."5

These letters need no comment. They speak for themselves. And another one still more clear is the one written from Fatehgarh dated May 16th, 1850. He says, "I trust however, that God helping us, we shall be enabled as 'Written epistles' to manifest the spirituality and benevolence of a Christian life, if we cannot otherwise preach to him. He is a strange little fellow and shows an intelligence at times beyond his years. Observing that Guise, Barlow, Tomyscot and I have morning and evening prayers

^{3.} Fully quoted infra.

^{4:} Sir John Login and Dalip Singh, p. 159. 5. Sir John Login and Dalip Singh, p. 213.

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MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH AFTER DEPOSITION

together, he asked me to order his Prohit to come to him also at a fixed hour daily to read in his holy books. This, I think, indicates a devotional feeling, that may here-after be directed aright; indeed he shows a strong desire to walk according to the light which God has given him and a wish to know His Will."6

These were the ideas of one who was the appointed guardian Such were the influences and such the atmosphere of Dalip Singh. under which Dalip Singh lived. Might we draw the conclusion that though the Government did not actively influence the mind of the child, they were entirely indifferent to his religious instruction and all the time the atmosphere under which he lived, and the silent and indirect, though well-planned and premeditated influence of Sir John Login was such that led to the inevitable result. No doubt the Government made all possible inquiries and ascertained that what Dalip Singh did, he did of his own free will, but at the same time, we cannot deny that they rejoiced at the news, as Lord Dalhousie's letter quoted above shows and as another letter from the same pen to be immediately quoted will show, and that Login at any rate, did all he could to strengthen the vague feelings of the child.

It took two years and three months to get the final permission of the Court of Directors. During this period Dalip Singh was kept under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Dawson. So that before the actual ceremony of baptism took place (March 8th, 1853), Dalip Singh was well instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion.7 "I asked him many questions" says Archdeacon Brett, "which he answered very clearly and fully. He made statements on the doctrine of the Trinity, the person of our Lord, His two Natures, His offices of Prophet, Priest and King which he explained." The ceremony was performed in Dalip Singh's own house at Fatehgarh and by his own name. The signatures of three persons, Sir John and Lady Login and Colonel Alexander were affixed. The ceremony was felt, by those permitted to attend as very touching touching and impressive. More than 30 years later Lady Login writes, "I well remember the earnest expression on the young boy's face, and the look, half-sad, half-curious, on those of his people present by their own wish."8

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^{6.} Ibid, p. 217.

^{7.} Sir John and Dalip Singh, pp. 302-3. 8. Recollections of Lady Login, p. 97.

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It was described by Lord Dalhousie as a "great event in history and in every way gratifying."9 The following letter shows Lord Dalhousie's satisfaction on this occasion. "A strange and interesting event has now to be recorded in the history of India, for it is well worthy of a place there.... I mean the baptism of Maharaja Dalip Singh....This is the first Indian Prince of the many who have succumbed to our power or have acknowledged it, that has adopted th faith of the stranger. Who shall say to what it may lead? God prosper the seed and multiply it! I have never from the hour in which I signed the decree had one moment's hesitation or doubt to the justice or necessity of my act in dethroning the boy. If I had had such a doubt, the sight of the blessed result for him to which that act has led, would now have thoroughly consoled me for what I did then. As it is, my mind is doubly content as to what he lost, immeasurably content as to the gain he has found in his loss. He is wild to go to England...etc."10

It was with some effort on the part of Lord Dalhousie that permission was obtained from the Court of Directors for the Maharaja's visit to England. "Touching Dalip Singh and his Christianity," says Dalhousie, "I do not know what under-currents there might be, but officially they (Directors) have said and done all I could wish."11 When Dalip Singh left for England Dalhousie presented him as a parting gift a copy of Nisbet's Bible with this letter: "....I should ask you, therefore, to accept from me the volume which I should offer to my own child, as the best of all gifts, since in it alone is to be found the secret of real hapiness either in this world or in that which is to come."12

The Maharaja left for England on the 19th of April 1854. He stopped for a while in Egypt. At Malta and Gibralter a full salute of 21 guns was fired in his honour, and in England he was given precedence after the Royal Family. He made a very good impression in England and soon became a friend of the Royal Family. "It is very good," writes Dalhousie in one of his letters, "for the Maharaja has seen the Royal Family under such an aspect as you describe, at Osborne. But I am a little afraid that this exceeding distinction will not be for his future comfort. If he is to live and

9. Sir John Login and Dalip Singh, p. 307.

^{10.} Private letters of Lord Dalhousie, dated 3rd March 1853.

^{11.} Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie, dated 18th March 1853. · 12. Private letters of Lord Dalhousie, dated 3rd March, 1853.

die in England, good and well, but if he is to return to India, he is not likely to be rendered more contented with his position there by being so highly treated in England, and after breakfasting with Queens and Princesses, I doubt his much liking the necessity of leaving his shoes at the door of the Governor-General's room when he is admitted to visit him which he will certainly be again required to do."13

Maharaja Dalip Singh's later life reminds one of that famous novel of Mr. W. L. George called 'The Making of an Englishman." Mr. George, in his book presents an interesting picture of a French vouth trying to become an Englishman. With what material the author has at hand, of a person with all the qualities, virtues and weaknesses of a Frenchman, he sets out to manufacture a new product. Does he succeed? After several years of futile life in London, finding his temperament incapable of coping with complexities of the English character, the hero flies back to France, cursing the English people and swearing he would never return. Had the story ended here it would have been at once more natural, more correct, and altogether more convincing than what it is rendered by the succeeding chapters. But Mr. George brings his hero back to England, a successful business man, very much more sober than he was previously, who marries an English girl from the upper middle class, has a few children, settles down in that country, and, we guess, lives happily ever after. The anticlimax, though instructive in its own way, renders the story unreal. Otherwise, transplanted from the world of fiction to everyday life, the story in the book is a very natural one. And it is not a rare occurrence either. Many ambitious admirers of the English character try to imbibe the training and discipline of an Englishman, but they invariably give up.

Such a character was the Maharaja Dalip Singh whose personal charm was such that all his English friends liked him and wanted him to become one of themselves. In the process of complete anglicising of Dalip Singh his conversion to Christianity was the first step. That had been achieved by Login.

Dalip Singh next came in contact with Queen Victoria who liked him so much that she looked upon him as a son and intended him English in all save name. 14

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^{13.} Ibid.

^{14.} Lady Login's Recollections.

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In England he lived the life of a country gentleman. He was extremely fond of hawking, hunting and shooting. Sir John and Lady Login were with him in England. With them, in December 1856, he went round a tour of France and Italy. 15 Because he was given a distinguished place in society, he had to live up to it. This necessarily entailed expense and was responsible for a good deal of trouble later.

Just as the Maharaja came of age he felt more and more concerned about his mother. She had by now escaped from her confinement in Benares and was living, a virtual prisoner, in the court of Nepal. A private letter from Sir John Kaye at the India Office, informed Login in November 1856 that the Viceroy had received a letter intercepted by Jung Bahadar, from the Maharaja to his mother, suggesting that she should come to England. It was easily proved to be a forgery because Dalip Singh had shown no desire so far to communicate with her.16 But just at this time, he had sent a letter to his mother at Khatmandoo through Pandit Nehmiah Goreh. The Pandit did not himself go to see her but sent the letter through a native banker. The Governor-General came to know of it and ordered the Pandit to communicate with the Rani only through the British Resident.

Then Dalip Singh made up his mind to come personally over to India and see his mother. He reached Calcutta in February 1861 and stayed at 'Spencer's Hotel. In a letter to Sir John Login about this time he says, "My mother has decided she will not separate from me any more, and, as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention, and, I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get passage."17

There were however, other matters that hastened his return to England. Sikh troops returning from the Chinese War made an

17. Recollections of Lady Login, p. 200.

^{15.} When Dalip Singh ultimately fell out with the Government he showed great dissatisfaction at the arrangements that had been made for his education, which, he then considered were very inadequate. He expressed this to his friends on the interview to his friends on the continent. C. Bertie Marriot, who had an interview with him in David with him in Paris and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book, obviously prompted by palip Singh, records your analysis and later wrote a book with the same and the same and later wrote a book with the same analysis and the same and the sam Singh, records very reproachfully "Le Government Anglais refusa d'envoyer le jeune Maharaia". le jeune Maharaja a lycee au a l'Universite." Maharaja Dalip Singh et l'Angleterre p. 10 five au a l'Universite." Maharaja Dalip et l'Angleterre, p. 19 footnoté. 16. Recollections of Lady Login, p. 27.

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enthusiastic demonstration outside the hotel of the son of Ranjit Singh. The Governor-General, Lord Canning, requested the Maharaja to give up his proposed trip up-country and return to England.

His financial troubles had already started, and on his return to England there began that quarrel with the British Government which was to have almost a tragic end.

On account of his financial troubles, and feeling that he could not maintain the position he had won in Society, he contemplated leaving England to live in India all his life. At another time he expressed a desire to give up his pension and estate in England in return for a Jagir in Dehra Dun. On yet another occasion he thought of sending away his mother to India. By this time however, he was coming more and more under her influence. The Government's point of view was very neatly expressed by Sir John Lawrence....lately a member of the India Council. in a letter he wrote to Sir John Login in June 1862. "There can be no doubt whatever that the Maharanee is better out of India than in it. There she is sure to do mischief; here, I admit, she will be equally the evil genius of the Maharaja. It is for the Secretary of State for India to decide which interest is of paramount importance."

But all the fuss was useless. Before anything could be finally settled the Rani had departed on her final journey. Here, on the 1st of August, 1863, in the country of the people she had hated all her life, died the proud Rani of the Punjab. With her departed the intrigues and machinations against the British Government and the evil influence which she was supposed to be again casting on the young Prince.

Little did she dream that before undergoing the proper burning ceremony, her body would lie for six months in an unconsecrated vault in Kensal Green Cemetery. The next winter, the Maharani's body was landed at Bombay, and underwent the Hindoo Ceremonial burning, the ashes being conveyed to the river Narbuddah. The Maharaja went out personally to India to perform these rites, but he did not stay there for long.

On his return joulney he was married at Alexandria in Egypt. Here, if ever, is it true that 'the funeral baked meats, did coldly furnish forth the wedding table.' The courtship was carried out and the nuptial-knot tied in the middle of a funeral voyage. Dalip had set out from England with the dead body of his mother.

He returned a few months later, a married man with a young wife by his side.

Indeed the Maharaja had been for sometime in quite a disturbed state of mind. He was on the look-out for a help-mate in his anxieties and troubles. The Queen's project of his alliance with Princess Gourama of Coorg failed, as he realised she was not calculated to make him happy. For sometime he had a fancy for a distant relation of Login. But this thought was discouraged by the Logins for whom 'the happiness and comfort of the girl was of prior consideration."

Dalip Singh now decided not to marry a woman of society. Hence, on his way out to India with his mother's body, he visited 'the American Missionary School' at Cairo and asked the missionaries if they could provide him with 'such an article as he called a good Christian wife.'20 The girl that he chose was of a semi-oriental birth. "She is not," describes Lady Levin "the wonderful beauty that my son supposed, but she is remarkably nice looking with very fine eyes and a sweet expression. In that respect she is better looking than Gourumma and a size larger. She looked simple and quiet, and rather dignified."20a Such is the description of Dalip Singh's wife, Bamba. "She looks as if she had a perfect temper, and seems a simple minded girl above marrying for rank, and her ready submission, if it does not last too long, will make them happy together."

The couple lived very happily in England. In July 1866 a son (Prince Victor Dalip Singh) was born to them. About two years later they had another child (Fredrik Dalip Singh). In the

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behaved in a party in Rome where the Maharaja was also present. A sister of hers later married Jung Bahadur of Nepal. If Dalip Singh had been married to Princess Gouramma and thus been related to Jung Bahadur these might have been greater complications about his affairs later. Jung Bahadur was not very well disposed towards the British. Col. Ramsay, Resident of Khatmandoo has expressed an opinion that but for the influence of the British Resident at his court and his own visit to England where he was very well received, Jung Bahadur might have joined the mutiny against the British. With such a strong supporter amongst the princes of India we may easily expect that Dalip Singh, could have been more troublesome.

 ^{&#}x27;Sir John Login and Dalip Singh'.
 'Recollections of Lady Login'.
 Ibid, p. 239.

MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH AFTER DEPOSITION

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children could be seen the happy blending of the qualities of their parents. They inherited their love for the medieval from their mother. The Maharani spent many happy hours with her children in picture galleries and exhibitions, which enabled them to develop their natural tendencies and inborn love of the beautiful. From their father they inherited their love for sport. Dalip Singh was famous in society for his marksmanship and his company in various shooting parties was eagerly coveted.

At court the young Maharani was given the welcome befitting a foreign princess. She did not know English when she came over but with the aptitude typical to Germans, she soon learnt the language. She very creditably performed her duties in society as the wife of a man who held almost an enviable position. Dalip Singh was a leading figure in social circles. In the country he lived like an English nobleman and according to all reports, no English nobleman played that role with greater success, whether he be regarded as landlord, a patron or a host. At court he was not only received as a Royal prince but treated invariably by Her Majesty with marked attention and consideration. He was a personal friend of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and of the rest of the Royal Family while Queen Victoria actually took the interest of a mother in him.

In May 1875 the Maharaja was elected a member of Carlton Club, and it was announced that he was going to contest the borough of Whitby at the ensuing general election. Knowing how deep seated in the breasts of Indian princes is that traditional pride which, in many cases, is carried to such an extreme as altogether to militate against the discharge of some of the most imperative duties they owe to their subjects, it was in the highest degree honourable to the Maharaja that he did not allow any such littlehess to influence him. He had, obviously, profited by his residence in England, for it is clear he could not gain dignity, social status, or any other personal advantage by entering public life in the sphere which he now chose. His only motive could be a desire to serve his Country. Though the announcement caused some Surprise in the political circles, it was very favourably received. The "T:- highest satisfaction The "Times of India" hailed the news with the highest satisfaction and wished the Maharaja every success in his contest with the

I. Princess Bamba in her preface to Portraits in Norfolk Houses by Edmund Furrer.

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Gladstonian candidate, if there was to be a fight at all. "The native Indian public" it declared "may well sink the questions of dignity which are not raised by the prince whom they personally affect. It should be worth a good deal for the Indian people to obtain a representative so emmently qualified to give a valuable and sound opinion on questions affecting their religion, laws, feelings and prejudices."22 At the same time it expressed an opinion that if the English Government approved of His Highness's desire to take part and assist in the public business of the country, looking to the circumstances under which he resided in England Mr. Gladstone might have moved Her Majesty to confer upon him an English Peerage. There was, doubtless, no precedent for such an exercise of the Royal prerogative; but even so, there was also no precedent for the position of Maharaja Dalip Singh, once a King of the Punjab, deposed while a minor, for faults committed by his subjects under a regency which neither he nor the British could control-and since, a British subject. The position which he already held in society could not be rendered more anamolous by a seat in the House of Peers.

The intention of the Maharaja to contest a seat in the House of Commons was not encouraged by the Queen. As soon as Dalip Singh, who would not move a finger against the wishes of the sovereign, learnt this, he made up his mind. All idea of listening to solicitations to stand for a Borough was at an end.²³ Never-theless it was considered advisable that the report should not be formally contradicted but that Dalip Singh should withdraw quietly from holding any conversation at the clubs or elsewhere having references to any such intention.

Queen Victoria had other intentions about Dalip Singh's desire to enter politics. If the Maharaja did wish to take part in public life she was strongly of opinion, that a seat in the House of Lords would be far more suitable.²⁴

When however, she mentioned this subject to Gladstone, the latter though favouring the idea pointed out an obstacle. The original intention of Dalip Singh, in order to get into the House of

22. 'Times of India', Bombay, 6th May 1873.

23. Colonel Oliphant attorney of the Maharaja to Major-General Sir Thomas Biddulph, 12th July 1873.

Ralmoral,

24. Sir Thomas Biddulph to Colonel Oliphant, dated at Balmoral, 13th September 1873.

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Commons was to contest the constituency of Whitby. Now, the Gladstonian candidate for that constituency was none other than the Prime Minister's own son. Naturally he feared that a recommendation on his part for a grant of Peerage to the Maharaja might be construed by the opposition into an unworthy manoeuvre by him to get rid of his son's opponent.'25 The position is fairly summarised by Gladstone himself in a private letter to Sir Thomas Biddulph, dated August 29th, 1873. He writes:—

"The Queen conversed with me sometime ago about the Maharaja and a Feerage. I expressed in principle a tavourable yiew or the proposition to give him a Feerage.

But I told Her Majesty a rumour had reached me that he intended to oppose my son at Whitby.

"I scarcely believed it would be true but I pointed out the difficulty which would arise it it could be said that I had advised the grant of a Peerage to the Maharaja in order to get rid of opposition at Whitby.

"I am afraid there is here something like a real if only temporary impediment.

"Since that time I have heard nothing to confirm the rumour, but also nothing to disperse it." 25

This however, was not such a serious obstacle and Sir Thomas Biddulph wrote to Colonel Oliphant that if the Maharaja had entirely abandoned all thought of Whitby, and the question of standing for it or for any other place was no longer entertained by him, or by others, (for it would have been nearly as prejudicial to Mr. Gladstone if the inhabitants of Whitby still expected the Maharaja to be a candidate as if he had intended himself to be one); that in that case, of course supposing that a Peerage could be acceptable to the Maharaja Mr. Gladstone would recommend the Queen to confer one. "Pray consider this matter well over", he added, "and if you think fit, place this letter in the Maharaja's hands." The proposal actually made to Dalip Singh was not in a direct form; the Peerage being offered not for the Maharaja himself but on behalf of his two sons. How the original proposal was

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^{25.} Ibid

^{26.} W. E. Gladstone to Sir Thomas Biddulph 29th August 1873.
27. Sir Thomas Biddulph to Col. Oliphant, dated 13th September 1873.

so modified is obscure. Gladstone's party was defeated at the polls and Disraeli came to power with Duke of Argyle as Secretary for India. The Conservatives had been no party to the correspondence with Dalip Singh concerning a Peerage and were under no obligation to make any offer. The offer that was made must have been done at the instance of the Queen herself. The following letter of Rev. Osborne Jay describes the matter fully:

"Before I was ordained in 1880, I was acting for a time as Private Secretary to Lord Grenville at the Foreign Office, and was asked by the Maharaja to attend him at Elvedon at an interview with the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary for India.

"Queen Victoria has always intended to make Dalip Singh English in all save name. She sent the Duke, therefore, on a special mission.

"It was this, to offer Peerage for both Princes; a Marquisate for Victor, and an Earldom (or at least a Viscountcy) for Fredie.

"His Grace's letter outlining the proposal had been sent to me beforehand by the Prince.

"When, however, the formal interview took place in the great library at Elveden, a noble apartment decorated with gold Indian shawls upon the walls, the Duke conveyed the Queen's offer and the Maharaja immediately declined it.

"I thank Her Majesty' he said, 'most heartily and humbly convey to her my esteem, affection and admiration. Beyond that I cannot go. I claim myself to be royal; I am not English, and neither I nor my children will ever become so. Such titles—though kindly offered—we do not need and cannot assume. We love the English and especially their Monarch, but we must remain Sikhs.'

"He walked across to a table and opened a drawer. 'This he said drawing out some paper', is the design for my coat-of-arms, drawn up by the Prince Consort and initialled by the Queen. I use them out of courtesy to Her Majesty, but I will not register them at the College of Arms, I am not English.

"The Duke said to me afterwards he had never seen truer dignity or more real independence of spirit. I have reason for

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believing that the Queen, when told of all this, shared his opinion,"28

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This incident looks curious when we realize that the ambition of Dalip Singh was to found an English family. But the malter rests there and we hear no more about it.

What had happened to that dream and that deliberate desire to be converted into an Englishman? Obviously Dalip Singh realised the incompatibility of his life with the outlook of the English. It would not be too much to say that his financial position and the treatment he received at the hands of the Government ultimately assured him that, neither was there a genuine desire to assimilate him nor was it worth while, from his point of view, to mould his thoughts and wishes to suit the interests of the English and forego all his rights and claims, as he was being required to do, for the sake of the doubtful privilege of being considered an Englishman. In order to understand Dalip Singh's mind, it is necessary to have a full account of his relations with the Government. For reasons of space, however, we can only give a brief summary here.

Dalip Singh asserts that he never realised the true nature of his relations with the Government till after the death of his ficially appointed guardian, Sir John Login. Lady Login deplores that after Sir John's death, Dalip Singh fell into bad hands. is a fact that Login brought up his pupil in a way that he should feel contented with the position he was in. Login meant well and we might applaud his sagacity and forethought if we grant the maxim that 'ignorance is bliss'. For Sir John educated the Maharaja in the distorted version of official history. He even made Dalip Singh believe in the lies and fables that had been circulated England regarding the alleged illegitimacy of Dalip Singh's birth, thus trying to make him look upon his past as something not altogether to be proud of, and the distinction granted to him in England as a gracious concession for which he ought to be thank-After Sir John's death Dalip Singh read history in a different light, and gradually awakened to a sense that he had been swindled of his kingdom by his guardian, and that he had been

[&]amp; Letter of Rev. Osborne Jay. Quoted in the preface to 'Portraits in Norfolk Houses' by the late Prince Frederick Dalip Singh, edited by the

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compelled to lay his signatures to a very unfair 'agreement' while he was only eleven years old. He might not have grumbled even then had his rights under what he called 'the iniquitous Treaty of Annexation' been rightly secured to him. But he saw time after time that the terms of that treaty were violated by the British · Government, who chose to interpret them as best suited their purpose. He saw that though by treaty only the 'property of state' had been confiscated, his claim to his private ancestral lands even was not recognised. Even his jewels and other household effects that were found in the palace at Lahore had been sold by the British in a number of public auctions—a proceeding as shabby as it was unjust. It could hardly have created a better impression on the people of the Punjab when they saw the household articles of their revered Ranjit being sold like the property of a bankrupt. For Dalip Singh, however, it was a very unkind cut, since the property so auctioned contained some articles of intimate nature like miniature portrait of his father or swords and rifles made specially for the use of himself and his brothers.29

Those, however, were matters of the past, and Dalip Singh would have been satisfied had he been offered a slight compensation for them. More annoying to him was the violation of that article in the treaty which granted him an annual pension. Under the Treaty 'not less than four or more then five' lakhs of rupees annually were to be set aside for the support of himself and his servants. Of course, the Government was entitled to apportion that sum as they pleased, but the Maharaja expected that all lapses of pensions under this fund would revert to him. appears to have been the opinion also of others who signed the treaty. On the other hand, he was told that the grant was made for life, not for his life, and as the holder died it would revert to the Government. Naturally he asked what the phrase 'not less than four laks per annum' meant. The Government also lent him money, partly at 4 and partly at 5 per cent, and encouraged him to buy landed estate in England which could hardly bring in 3 per cent. 'While the payment of interest thus reduced his annual stipend, he felt he was paying interest to a Government whom he really believed to be indebted to him.'

29. Vide sale Catalogue of goods, etc., auctioned at Lahore. 1850, Reprinted London 1884, British Museum.

MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH AFTER DEPOSITION

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Nevertheless, he continued to play his part in the social life the country as best as he could. In 1882 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace in the County of Suffolk, but that was the last feather in his cap, and soon after he divested himself of all these empty honours. His troubles and anxieties grew as his dildren were getting older and in 1882 he was reduced more or less to utter penuary, as he says, he "was compelled to take out a Game Dealer's License and sell live animals and pheasant eggs in order to add to his income."30 The following year he compiled a statement of his case and circulated it to the Members Parliament. But for a few half-hearted questions by some Members in Parliament, Dalip Singh received no help from that quarter. Having failed to evoke sympathy in Parliament, Dalip Singh tried to lay his case before the English public through the medium of the 'Times', but with no better result. Finding his case in Parliament ignored while his appeal to the public had no effect, Dalip Singh was convinced that there was no desire in England to him justice. He looked back at his social life in England. All his friends and companions were meant to be companions of fun and frivolity alone. He had gained their admiration and their hiendship in the days of his glory when he was, next to royalty, the foremost figure of Court. His connections in England were all formed on an impersonal basis. He was still welcome at lunting parties because he was a good shot, he was invited to where one talked of the weather, or to spend week-ends where the beauty of the countryside and its flowers was the topic of conversation. His troubles and worries were his own affair.

His disappointment was great, as he felt, that, to him even that impartial justice for which England was famous had not been granted. He could complain to and put his pleas only before those people against whom his claim was. He repeatedly proposed, that, if owing to his peculiar position and the extraordinary triumstances of his case he was not allowed to seek redress in the ordinary tribunals of the country, his case might be put before white to decide against him he would at least acquit Her Majesty's Government of arbitrary action. He wrote personal letters to the

^{30.} Petition of Maharaja Dalip Singh, Punjab Govt. Records.

**Records Dalip Singh to Queen Victoria personal letter. Lady Login's 3.

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Queen on this subject. The Queen, however, could only sympathise, she could not set the grievance right, however much she might have wanted to. The subject was again referred to the India Office, who as before, chose to consider the matter closed. There could be no appeal. It was an 'Act of State'.

No wonder that after this last supreme effort at reconciliation had failed, Dalip Singh decided to leave the home of his adoption and go back to the home of his birth. In 1883 he sold his jewels to raise funds for the purpose, and in a visit to Lady Login announced his intention to go to India and leave 'England and her deceitful bureaucrats' for good. He said he intended to resume Indian life and be done with 'England and her hypocrisies for ever.' The Government, it seems, did not think Dalip Singh was serious about this matter. But when he finally made up his mind in 1886, and his boat was about to sail for Southampton, he received a visit from Col. Sir Owen Burne on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, and was offered a bribe of £50,000 if he should stay in England. This he declined, saying he would not accept even £50,000 and give a receipt in full.32 The offer, however, was another manifestation to him of the fact that the Government was conscious of its weak position in the case. However, if the Government in England were afraid of public reproach, the Government of India possesses extraordinary powers of which Dalip Singh had been warned by the Under-Secretary of State for India.33 By virtue of these extraordinary powers, Dalip Singh came within the jurisdiction of the Government of India, he was arrested at Aden by the orders of Lord Dufferin and refused permission to proceed further.

Opinions will differ as to the Government of India's attitude towards Dalip Singh. General feeling at the time seems to have been that the Government acted more harshly than was necessary. Commenting on it Col. G. B. Malleson wrote in the "Asiatic Review" that the Dalip Singh incident would seem to show that England did not have a very happy way of dealing with personages who were objects of some political solicitude to them, and who had taken umbrage at the treatment they had received. As an

^{32.} Maharaja Dalip Singh to 'Times of India', 1886.
33. Reply to a question of Mr. Hanbury by Mr. Howard, Under's Secretary of State for India.

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evile in Russia and a pensioner of the Czar, Dalip Singh could always be brought forward as a living instance of British harshness. Col. Malleson was of the opinion that nothing could have enhanced the little political importance possessed by Dalip Singh more than the step taken by the Government in forbidding his risit to India after the authorities in England had expressed indifference as to his journey. If the visit was dangerous, he argued, the safe plan was to have let the Maharaja continue his trip, so that the dangers might be revealed and that the author should take the consequence of his proceedings. If it was not attached with danger the proper course to pursue was to show complete indifference to the proceedings of an erratic individual. The Times of India" also opined that the Government was in error in attaching the importance they did to the effect of Dalip Singh's presence on Indian soil. 35

The arrest of Dalip Singh however proved to be the last straw on his back. The indignity was more than he could stand. He threw in the face of the Government the pension he had hitherto drawn, forsook Christianity, reembraced the religion of his childhood, abjured his allegiance and retired to the continent of Europe, seeking shelter at French and Russian courts as a political protege.

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Asiatic Review, Volume V, 1888.
The 'Times of India', Bombay, 30th June 1886,

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By

E. R. KAPADIA, M.A. (DELHI), M.A. (LONDON). Lecturer in History, St. Stephen's College. Delhi.

The last word on Captain Burnes' Mission to Kabul (September 1837-April 1838) has not been said. Before 1851 the public had hardly any authentic information on his mission and on events immediately preceding the First Afghan War. The authorities at London had mutilated Burnes's dispatches from Kabul for their own purposes.1 They wanted to justify their policy of invading Afghanistan—an invasion which led to a disaster unparalleled in the history of the British in India. To do that they garbled—and I must say that they did it most skilfully—the dispatches of Burnes in such a way that they contrived to show that Dost Muhammad and the other Barakzai Sirdars had acted as eager and determined foes of the British Government. Everything in Burnes's public letters which put Dost Muhammad's conduct in a favourable light or which showed any desire on his part to cultivate English friendship was suppressed.2 This was done in order to justify the later conduct of the British Government towards him.

This dishonesty was exposed by Sir John William Kaye who in 1851 published his History of the War in Afghanistan.3 In this he gave an account of Burnes's Mission to Kabul, which came to be regarded as final and authoritative. But Kaye had written it under the stress of strong emotions roused by the shameless garbling of the historical dispatches; there was a strong desire in him to undo the wrong done to the dead man's memory, to please and satisfy his aged parents who had been trying for years to correct the impressions created by the Government's action. So that in exposing the dishonesty, Kaye, in his generous indignation,

1. Parliamentary Papers, 1839, XL.

2. See Kaye—History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, pp. 202-4.

^{3.} In 1859 long after the exposure an ungarbled edition of Burnes's letters was published, see Parliamentary Papers, 1859 (2), XXV.

attributed all sorts of virtues to Dost Muhammad and failed to point out the deficiencies of Burnes.

Now that it is possible to take a calmer and more detached view of the whole situation I shall try to show that Burnes was more responsible for the failure of his mission than either Lord Auckland or the unfavourable circumstances. Burnes was vain, immoral, a bad diplomat, neither judicious nor cautious, in short no match to Dost Muhammad in diplomacy. And Dost Muhammad, though by no means as hostile to the British Government as the garbled dispatches represented him to be, was certainly determined to take advantage of the English fears of Russia—fears unduly magnified by Burnes's ridiculous behaviour at the arrival of the Russian Agent at Kabul. He, therefore, demanded that Ranjit Singh should be asked to cede Peshawar before he would undertake to give up dealings with Persia and Russia, and ally himself with the British. This demand could not be accepted by the Indian Government.

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I need not spend much time in describing the events leading to the dispatch of Burnes to Kabul on a so-called commercial mission. The chief motive was the dread of Russian influence in Central Asia. Persia under Russian influence was marching on Herat, wanting to recover the provinces which once had belonged to the empire of Nadir Shah. The British statesman feared for the safety of India. This fantastic fear—that it was fantastic in 1836 will be apparent if we study large scale maps—had gripped the English Foreign Office then in charge of Lord Palmerston. On June 25, 1836, Lord Palmerston wrote a dispatch, the product of his imaginary fears, which became the foundation of Burnes's mission to Kabul 6 This dispatch pointed out the need of raising "a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence." Lord Auckland was to select his own mode of action and he

^{4.} Burnes was a well-known geographer, traveller and explorer, but and Persia in 1832 was of the most flattering character and this head.

^{5.} Read the account of his behaviour in Masson—Journeys, Vol. III,

^{6.} The dispatch may be read in full in Sir Auckland Colvin's book John Russell Colvin p. 87.

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selected Burnes and sent him to Kabul, nominally on a commercial mission, but really to find out the extent of Persian influence in Kabul.⁷

When the British Government had at last decided to send a mission to Kabul, Dost Muhammad was very eager to receive it. He was eager for British alliance in order to protect himself from any attack by Persia under Russian influence, to guard himself against the Sikhs and to recover Peshawar from them. In fact ever since 1832, when Burnes had made his journey to Persia through Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad had been eager for British alliance. But at that time the British Government was not much interested in the affairs of Afghanistan, and Dost Muhammad was informed in general terms of the British Government's desire to cultivate a close friendship with the Afghans. The prospects of a mission from India, a quarter from which he had so far not received more than a polite letter, aroused great hopes in Dost Muhammed.

But before Captain Burnes reached Kabul, the Amir, Dost Muhammad, had to fight another unsuccessful battle for the recovery of Peshawar from the Sikhs (May 1837). The first attempt had been made in May 1835, a year after its annexation by the Sikhs (May 1834). It is necessary to mention these Afghan-Sikhs Wars over Peshawar, for it was partly on the rock of the irreconcilable hostility of the Sikh and Afghan that Burnes's mission to Kabul foundered. The war of 1837 is specially important for it was only after this war that Lord Auckland decided that the British Government must induce the Afghans and the Sikhs, through Burnes at Kabul and Wade at Ludhiana, to negotiate a peace honourable to both the parties. Till then they had refused to mediate, and had treated the Afghan-Sikh dispute as no concern of theirs.9

That was a proper attitude to take when the British Government had desired to avoid all intimate connection with a ruler

^{7.} Kaye—History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 182.
8. See Chapter V of my Mss. called the "The Diplomatic career of Sir Claude Wade: a study of British relations with the Sikhs and Afghans", which will be published shortly Wade was British Agent at Ludhiana from 1823-1840.

^{9.} See Cunningham-History of the Sikhs, p. 209.

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But this attitude ought to have been changed when or remote. It itself desired, in its own interests, an intimate alliance with the ruler of Kabul and was even sending an agent which it had so far refused to do. The British Government ought to have known from different letters it had received from Dost Muhammad that he attached the greatest importance to Peshawar, and that if the British Government asked for any favours from him, it must inits turn be willing to tackle the Peshawar question. Burnes realised what Lord Auckland had not, and in May 1837 he asked for political instructions. 10 But Lord Auckland had yet no idea of utilising Burnes's mission further than for privately collecting information on Persian intrigues in Afghanistan and measures adopted by Russia with the object of extending her influence in Central Asia.11 And so Burnes continued his journey to Kabul without any political instructions. The Government of India's policy at this time was to treat the Afghan-Sikh dispute as if it concerned the Sikhs and Afghans only, and to enter into negotiations with Dost Muhammad independently of the Peshawar question. But, as far as the Amir was concerned he was not prepared to discuss any commercial or political matters with the British Government independently of his dispute with the Sikhs, the age-long allies of the English. Lord Auckland ought to have realised early, which Burnes to his credit had done, that the two questions were inseparable, and that if he (Burnes) was authorised to enter into commercial discussions with Dost Muhammad he must at the same time be authorized to discuss the question of Peshawar and be given explicit instructions on the point.

Lord Auckland decided to invest Burnes with diplomatic powers only after the battle of Jamrud, the arrival of a Persian envoy at Kandahar and Dost Muhammad's receipt of a letter from Count Simonich, the Russian Agent at Teheran, which had made the situation serious from the British point of view. Before Auckland's letter reached Burnes, the latter had reached Kabul and started political discussions with Dost Muhammad without any definite political instructions. Burnes was clearly guilty of

^{10.} Masson Papers-633, Mss. European, E. 161, No. 3; Burnes to Colvin, May, 1837, f. 26.

^{11.} Parliamentary Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, p. 14. Govt. to Burnes, 15th

^{12.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, Burnes to Govt. 1st Aug. 1837.

exceeding his authority, all the more so when, according to his own letter to Masson,13 he knew that Lord Auckland had intended to act only after he had reported from Kabul. 14 Hence, when we are dealing with Burnes' mission to Kabul, we should constantly bear in mind that Burnes was a month in advance of his instruc-The unfortunate result of this fact was that the Government of India's policy was not put into operation until it was too late, and even then only partially. Not having any political instructions, Burnes entered into negotiations on the basis of his own ideas, which as I shall show, were quite different to those accepted by Lord Auckland.15 In view of the difficult · circumstances, Burnes's ideas were not so sound. Burnes would not wait till instructions arrived from India because he was vain, ambitious and eager to settle the delicate questions himself,16 and also because he suffered excessively from Russophobia17 and believed that the arrival of letters from Russia had created such a dangerous situation that it was not advisable to wait and that he should do something at once to counteract Russian influence.

Now let us see what were the views of Burnes and of Lord Auckland on Afghan politics. Burnes was in favour of consolidating the Afghan Empire under Dost Muhammad. He said: "We should consolidate Afghan power west of the Indus, and have a King, and not a collection of chiefs. Divide et impera is a temporising creed at any time; and if the Afghans are united, we and they bid defiance to Persia,..."

18 He recommended that Dost Muhammad should be helped to take Kandahar and Herat, and Peshawar should be promised to him on the death of Ranjit Singh by a secret treaty. 19

13. An English news-writer at Kabul, and a deserter from the army.

14. Masson—Journeys, Vol. III, pp. 443-4; dated 4th Septr. 1837.

15. Lord Auckland's ideas were those of Captain Claude Wade, the Governor-General's Political Agent at Ludhiana, in charge of British relations with the Punjab and Afghanistan. For political career of Wade (Sir Claude W. J.)

(Sir Claude Wade) the reader is asked to wait for the publication of my book.

16. Kaye—History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 188, note.

17. Masson—Journeys, Vol. III, p. 437.

18. Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, 251; Burnes to Govt. 2nd June, 1838.

19. Masson Branch Park.

19. Masson Papers, 633, Mss. Eur. E. 161, No. 3, Burnes to Colvin, 12th May, 1837. These recommendations being in favour of Dost Muhammad were omitted from the Blue Book published in 1839

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The views that were acceptable to Lord Auckland were quite contrary to those held by Burnes. They were the views of Captain Claude Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana and in charge of British relations with the Sikhs and Afghans. Auckland came to believe with Wade that the disunion of the Afghan chiefs was an element of security to the British;20 hence his policy was to maintain the existing nearly even balance of the three Afghan nowers,21 and not to consolidate Afghanistan under Dost Muhammad. He was also eager to remain on good terms with the Sikhs. and hence was not willing to put any pressure on Ranjit Singh to surrender Peshawar.22 He considered it inadvisable to provoke Ranjit Singh in an attempt to conciliate an inferior power like that of Dost Muhammad.

Such in brief were the views of Lord Auckland and of Wade on Afghan politics. These views mean that if Dost Muhammad insisted on making the cession of Peshawar sine qua non of his alliance with the British Government, no alliance could be made with him. And Wade knew that Dost Muhammad, being very eager to recover Peshawar, would try to take advantage of the British fears of Russia and make the cession of Peshawar a necessary condition of his alliance. Hence the policy he recommended for adoption was as follows. The British Government should promise Dost Muhammad security in his existing dominions and offer him its good offices for the establishment of peace with Ranjit Singh. But—and this was a very important point with Wade—the exercise of British mediation with the Sikhs was to depend entirely upon his relinquishing all intercourse with Russia and Persia. To prevent the Amir from taking advantage of the expected arrival of the Persian and Russian envoys, Wade suggested that Burnes should be instructed not to enter into any negotiations with him till he had first given up all connection with Russia and Persia. And if Dost Muhammad made any attempt to play off one power against the others, Burnes should bring him a just sense of his situation by placing his dangers before him

21. British Museum, Additional Mss. 37691, f. 13, verso, Auckland to McNeill, 10th June, 1837.

22. Secret letters from India and Bengal, Vol. 23, p. 335, 21st February,

^{20.} Kaye—Op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 305-7. In those days British feared the Afghans; Zaman Shah's invasions were still fresh in mind.

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in a true light and making little of the British fears of Russia. He should be informed that, if he persisted in seeking the Persian alliance, the Sikhs and Shah Shuja would be free to march on Kabul.²³

This policy was accepted by Lord Auckland as is shown from his dispatch of 11th September, 1837,24 to Burnes. This policy, I think, would have very likely brought Burnes' mission to a success-. ful issue, for Dost Muhammad was extremely anxious to receive the British Mission, as is shown by Jabbar Khan's suggestion to Masson.²⁵ It is equally clear that he feared the Sikhs and Shah Shuja, especially if they were to have the open support of the British Government in their attack on Afghanistan. Even his main reason for overtures to Persia and Russia was only to intimidate the English into the surrender of Peshawar. He knew that no power could avail him except the English, and hence he never believed that Russia or Persia could help him to recover Peshawar, which was his great ambition to possess. If Burnes had refused to talk on any topic and had threatened to leave Kabul, unless a guarantee was forthcoming from Dost Muhammad of his willingness to have nothing to do with Persia and Russia; or had he threatened him (Amir) with helping the Sikhs and Shah Shuja in an invasion of Kaul, in case he persisted in playing off England against Russia, British mission would have been in a much stronger position at Kabul. Since it was not possible to purchase Dost Muhammad's alliance by concession and conciliation without alienating Ranjit Singh it was necessary to intimidate him.

This method of intimidating Dost Muhammad into identifying his policy with the British Government was not carried out by Burnes; firstly, because he was in advance of his instructions; secondly, because he suffered from Russophobia and allowed Dost Muhammad to take advantage of the British fears of Russia, and lastly, because he was an incompetent diplomat.

The Government of India's dispatch of 11th September, 1837, which invested Burnes with diplomatic powers and which gave

^{23.} India Political Consultations, 11th September, 1837, 40; Wade to Govt. 25th August, 1837.

^{24.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, pp. 28-9.
25. Masson—Journeys, Vol. 3, p. 425-6; The Nawab Jabbar Khan told Masson that the best way to bring the Amir to the necessity of being a suppliant was to delay Burnes's arrival at Kabul.

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told ng a him instructions as to the policy he was to adopt, did not reach him till 21st October. But long before that Burnes, who had reached Kabul on 20th September, had started political discussions with Dost Muhammad on the basis of his own ideas. Thus the Government's policy of not negotiating with the Amir till he had given a formal pledge of relinquishing all connections with Persia and Russia could not, at all, receive effect. Then, instead of playing upon the fears of Dost Muhammad, and keeping him in his proper place by hinting that, if he persisted in his intrigues with the enemies of Britain, the Sikhs would be free to march on Kabul, Burnes allowed the astute Dost Muhammad to act upon the English fears of Russia. This is clearly shown by his own dispatch of 5th October, 1837.26

Burnes, suffering from Russophobia, was easily outmanoeuvred, and informed the Amir—though he had no business to do so and no grounds for his belief—that Ranjit Singh intended to make some change in the management of Peshawar and might be induced to restore it to Sultan Muhammad Khan.27 Now this belief of Burnes that Ranjit Singh intended to give up Peshawar was just his impression, his fancy, which had no foundation in fact. early as 3rd June, 1837, Wade had informed Burnes that though it would be very advisable for Ranjit Singh to give up Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad Khan such an event was not of probable occurrence.²⁸ Wade knew that the Singh sirdars were strongly opposed to a step which could be ascribed to a fear of the Afghans. But Burnes was neither willing to accept the opinions of Wade nor use the information which the latter supplied him concerning the Sikh Government, though Wade knew the Sikh court more intimately than Burnes. There was considerable ill-feeling and jealousy between the two. There is now no doubt that Wade was right, that Ranjit Singh never intended to give up Peshawar. principle of holding fast whatever he had once obtained strongly implanted in him; he knew that the occupation of Pesha-War Was a drain on his finances, but he did not cling to it the less lenaciously. He would not have given it up except under threat

^{26.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, pp. 30-4.

^{27.} Idem, Burnes to Govt. 5th Octr. 1837, p. 32. Sultan Muhammad was bost Muhammad's half-brother and it was from him that Ranjit Singh had

^{28.} India Political Consultations, 26th June, 1837, No. 45.

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of war from the English, who were not so foolish as to risk war with the disciplined Sikh army in order that Dost Muhammad might have Peshawar. And yet Burnes said that the Maharaja was thinking of relaxing his hold on Peshawar.

When Burnes said that the Maharaja intended to make some change in the arrangements for the control of Peshawar, Dost Muhammad seized the opportunity and proposed to hold the city himself tributary to Lahore, even agreeing to send his son to ask the Maharaja's forgiveness.29 Burnes not only agreed to forward the proposition to the Governor-General, but, according to Masson, even encouraged the Amir to hope that his terms for holding Peshawar would be accepted by the British Government.30 There is no doubt that Burnes thought Dost Muhammad's terms very reasonable, moderate, even humiliating to himself, and approved of them.31 But he did not for a moment consider how the proposals which he had agreed to forward would affect Ranjit Singh's interests, and, whether it was necessary to ascertain his wishes before giving any false hopes to the Amir. Throughout his negotiations at Kabul one factor is apparent that Burnes totally failed to take the Sikh power into consideration. He never fully considered how his proposals to conciliate Dost Muhammad would affect the British alliance with Ranjit Singh. He failed to comprehend the situation as a whole and only concerned himself with one side of the problem, viz., how somehow or the other, to . conciliate Dost Muhammad and secure his alliance against Russia and Persia. Left to himself he would no doubt, as Kaye thinks,32 have conciliated Dost Muhammad, but at the cost of alienating or fighting Ranjit Singh. He considered it a great honour for Ranjit Singh to have Dost Muhammad as his tributary as it is apparent from his statement: "there was surely nothing in them (the proposals of the Amir to hold Peshawar) contrary to dignity of His Highness; an independent chief offers to pay allegiance and regular tribute and to send a son to sue for forgiveness."33 But Burnes failed to realise that, though it might

Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV; Burnes to Govt. 5th October, 1837, p. 33.

^{30.} Masson—Journeys, Vol. 3, p. 456 and 459.
31. See Burnes's letter of 30th October, 1837, to a private friend—Kaye op. cit. Vol. I, p. 185-6

^{32.} History of the war in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 312.
33. Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, p. 91; Burnes to Govt. 27th December, 1837.

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not be contrary to the dignity of the Maharaja to have Dost Muhammad as his tributary (but only for Peshawar), it was not in his interest to increase the Afghan power on his frontier specially when he ruled over a large number of Muslims and had possessed himself of provinces which once had belonged to the Afghans.

Burnes's correspondence had to pass through Wade's office, and Wade took this opportunity to express his opinion freely on Burnes's proposals. He refused to communicate Dost Muhammad's terms to Ranjit Singh. Fistly, because he believed that Ranjit Singh would not be willing to give Peshawar to one whose nower "he will be less able to control than he is at present, from the additional strength which the Amir seeks to acquire,"34 Secondly, because Burnes, at the time of transmission of Dost Muhammad's propositions, was not possessed of Government's instructions of 11th September, 1837, which declared the reliquishment by Dost Muhammad of all alliance with the powers west of the Indus as the indispensable preliminary condition of the British adjustment of his quarrel with the Sikhs. The third reason was that the giving of Peshawar to Dost Muhammad would not have been compatible with the accepted policy of preserving the existing division and balance of authority in Afghanistan. Any increase in Dost Muhammad's power, which would be the result of acquiring Peshawar, would at once induce him to take Kandahar and Herat. The execution of such a design would make Afghanisten too powerful for British comfort. The British had not forgotten the threatened invasions of India by Zaman Shah, forty years before, which had then filled them with anxiety and

The Government of India agreed with Wade that Ranjit Singh would not be willing to surrender Peshawar on the terms proposed by the Amir; it approved of his resolution not to enter into any negotiations until assured that Dost Muhammad had relinquished all connection with Persia. And Burnes who was ever keen on consolidating Dost Muhammad's power, was reminded [Governor-General's letter, 2nd December, 1837] that the un-

^{34.} India Political Consultation, 27th December. 1837, 9; Wade to Govt., November, 1837.

^{35.} Ind. Pol. Cons. 27th December, 1837, 15, Govt. to Wade, 25th November, 1837. A copy of this letter was sent to Burnes.

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doubted policy of the British Government was to preserve unimpaired the existing balance of power in Afghanistan and to refrain from being a party to an arrangement which would give Dost Muhammad to any one chief an undue preponderance.36 should give up his ambition to recover Peshawar, precarious position in which he was placed, he should gratefully accept British good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory.37

But Dost Muhammad had different opinions of his position and power; he believed his alliance was of such great importance to the British Government in order to ward off Russian menace that he could put his own price upon it. He felt his opinion to be more justified when in December, 1837, a Russian Agent, named Vitkevich, reached Kabul with a letter from the Czar. His arrival completely overpowered Burnes, who abandoned himself to despair. Masson, who was with him, says that the English envoy "bound his head with wet towels and handkerchiefs, and took to smelling bottles," and remarks that it was humiliating to witness such an exhibition, and the ridicule to which it gave rise.38 There might be some exaggeration in this statement, but that Burnes was greatly alarmed is true as is shown by the tone of his letter of 23rd December, written immediately after the arrival of the Russian Agent. Such disconcertion must have increased Dost Muhammad's determination to profit by English fears and obtain his own terms. In his letter of 23rd December, Burnes pressed on his Government the necessity of an immediate adjustment of the Peshawar dispute with the Sikhs. He believed that it would not be asking too much of Ranjit Singh to act with promptitude in the adjustment of a matter which, "while it hangs over, brings intrigues to our door, and if not checked may shortly bring enemies instead of messengers."39 Burnes at the same time recommended help to Dost Muhammad for the defence of his territory and the consolidation and extension of his power.40

^{36.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, Govt. of Burnes, 2nd December, 1837,

^{37.} Idem; also Govt. to Burnes, 27th December, 1837, p. 98.

^{38.} Masson-Journeys, Vol. 3, p. 463.

^{39.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV; Burnes to Govt. 23rd December, 1837, p. 91.

^{40.} Idem.

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Lord Auckland was not frightened by Russia and did not believe that it could do much harm to the Indian Empire41 and therefore he was not to be frightened into making doubtful concessions. Wade advised him not to help Dost Muhammad which might not only rouse the jealousy of the Sikhs but also enable the Amir to overthrow his neighbours. The British Government must not be a party to a change in the political condition of the ruler of Kabul, "which while it tend to increase his power would diminish our means of restraining him."42 Lord Auckland followed Wade's advice and informed Burnes that there was no need to consolidate Dost Muhammad's power as the existing division of power was decidedly the most beneficial for British interests. At the same time, the Amir was informed that he should make overtures of peace to Ranjit Singh without insisting on the recovery of Peshawar, for the British Government was not prepared to press Ranjit Singh to give it up. The British Government in endeavouring to induce the Maharaja . to refrain from prosecuting further hostilities against the Kabul territories, had made the utmost demand "which our interest and long-established friendship admit, upon the consideration which that powerful chief is willing to show to our wishes."43

While the above letter was on its way to Kabul, Burnes had received Lord Auckland's letter of 2nd December, 1837, in the third week of January. According to the instructions given in that letter Burnes advised the Amir to waive his claims to Peshawar and be content with whatever arrangement Ranjit Singh might make with Sultan Muhammad Khan. The Amir replied that it would be less injurious to him to leave Peshawar directly under hands of the Sikhs than in the hands of his half-brother,44 who Was his enemy and was trying to arrange a combination with Shah Shuja and the Kandahar chiefs against him. Dost Muhammad's brother, Jabbar Khan, then proposed a compromise, suggesting

^{41.} Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 483. This belief was also due to Wade's influence—See Wade's letter of 3rd June, 1837, to Burnes: Ind. Pol. Cons. 26th June, 1837, 45, also Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, p. 199, Wade to Govt., 21st March, 1838.

^{42.} Ind. Pol. Cons. 14th February, 1838, 56; Wade to Govt., 13th January,

^{43.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV; Govt. to Burnes, 20th January, 1838,

^{44.} Idem; Burnes to Govt., 26th January, 1839, p. 121.

that Peshawar be delivered conjointly to the Amir and Sultan Muhammad. The Amir observed that such an arrangement would remove his fears. 45 It is not easy to discern the force of Dost Muhammad's argument that he was in less danger from the Maharaja than Sultan Muhammad. Why should the security which he had enjoyed from 1824 to 1833, when Peshawar was in the hands of Sultan Muhammad Khan (and it might be pointed out that the enmity between the brothers was not of recent date. but went back to 1823) be diminished by the retrocession of the same place to the same party; and the more so if Peshawar was restored to Sultan Muhammad on condition of his remaining at peace with Dost Muhammad? If Dost Muhammad had desired only security from his half-brother and the Sikhs, that security was assured him in his remaining possessions in return for identifying his policy with that of the British Government, and relinquishing all connection with the powers to the westward. But Dost Muhammad did not want security dependent on the guarantee of a third power; he wanted to provide for his security by consolidating his dominions and for that some control over Peshawar, he believed, was necessary.

But the British policy, as I have explained, was neither to let Dost Muhammad consolidate his dominions, nor to put any pressure on Ranjit Singh to give up Peshawar, Lord Auckland having only a year ago checked Ranjit Singh's progress in the direction of Sind. Such being the case no attempt was made to settle the Peshawar question on the basis of the new proposal made by Jabbar Khan. ⁴⁶ Lord Auckland informed Burnes that the British Government did not intend to press any scheme for the relinquishment of Peshawar on Ranjit Singh; that must depend upon the pleasure of the Maharaja whose right to that place could not be questioned. ⁴⁷ Dost Muhammad was asked to rest satisfied with an arrangement which would leave him in the enjoyment of his existing possessions "under the assurance of the continued exercise of our good offices for his security from further attack, the Sikh remaining, as at present, in the immediate

45. Idem; Burnes to Govt., 26th January, 1839, p. 123.
46. Kaye was doubtful whether any attempt was made to bring about a settlement of the Peshawar question on the basis of this proposal—op. cit.

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Vol. I, p. 201, note.

47. Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, Govt. to Burnes, 7th March, 1838, p. 174.

ALEXANDER BURNES' MISSION TO KABUL

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occupation and management of the Peshawar territory."48 insisted on having some share in the management of Peshawar, without which no amicable understanding would be acceptable to him, no settlement could be made and Burnes might leave Kabul.

However, before this letter of 7th March, 1838, reached Kabul. Burnes had put an end to his negotiations with the Amir and had decided to leave the Afghan capital. On 21st February, he had received the Governor-General's letter of 20th January which said that Peshawar must be left to the Sikh. No adjustment was possible when the British Government called upon the Amir to give up all connections with Persia and Russia and promised in return only security from further Sikh aggressions. The Amir considered that the British Government was offering too little in return for too much; he must at least have Peshawar.

Burnes left Kabul on 26th April, 1838.49 Even before his departure Vitkevich, the Russian Agent, was publicly sent for and paraded through the streets of Kabul. Dost Muhammad had decided to throw himself into the arms of Russia and Persia. There is no doubt, as Kaye was at great pains to prove, that till 21st February, 1838, the Russian mission made little progress at Kabul.⁵⁰ Dost Muhammad would have preferred the English alliance to any Russian or Persian alliance, for he wanted to recover Peshawar and knew that only the English could help him. But if Peshawar was not to be given to him he did not want the English friendship either.⁵¹ And I have conclusively proved that Peshawar could not have been promised to him.

If Dost Muhammad could not be conciliated by the promise of Peshawar, in what other way could he have been induced to

^{48.} Parl. Papers, 1859 (2), XXV, Govt. to Burnes, 7th March, 1838, p. 174,

^{49.} He stayed in Kabul for extra month and a half after the termination of negotiations because he was waiting for the return from Kunduz of Dr. Lord and Lieut. Wood.

^{50.} See Kaye—op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 195-9 and 204.

^{51.} That does not mean that Dost Muhammad had any "avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the bootiers. hontiers of India", as Auckland unjustly charged him with in his Simla Manifest. Manifesto of India", as Auckland unjustly charged min was a superior of 1st October, 1838, (see Kaye—op. cit. Vol. I, p. 369-74) which was issued in order to justify the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the property of the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the property of the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the property of the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the property of the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the property of the extreme and unnecessary step of invading the extreme and the Afghanistan. He only wanted Peshawar which was a natural object of his ambition, but which the English could not give him.

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identify his policy with that of the British Government? only other way was to intimidate him into being an ally of the English, without insisting on the recovery of Peshawar and remaining satisfied with the promise of the British to check further Sikh aggressions. That was Auckland's and Wade's policy, but Burnes failed to carry it out. He entered into political discussions with Dost Muhammad without waiting for political instructions. Then by his lack of diplomatic reserve he laid open to the Amir British fears of Russia and Persia and the importance attached to the establishment of the British influence at Kabul, Such a diplomacy led Dost Muhammad to believe that it was in his power, by coquetting with the Russian Agent, to intimidate the English into assisting him to recover Peshawar. He committed an error and by allying himself with Russia and Persia took that fatal step against which Wade had warned him as early as 1835. Wade had written to Masson: "if they (Afghans) reflect on their relative situation to the British Government, they must see that such a step (of seeking the support of a rival power) might prove more destructive of their independence than any which they could possibly take."52 And it nearly proved fatal to Dost Muhammad.

If Dost Muhammad failed to achieve his object the British also failed, and their failure was more tragic as it led to a bloody and costly war which ended in the most terrible disaster that ever happened to the Company's arms in India. They failed to threaten Dost Muhammad into submission and to bring him to make a proper estimate of his situation both as regards the Sikhs and the British Government.

Before I end this article I must say one thing more. If Lord Auckland's silent acquiescence in the garbling of Burnes's dispatches, submitted to Parliament, was dishonest, Kaye's account of Burnes's mission is unfair to Lord Auckland. Kaye seems to lay the whole blame on Lord Auckland and his advisors for the failure of the mission.⁵³ He accuses Lord Auckland of offering Dost Muhammad nothing substantial; but he ought to have realised that Peshawar, which the Amir wanted, was not his to give. Lord Auckland was in a very difficult position and when

^{52.} Masson—Journeys in Afghanistan, Vol. III, p. 337 53. Kaye—op. cit. pp. 308-12.

ALEXANDER BURNES' MISSION TO KABUL

he had chosen an incompetent diplomat like Burnes to conduct negotiations he was bound to fail,⁵⁴ and we are not astonished that he did. Lord Auckland is no doubt also to be blamed for the failure of the mission. He failed to realise early that there was an inseparable connection between the Afghan-Sikh dispute, and, the British Government's anxiety to establish an inflence in Afghanistan. He ought to have realised this connection before Burnes had left for Kabul or even while he was at some distance from his destination and should have given him definite instruction as to how he was to settle the Afghan-Sikh dispute. Failure to do so led to the conduct of the mission on ideas quite different to those held by the Government of India.

54. Auckland had selected Burnes to conduct the mission because of his reputation as a traveller and explorer.

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Citerior India of Rufinus, Circa 400 A.D.

By

T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., Trivandrum

Is Citerior India Bombay-Gujarat?

In his article entitled 'The Apostles of Kalyana', appearing in the current number of J. I. H. (Aug. & Dec., 1943), Rev. Fr. A. C. Perumālil, S.J., of Travancore, says (on pp. 74-75) that "Citerior India" allotted to St. Bartholomew of the first century A.D. in the Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus (345-410 A.D.) is neither Eastern Ethiopia (or the Somali Coast) nor Arabia Felix, but the Bombay-Gujarat region of India proper.

II. Citerior India probably Arabia Felix

But Rufinus's statements about St. Bartholomew and St. Frumentius (the historian's contemporary) considered in the light of the history of the Axumite (Ethiopian) Kingdom and Arabia in the days of Rufinus and Frumentius (4th-5th cent. A.D.), have led me to the conclusion that Rufinus's Citerior India is Arabia Felix (South Arabia). It may be pointed out that Fr. Perumalil has ignored the history of the above two regions.

III. Extracts from Rufinus

For convenience of reference relevant extracts from Rufinus's contemporary account are given below (from Book I, Ch. 9). Vide also page 74 of Fr. Perumalil's article.

"Parthia fell to Thomas; to Matthew fell Ethiopia; and the Citerior India adherent to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew. Placed between this and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies Ulterior India."

"A certain Meropius, too, a philosopher of Tyre, desired to go to (Ulterior) India, taking with him two boys" (Frumentius and Edesius).

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CITERIOR INDIA OF RUFINUS, CIRCA 400 A.D. 111

"While the philosopher (and the boys) began to return (from Ulterior India).....the ship in which he was sailing put in at a certain port."

By "the barbarians in those parts" "the boys.....were brought to the King."

Years elapsed, and "Frumentius, while holding the Government of the country.....displayed the greatest interest to sow there the seeds of the Christian faith."

Then "they returned to our shores. Edesius hastened to Tyre to see his parents and relatives; but Frumentius went to Alexandria."

There "Athanasius ordained him," and "bade him return whence he had come."

"On Frumentius' return to India as bishop....an innumerable number of barbarians were converted to the faith."

"We know these things as they are done, not from popular rumour, but from the lips of Edesius himself afterwards a priest of Tyre, who had formerly been the companion of Frumentius." (The portions in brackets are mine).

According to Murray's Dictionary of Christian Biography, 1911, Rufinus the historian met the priest Edesius at Tyre.

IV. Latin Adhaerens=Greek sunëmmenë

Rufinus seems to be the only known ancient writer who has used the terms Citerior India and Ulterior India. He says, as shown above, that Citerior India is "adherent to" ("adhaerens") Ethiopia: "Ethiopia, eique adhaerens Citerior India Bartholomaeo dicitur sorte decreta."

A

- 1. What did Rufinus mean by "adhaerens"? Fr. Perumalil says (on p. 74) that the author must have used the word in the sense of 'extending towards,' and that the meanings 'clinging to' and 'near' "do not explain the text of Rufinus." On p. 75 Fr. Perumalil gives 'projecting much in the direction of as a paraphrase of 'extending towards.'
- Rufinus, in which the author has used adhaerens and other words

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1. It has to be noted that none of the five Latin dictionaries consulted by me and four of my friends, give extending towards as one of the meanings of adhaerens. For instance, Ainsworth's (London, 1845) gives adhaereo. Latin-English Dictionary adhaerere the meanings "to stick to, to adhere, or keep close to," and John T. White's Latin-English Dictionary (1926) gives "to stick, or cleave to, to hang to, to cling to, embrace closely." Cassell's Dictionary has "to hang to, stick to, cleave to, adhere; to border on, to be near; to keep close to a person, to be always at the side of." The recent Clarendon Press Dictionary agrees.

2. If there is any dictionary, ancient or modern, that gives 'extending towards' as one of the meanings of adhaerens, let that be

cited.

- 1. Extracts from some Latin authors of the first four centuries are given below: -
 - (a) "Vincis modica silva adhaerebat" (=a little forest was adherent to the vineyards) .- C. Tacitus, 1st cent. to 134 A.D.)
 - "Humerum adhaeret" the (=put something to shoulder).—Tertullian, 160-245 A.D.
 - "Adhaereat lingua mea gutteri meo" (=let my tongue cleave to my palate).—St. Jerome, 342—420 A.D.
- 2. If there are Latin authors of the first four centuries, who have, on the other hand, used adhaereo in the sense of to extend towards, they had better be cited.

1. The church historian Socrates (5th cent.) who, about a hundred years after Rufinus, reproduced in Greek the latter's Latin text, translates adhaerens by the Greek word sunëmmenë, which means abiding in, abiding near, standing near, cleaving to, and not extending towards as Fr. Perumlil translates adhaerens fifteen centuries after Rufinus.

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CITERIOR INDIA OF RUFINUS, CIRCA 400 A.D. 113

2. A Latin translation of Socrates renders the sentence containing sunëmmenë thus:—"India quae Aethiopiae confinis est," i.e., "the India which is bordering on Ethiopia," and not extending towards Ethiopia.

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V. Axumite and Arabian History

Rejecting the meaning 'extending towards', we find South Arabia as the land geographically 'near' Ethiopia, and (though separated by the narrow Red Sea) politically "adherent to" Ethiopia in the days of Rufinus, Edesius, and Frumentius, up to about 378 A.D.

"To the Axumite King Aeizanes", says Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, s.v. 'Axumite Kingdom', "the emperor Constantius addressed a letter in A.D. 356". (This letter, we know, demanded that Frumentius the Bishop of Axum be sent to that Roman emperor). The Encyclopedia continues: "Aeizanes and his successors style themselves" (as seen from inscriptions) "Kings of the Axumites, Homerites, Raidan, the Ethiopians, the Sabaeans, Silee, Tiamo, the Bugaites, and Kasu. This style implies considerable conquests in South Arabia, which, however, must have been lost to the Axumites by A.D. 378".

The article on Arabia in the same work says: "The Abyssinians who had migrated from Arabia to the opposite coast of Africa began to flow back to the south of Arabia, and in the fourth century they became strong enough to overturn the Himyarite kings and establish a dynasty of their own".

As Frumentius was for several years Bishop of Axum in Ethiopia he must have been aware of the above fact, viz., that in his days South Arabia formed part of the Axumite kingdom. His younger brother Edesius too who had lived in Axum with Frumentius, must have known that fact and told Rufinus about it while narrating (in Tyre) his and his brother's adventures and work in those regions. Hence we find Rufinus using the word adhaerens in his reproduction of Edesius's oral account, and not the Latin word or words for "extending towards", or "projecting much in the direction of".

VI. Was Arabia called India?

From the above discussion in the light of history it can be interred that South Arabia (Arabia Felix) was Rufinus's Citerior India. His Ulterior India will then be the rest of Arabia (to the

west of Parthia so called). But Fr. Perumalil is of the opinion that "the India of the early Greeks and Romans....is the one and only India which is bounded on the West by the River Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouth of the Ganges, and on the remaining side by the Indian Ocean".

In the Bibliography appended to his article on 'The India of the Early Greeks and Romans' in JBORS, 1942, Part IV, Fr. Perumalil says, against No. 44, that Rufinus has used "India" 4 times in his history. This number (4) is not correct. For we find India used as many as 6 (six) times even in his short account of Frumentius (from which extracts were given in section III, ante), thus:-

- 1. Citerior India adherent to. 4. to go to India.
- 2. into Ulterior India.
- 3. lies Ulterior India.
- return to India. 5.
- 6. the parts of India.

In none of these six instances does Rufinus give any clear indication that by India he meant our India-"the India of the Brahmins". On the contrary it may be inferred, as shown already, that the Citerior and Ulterior Indias mentioned by him are two parts of Arabia.

VII. Who called Arabia India?

Did Rufinus himself call those two parts of Arabia Citerior India and Ulterior India? We cannot say for certain. Perhaps Edesius the Phoenician referred to those two parts under the names Citerior India and Ulterior India in giving Rufinus his viva voce account of himself and Frumentius, and Rufinus merely recorded Edesius's terms Citerior and Ulterior India. We have yet to study ancient Phoenician and other non-Latin and non-Greek records to find other instances of the use of the terms Citerior India and Ulterior India for parts of Arabia.

The Two Brothers' Journeys

According to the above interpretation of Rufinus's Edesius's) Citerior India and Ulterior India, the itenerary of Frumentius and Edesius will be briefly as follows:-

- They started from Tyre in Phoenicia.
- Reached some part of Arabia (let us call it 'Ulterior Arabia') north of Arabia Felix (South Arabia) and sojourned there for some time.

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CITERIOR INDIA OF RUFINUS, CIRCA 400 A.D. 115

- 3. From the sea coast of Ulterior Arabia they boarded a ship to return to Tyre by way of the Red Sea.
- 4. "While they began to return", i.e. after a few hours, the ship put in at a certain port in Ulterior Arabia itself to take in water.
- 5. The two brothers were captured at that port, and taken by ship across the Red Sea to the king of Ethiopia and some parts of Arabia, residing in Axum the capital.
- 6. The brothers lived in Axum and sowed "the first seeds of faith" in Ulterior Arabia (and Ethiopia) and then returned home.
- 7. Frumentius stopped short at Alexandria, and returned to Axum as Bishop, and continued "sowing the seeds of faith", but was later on replaced by another Bishop sent by the Roman emperor Constantius. (See section V, para 2).
- 8. Edesius went straight to Tyre, where the historian Rufinus met him and obtained "from the lips of Edesius himself" an account of his and his brother's journeys to Ulterior Arabia and Ethiopia, and of the work of sowing the first seeds of faith in Ulterior Arabia, i.e., the portion of Arabia north of Arabia Felix (S. Arabia).

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Origin of Sikh Militarism

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ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S. Lecturer in History, Calcutta University,

According to Sikh tradition, Guru Hargobind's birth was due to the kindly intercession of Bhai Budha, an old Sikh of Guru Nanak's time. Entertained by Guru Arjan's wife, Bhai Budha said, "As thou hast given me food to my heart's content, so shalt thou have a son to thy heart's content. He shall be very handsome and brave, possess spiritual and temporal power, become a mighty hunter, ride on royal steeds, wear two swords, be puissant in battle, and trample on the Mughals".1 Probably this prophecy about the character and achievements of Hargobind had been put into the mouth of Bhai Budha by a later chronicler.2 It is almost certain that a Guru engaged in hunting and fighting was not likely to capture the imagination of a saintly Sikh steeped in Guru Nanak's tradition. Indeed, we are told that, when Bhai Budha saw young Hargobind in military dress, he mildly remonstrated with him. The Guru replied, "....it is in fulfilment of thy blessing I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined—the cauldron to supply the poor and needy and the scimitar to smite oppressors".3 Another anecdote recorded by Macauliffe shows that this ideal of combining religion and worldly enjoyment did not appeal to many Sikhs younger and less religious-minded than Bhai Budha. After Hargobind's accession some masands⁴ represented to the Guru's mother: "....The Guru girdeth on his arms, but for faqirs to lord it over men is a course that involveth peril. The preceding five Gurus never handled

1. Macauliffe, Vol. III, pp. 29-36.

2. Banerjee, Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I, p. 200.

3. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 4.

4. According to Sikh tradition, the masands had become very corrupt dishonest and the dishonest and th and dishonest, and they now trembled for their misdeeds. We need not presume, however that the presume, however, that their dread of a contest with the Mughals was due to their feer of purish to their fear of punishment for corruption.

arms. If Jahangir hear of our Guru's doings he will be angry; and where shall we hide ourselves"? Although the Guru's mother reminded the masands of Bhai Budha's prophecy and showed a courageous face, she addressed her son as follows: "My son, we have no treasure, no state revenue, no landed property, no army. If thou walk in the way of thy father and grand-father, thou shalt be happy". The Guru replied that God was his guardian.5

What strikes us as very strange and almost inexplicable is that a boy, who was only eleven years of age,6 should have pursued so novel a policy in the face of so general an opposition. At the time of his installation ceremony he declared, "My seli7 shall be a sword-belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette". He then sent for his arms, and arrayed himself in martial style. so that his splendour shone like the sun.8 Where did the boy find his inspiration? Just before his death Guru Arjan had observed to the Sikhs assembled near him on the bank of the Ravi, "...Go to my son the holy Har Gobind, and give him from me ample consolation....Let him sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army to the best of his ability....Let him....in all respects, except the wearing of arms hereby enjoined, adopt the practices of the preceeding Gurus....".9 It is very doubtful whether these words fell from the dying Guru's mouth at that critical moment. When Hargobind replied to the remonstrances of Bhai Budha and his mother, he told them that he was fulfilling Bhai Budha's Prophecy; he did not even refer to his father's last testament. When his mother remonstrated with the masands, she also referred to Bhai Budha's prophecy, but not to her husband's command. When she remonstrated with her son, she asked him to 'walk in the way of thy father and grand-father'. 10 She would not have uttered these words if she had been aware of Guru Arjan's last desire. It appears, therefore, that Bhai Budha's prophecy and Arjan's command belong to the same class, both being put into the chronicles by later writers anxious to explain the sudden transition to militarism.

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^{5.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 3. 6. Hargobind was born in 1595, and Arjan lost his life in 1606.

^{7.} A woollen cord worn as a necklace or twisted round the head by the former Gurus.

^{8.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 2.

^{9.} Macauliffe, Vol. III, p. 99. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 3-4.

The transition to militarism was certainly sudden. Trumpp says that Arjan was 'the first Guru who meddled with politics',11 and this view has been accepted by some modern writers.12 Although Mohsin Fani may be quoted in favour of this theory,13 it is not acceptable to the modern Sikhs, who argue that the Gurus maintained a praiseworthy balance between asceticism and prosperity.14 The author of Evolution of the Khalsa has tried to reconcile history and tradition by observing that, although "the Sikh might not as yet have been conscious of his political destiny and the motive force behind the movement might still have been purely religious", yet "looked at from the point of view of the established state the new community was already reaching a position when it could no longer be treated with indifference."15

If we accept Dr. Banerjee's conclusion, it follows that till the last days of Guru Arjan the motive force behind Sikhism was purely religious. Cunningham seems to hold the same view, for he observes, "Arjoon became famous among pious devotees, and his biographers dwell on the numbers of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions."16 We are thus compelled to conclude that militarism originated after Arjan's death, and if we are to believe the Sikh chronicles, it originated immediately after that tragedy, and the originator was a boy eleven years of age, who quietly set aside the legitimate misgivings of all around him, including his mother and the saint to whose kindly intercession his birth was due, and sat fully armed on his throne. He did not take time to think over the problem; he sat fully armed on the throne as soon as he heard the news of his father's death. It is clear that this conclusion is almost absurd. The Sikh chronicles have either suppressed some incidents in Guru Arjan's career, or given us a garbled version of the early career of Hargobind.

It is not quite unlikely that we should come across germs of militarism in the later years of Arjan's life. Although no direct evidence in favour of this surmise is at present available, there is

11. Adi Granth, Introduction p. lxxx. 12. Narang, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 37. Latif, History of the Punjab, p. 253.

13. Dabistan, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 270.

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^{14.} The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening, p. 18.

^{15.} Vol. I, p. 265.

^{16.} History of the Sikhs, Chap. III.

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some amount of indirect evidence which deserves scrutiny. When Hargobind sat fully armed on his throne he undoubtedly set a new ideal before the Sikhs, an ideal that ran counter to the Sikh tradition established by Nanak and closely followed by his four successors. Strangely enough, the mild opposition which came from the masands as well as from Ganga, the Guru's mother, was based, not on tradition, but on expediency. They were not surprised to find the young Guru violating the old tradition; they merely referred to the military and financial weakness of the Sikhs in comparison with the strength of the Mughal Empire. No doubt the masands said, "The preceding five Gurus never handled arms"; but this statement is immediately followed by the words, "If Jahangir hear of our Guru's doings he will be angry; and where shall we hide ourselves"? Apparently the masands did not consider militarisation as incompatible with their faith; they objected to it because Jahangir was too strong an antagonist. The Guru's mother took the same position, for she said, "My son, we have no treasure, no state revenue, no landed property, no army".17

Apparently the Sikhs of 1606 had already familiarised themselves with the possibility of militarism. No one but Guru Arjan could have turned their attention in that direction. We do not suggest that the fifth Guru actually collected troops or took part in bloody contests; but he certainly gave the Sikhs a new organization and possibly a new orientation of outlook. He was the Sachcha Padshah, his seat a takht or throne, and the assembly of his followers a durbar or court. These terms may have been used in the time of the earlier Gurus, 18 but in Arjan's time they probably assumed a new significance. The Sikh chronicles contain indirect references to this slow and almost imperceptible, but none the less real and revolutionary, transformation. Prithia's jealous wife observed to her husband about Arjan, "The Emperor and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him...." 19 Chandu Shah's agents were astonished at the Guru's regal state retinue.20 Mohsin Fani heard from the Sikhs that the Guru "was in former times the Raja called Janak and united the dignity of king to that of a saint".21 Dr. Banerjee rightly observes,

^{17.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 3.

^{18.} The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening, p. 20.

^{19.} Macauliffe, Vol. III, p. 28. 20. Macauliffe, Vol. III, p. 72. 21. Dabistan, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 268.

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"....apart from its spiritual aspects the Guruship was also becoming a symbol of material power.... the Sikhs had begun to regard their Guru not only as a spiritual but also as a temporal ruler".22 Even modern Sikhs seem to accept this position when they praise the Gurus for Raj Yog or balance between asceticism and prosperity.²³ Raj Yog certainly implies Raj.

Guru Arjan was a remarkably pious man, and he may not have been fully conscious of this slowly developing tendency towards temporal greatness.24 But it was natural and inevitable. Sikhism is a religion of householders; it has never favoured asceticism.25 So long as the number of the Sikhs was small, and each of them had the opportunity of coming into personal contact with the Gurus, the lesson taught by Nanak was a living reality to the community as a whole. The Sikh then lived a life of devotion and service. When the numbers of the Sikhs increased,26 there was a natural lowering of the standard. Many converts entering into the fold must have been temperamentally incapable of absorbing the lessons taught by the Gurus. The distance between the Guru and the disciples must have widened due to the increase in the number of the latter, and this factor probably contributed something to the weakening of religious zeal in the Sikh community. A typical illustration may be found in the quick degeneration of the masands. They were strictly forbidden to appropriate for their own maintenance any portion of the offerings collected by them, and they were expected to earn their living by

22. Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I, p. 263.

23. The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening, p. 19. 24. The author of the Panth Prakash gives us a significant popular tradition: "It is said that the power and pelf of the world kept, as it were, at a distance of twelve miles from Nanak and six miles from Angad. It knocked at the door of Amar Das and fell at the feet of Guru Ram Das, while in Arjun's time it got admission into the house." "The fable very beautifully describes the god admission into the house."

describes the gradual growth of the social and political power of the Sikhs." (Narang, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 37, note 1).

25. Macauliffe, Vol. II, pp. 37, 90, 193, 214

26. Mohsin Fani says, "the number of these sectaries increased everywhere, so that in the time of Guru Arjunmal it became very considerable, and at last there was no all found." last there was no place in any country where Sikhs were not to be found."

(Dabistan First transfer of the state of the st (Dabistan, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 270). In his War, XI, 14-31, Bai Gurdas gives a list of the more important Sangats which includes Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir Della A. A. Guru Kashmir, Delhi, Agra and Dacca. The masand system introduced by Guru Arjan was intended to mould these distant centres of the faith into a closely knit system. •

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

engaging themselves in some sort of remunerative occupation.27 Macauliffe says that by the time of Hargobind's accession they had become very corrupt and dishonest.28 If corruption had entered into these direct agents of Guru Arjan so soon after the introduction of the masand system, we may easily believe that corruption, in the shape of greed for money and lust for power, had taken hold of many Sikhs by that time.

The ground was thus prepared for a new development: the Sikhs were ready, perhaps anxious, to make the dominion of their Sachcha Padshah a reality. The acquisition of military strength was the primary necessity. There is no evidence to show that Guru Arian had felt the urge to militarise the Panth. There is enough evidence to show that his son took the first step in that direction. Two important questions, however, must be answered before we can assess the value of Hargobind's contribution to the growth of the Panth. The first question is: Did he aim at the seizure of power, or at defending his disciples against Mughal persecution? The second question is: At what stage of his career did he sit fully armed on his throne?

We propose to take up the second question before we discuss the first. In a very interesting article published in the Indian Antiquary29 Dr. Banerjee, author of Evolution of the Khalsa, deals with some aspects of the career of Guru Hargobind. He concludes that Hargobind was imprisoned by Jahangir about 1607 and released in 1619. If we accept Macauliffe's view30 that the Guru's son Ani Rai was born in 1618, we must conclude that the Guru was released about 1616. It is clear, however, that, whatever the date of release may be, he was imprisoned about 1607, for Dr. Banerjee shows that the delay in his marriage with Nanaki was due to the fact that "after his accession Hargovind had very little time to think of his marriage".

The imprisonment, according to Mohsin Fani, was due to the following reasons: "He had many difficulties to contend with; one of them was that he adopted the style of a soldier, and wore a sword contrary to the custom of his father, maintained a retinue,

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^{27.} Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I, p. 260.

^{28.} Vol. IV, p. 3.

^{29.} Vol. LV. 1926, pp. 45-50, 66-71, 101-102,

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and began to follow the chase. The emperor in order to extort from him the balance of the fine which had been imposed on Arjan Mal, sent him to Gwalior". Mohsin Fani obviously places militarisation before imprisonment. If we are right in assuming that Hargobind was imprisoned in 1607, we must recognise that Mohsin Fani agrees with the Sikh chroniclers in saying that Hargobind 'adopted the style of a soldier, and wore a sword' immediately after his accession. We are thus compelled to revert to the old difficulty. How could a boy of eleven or twelve initiate such a revolution 'contrary to the custom of his father'?

Mohsin Fani appears to have been a personal friend of Guru Hargobind. It is, therefore, difficult to reject his testimony with regard to the sixth Guru's career. But Cunningham characterises him as 'a garrulous and somewhat credulous Mahomedan'. We must remember that his book was written some years after Hargobind's death, i.e., nearly half a century after the beginning of the Guru's imprisonment. Is it very unreasonable to suppose that in his old age Mohsin Fani's memory played him false, so that he transferred later episodes of Hargobind's career to his early life?

A close study of Mohsin Fani's passage quoted above shows that there is no necessary connection between the two sentences. We may very well read them separately and say that the Guru's imprisonment was due solely to the Emperor's desire³² to realise the balance of the fine previously imposed upon Guru Arjan. We may agree with Dr. Banerjee when he says, "The object of the emperor seems to have been to keep the young Guru as a hostage to ensure the orderliness of his followers and possibly also to realise the fine imposed on his father". There is no evidence to show that the Sikhs had become disorderly in 1607, but the Emperor may have apprehended troubles after Arjan's death. It is unnecessary to assume that nothing but the sudden militarisation of the Sikhs in 1606 could cause uneasiness in the Emperor's mind.

According to the chronological scheme prepared by Dr. Banerjee, Hargobind entered into the service of Jahangir in 1619

^{31.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22. Troyer's translation (Dabistan, Vol. II, pp. 274) is wrong.

^{32.} This desire may very well have been due to the malicious instigation of Chandu Shah, as the Sikh chroniclers say.

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or 1620, i.e., immediately or soon after his release, and continued in his employ till the latter's death in 1627. Mohsin Fani says that the Guru served the imperial government in the humble capacity of a Faujdar's assistant.³³ Some Sikh chronicles,³⁴ however, claim that the Guru was appointed a sort of supervisor over the Punjab officials with a command of 700 horse, 1000 foot and 7 guns, as a reward for his services against Raja Tarachand of Nalgarh, whom he had subdued and brought to the Emperor. Dr. Banerjee shows convincing reasons for rejecting the Sikh version of the Guru's official position, but he observes that the Guru may have been put in charge of a minor command and sent against one of the rebellious Hill Rajas in the Kangra region. For such a command previous military experience was not in those days an essential pre-requisite. It is not unlikely that Hargobind's success in this enterprise led, not only to his appointment as a Faujdar's assistant, but also to the grant of some military rank in his favour. He may not have received charge of 700 horse, 1000 foot and 7 guns; he may have been allowed to raise some troops and keep them under his control. It is probable that the collection of troops by the Guru³⁵ should be referred to this stage of his career. He had tasted the wild joy of war in the imperial campaign against the Hill Rajas. He was a young man of 25 or so. He was surrounded by disciples anxious to win temporal prizes which had not been coveted by the early Sikhs. It was natural for the Guru to take a plunge into the unknown.

This assumption gives us a reasonable explanation of Hargobind's struggle against Shah Jahan. If we believe that he assumed the style of a soldier in 1606, we must admit that his military ardour remained cool and ineffective for more than eight years, 36 i.e., from his release in 1619 to Jahangir's death in 1627. Nay, more; he accepted service under the Mughal government, and rendered loyal service to the man who had killed his father and kept him in confinement for twelve years. Dr. Banerjee says, "His service under the Government served him as a cloak and he began

^{33.} Dabistan, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 274.

^{34.} Panth Prakash, p. 107, and Itihas Guru Khalea, p. 128, cited in Dr. Baherjee's article

^{35.} See Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 4, 5, 52, 76, and Dabistan, Eng. = trans.,

^{36.} The period may be longer than eight years, for we do not know the date of his first encounter with Shah Jahan's troops.

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to increase his military resources". This explanation attributes to the Guru a deliberate design, but it is hardly consistent with Dr. Banerjee's statement that Hargobind was 'leading a disorderly life'. Moreover, it is significant that the complaint of the Sikhs who requested Bhai Gurdas to remonstrate with Hargobind on his general conduct refers, not to the period immediately after his accession, but to the post-imprisonment period. Does it not allow us to infer that the Guru's conduct during the pre-imprisonment period was not objectionable from the traditional point of view? The following pauri composed by Bhai Gurdas narrates the deviations of Guru Hargobind from the tradition established by his predecessors:

"People say the former Gurus used to sit in the temple; the present Guru remaineth not in one place.

The former Emperors used to visit the former Gurus; the present Guru was sent into the fortress by the Emperor.

In former times the Guru's darbar could contain the sect; the present Guru leadeth a roving life and feareth nobody.

The former Gurus, sitting on their thrones, used to console the Sikhs; the present Guru keepeth dogs and hunteth.

The former Gurus used to compose hymns, listen to them, and sing them; the present Guru composeth not hymns, nor listeneth to them, nor singeth them.

He keepeth not his Sikh followers with him, but taketh enemies of his faith and wicked persons as his guides and familiars" 37

Bhai Gurdas does not dispute the truth of the people's allegations. In another connection he indirectly describes the Guru as a 'play-actor.' He suffered punishment for this objectionable remark.³⁸ A man who appeared in this light to his devoted disciples was hardly a shrewd and secretive statesman collecting troops under the cloak of his official position. He was more probably a bold adventurer, intoxicated with the wild joy of battle and chase, and more fond of enterprising and rough 'enemies of his faith and wicked persons' than of mild, hymn-singing Sikhs.

^{37.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 76-77.
38. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 135-137.

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The causes of Hargobind's troubles with the Mughals—the abduction of Kaulan, the seizure of the coveted horse, and the quarrel about a bird—do not reveal any deep-seated design on the Guru's part. The Guru's military exploits, as narrated in the Sikh chronicles, 39 leave the impression that they relate to the career of a somewhat careless and exuberent adventurer, not to that of a capable politico-military leader who prepares his plan of campaign before rushing out to the foray. It may also be of some significance that his adventures 40 ended with the battle of Kartarpur which is said to have been fought in 1634. The Guru was then about forty years of age; the period of irresponsible enthusiasm was over.

If our readers accept the view which we have tried to explain above, the answer to our second question, viz., Hargobind's motive, will not be far to seek. He did not seek to avenge his father's death. He served the Emperor who had killed his father, and when he raised his arms against his successor, trifles like the possession of a hunted bird supplied the motive. It should also be noted that during the last eleven years (1634-1645) of his life he made no attempt to fight against the Mughals. It is difficult to explain his silence during this long period, if we picture him as a man crying for revenge. He was not too old for fighting; he was not troubled by any difficulty within the Sikh church (like Prithia's rivalry with Arjan). Nor is it permissible to suppose that his aim was to defend his disciples against Mughal persecution. Jahangir persecuted the Gurus, but he left the Sikh community alone. Hargobind himself was a victim of his persecution, but the adoption of a conciliatory attitude by the Guru after his release, and the continuation of that attitude up to at least Jahangir's death, prove quite conclusively that militarisation of the Panth was not required by the necessity of self-defence. There was no persecution during that period, and no dread of persecution as long as the Guru remained in Jahangir's service. Moreover, an experienced man like Hargobind, who enjoyed a unique opportunity of coming into close contact with the Emperor and his vast military organisation, must have realised the impossibility of defending himself and his community if the Emperor really

Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 38-48, 82-93, 179-186, 190-193, 198-212, 263. however, places before Hargobind's first open breach with the Mughals) the doubtful alliance with Raja Tarachand against the Nawab of Rupar,

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wanted to crush them. This point is equally applicable against the presumption that the Guru wanted to seize political power and created a military force for that purpose.

Must we say, then, that Hargobind's adoption of the style of a soldier was nothing more than an aimless venture? In a sense it was so. As a young member of Jahangir's retinue he came into close contact with the Mughal army, and the exciting prospect of a solidierly life allured him. He found a favourable atmosphere within the Sikh community, many members of which, as we have explained above, were more interested in wealth and power than in the salvation-giving hymns. These Sikhs-call them the degenerated Sikhs of the new school if you will-were reinforced by many adventurers, including Pathans like Painda Khan, who found in the Guru's prestige and influence a covetable rallying point. Trumpp says, "As the Guru's expeditions were nearly always directed against the Muhammadans and the extortionate provincial authorities, we need not wonder that his popularity fast increased with the ill-treated Hindu rural population; every fugitive or oppressed man took refuge in his camp, where he was sure to be welcomed without being much troubled about religion. and the charms of a vagrant life and the hope of booty attracted numbers of warlike Jats, who willingly acknowledged him as their Guru, the more so as he allowed his followers to eat all kinds of flesh, that of the cow excepted".41 This description of Hargobind's system is quite in conformity with the information available from some Sikh chronicles42 about Guru Teg Bahadur. "According to them", says Trumpp, "the Guru appears by no means as a harmless spiritual instructor, but riding at the front of well-armed disciples, who, if not willingly provided, levied contributions on the Zamindars and the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed, and made predatory incursions on the Muhammadan population. The Guru had not only a strong band of Sikhs with him; but he engaged also some rural clans to enter his service, promising them that he would pay them handsomely and put them in the way of obtaining booty".43 Probably Teg Bahadur had more spiritual interest than Hargobind; while the former composed many hymns, the latter composed none. This, in addition to the

^{41.} Adi Granth, Introduction, p. lxxxiv.

^{42.} Attar Singh, Travels of Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh,

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lapse of time and the consequent familiarity with the military tradition, probably saved Teg Bahadur from the censure which the old-fashioned Sikhs passed upon Hargobind through the mouth of Bhai Gurdas, an eminent representative of that spiritualism which was being gradually eroded by the flowing stream of Time. As Guru Har Rai once said, "the vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world had almost foundered".44

^{44.} Macauliffe, Vol. V, p 151,

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P. N. BHALLA, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, Government College, Ajmer.

Himmat Bahadur and Umraogir, 'the two Gosain brothers played an important part in the history of Northern India in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Anarchy and political upheavals held out great opportunities to them. They were guided by the sole consideration of carving out a jagir for themselves, and in order to realise that object they changed their loyalties as frequently as the occasion demanded.

Very little is known about their antecedents. It is said that when quite young their widowed mother sold them to Rajindergir Gosain, the Naga chieftain, who held the village of Moth in Jhansi district. In 1750 Rajindergir entered the service of Nawab Safdar Jang and both the brothers accompanied him. After his death in 1752 the Nawab appointed Umraogir as Commander of the Naga For the next twenty-three years both the brothers continued to serve in the Vazir's forces, although once they deserted to Jawahir Singh, the Jat ruler. They were held in high honour by the Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Dawla, and commanded one thousand horse. They took part in the battle of Buxar (1764). The reappearance of the Marathas in the Doab in 1769 alarmed the Vazir and he sent Umraogir to their camp with the object of getting first hand information about their movements.¹ In 1771 when the Maratha danger increased still further, the Nawab posted both the brothers to guard the frontier town of Cawnpore? During the year 1772-73 the Nawab Vazir embarked upon the Rohilla campaign and the conquered territory was placed under the charge of the Gosains. Nawab Asaf-ud-Dawla on his accession in 1775 conferred fresh honours upon them. Umraogir was given a jagir of one lakh of rupees a year, while Himmat Bahadur was

Select Committee Proceedings; 25 Sept. 1770; pp. 684-5.
 Select Committee Proceedings; 18 July 1771; pp. 246-47.

confirmed in the Niyabat of the Doab for 48 lakhs of rupees instead of 52 lakhs at which it was formerly farmed.3

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Finding that the Lucknow Government was getting weaker day by day, the Gosains thought of setting up an independent government in the Doab. Their treasonable designs alarmed the Nawab Vazir and he applied for British help. The Gosains took advantage of the ill-feeling that existed between the Nawab Vazir and Mirza Najaf Khan, the Minister of Shah Alam, and deserted to the latter in the year 1776. They joined Najaf Khan's forces with their six or seven thousand followers. Himmat Bahadur rose high in Najaf Khan's favour. He took part in the siege of Dig and acted as the agent of the Delhi Government in conducting negotiations with the Marathas, who were at that time pressed by the English and needed Mughal help badly.4

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In April 1782 Mirza Najaf Khan died and Delhi henceforward became a scene of chronic revolutions. But Himmat continued to occupy a dominant place in the affairs of the Empire. He became the right-hand man of Mirza Shafi and plotted on his behalf with Sindhia in order to get the help of the latter to crush Muhammad Beg Hamadani, the Governor of Agra, who was aiming at setting up an independent Government. Through the mediation of Himmat Bahadur a conference took place between Mirza Shafi and Sindhia on the river Chambal in the last week of June, 1783.5 But in October 1783 Mirza Shafi was assassinated by Afrasiab Khan and Muhammad Beg Hamadani. Afrasiab Khan became the Mir Bakshi of the Empire and Himmat Bahadur passed into his service.

The Delhi Government was very weak. Afrasiab Khan too sought for Sindhia's help. Himmat Bahadur seems to have been a partisan of Sindhia and almost all the negotiations were carried brough him. He made every effort to bring Afrasiab Khan to Sindhia's camp and arrange the interview between them.6 The intended interview did not take place for Afrasiab Khan was

^{3.} Secret Proceedings; OC. 20th Ap. 1775; No. 3.

^{4.} Cal. of Persian Correspondence (CPC); Vol. V; p. 276 and p. 321. 5. See Browne's Correspondence; p. 83-84; No. 18.

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assassinated on 2nd November, 1784. This again threw the affairs of the State into great confusion. The parties at Delhi plotted and counter-plotted with Sindhia. Major Browne, the British envoy in Delhi, worked for the restoration of Majid-ud-Dawla. Khadija Begam, the sister of Najif Khan, desired to marry her daughter to Prince Sulaiman and secure his appointment as Mir Bakshi. But Himmat Bahadur plotted to appoint Khadim Husain Khan, son of the late Afrasiab Khan, and at that time only six years old, as the successor of his father. His object in doing so was to get the management of everything into his own hand during the child's minority. Sindhia was led to adopt this step by promises of money, for the private treasure of the late Afrasiab Khan was huge and was closely guarded by Himmat Bahadur and Narayan Deo.

During the year 1784 the British Ambassador Major Browne was at Delhi. He witnessed all these political upheavals and has preserved a vivid account of them in his letters to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General. He closely watched the activities of Himmat Bahadur and especially deputed two persons from whom he received twice a day an account of all his proceedings.8 He sent to the Governor-General the copies of a number of letters said to have been written by Himmat Bahadur to Afrasiab Khan and Sindhi. The authenticity of these letters is doubtful for Warren Hastings, while recapitulating their contents remarked "There is an acrimony in the style of these letters that seems more calculated to irritate us than to persuade those to whom they are addressed and when we consider that they have been produced to Major Browne by persons who are strongly interested in effecting a misunderstanding between us and the Marathas, we cannot help doubting their authenticity...."9

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When after Afrasiab's death Sindhia came to the helm of affairs at Delhi, Himmat Bahadur rose high in his favour. Sindhia's main motive in showing favour to Himmat Bahadur was that from his influence over the relatives of the late Mir Bakshi, Afrasiab Khan, he might be of service to him in acquiring the possession of his treasures. Moreover the Raja's knowledge of the country.

^{7.} C.P.C.; Vo. vi; p. 426, TR. 22; pp. 384-91; No. 91.

See Browne's correspondence; pp. 607-8.
 Secret Proceedings; 11 May 1784; p. 228.

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was of great help to Sindhia in making fresh conquests. Sindhia was largely indebted to him for the peaceful acquisition of the Fort of Dig. He employed him in carrying on negotiations with the Sikh Chiefs.

But the signs of friction between these two ambitious Chiefs soon became visible. Sindhia's failure to recover Afrasiab Khan's wealth infuriated him. Himmat Bahadur's failure to secure the surrender of the Fort of Agra further lowered his prestige in the eves of his master. Early in 1786 Raja Narayan Das, the partisan of Himmat was put into prison for the misappropriation of Afrasiab's property. His imprisonment alarmed and frightened Himmat Bahadur. The fear that he might be called to account began to haunt his mind. He was asked to take one month's pay in advance and retire to Vrindavan. Sindhia also sent Kesho Pandit with some force to drive Umraogir out of the places that he had lately occupied. Umraogir assassinated the said Pandit and this worsened relations. Himmat Bahadur fully knew that his fall was only a matter of time. Taking advantage of the absence of Sindhia and especially his pre-occupation in the affairs of Jaipur State, Himmat Bahadur fled away from the Maratha Camp at Muttra and crossed the river Jumna. Henceforward the Gosains became bitter enemies of Sindhia and were the greatest source of trouble and worry to him for the rest of his life.

Popular opinion connected Himmat Bahadur's flight with the disagreement of Anderson¹⁰ with Sindhia. We do not know for certain as to what part Anderson played in bringing about the hight of the Gosain Chief. In his letter to the Governor-General Anderson positively states that he had no hand in Himmat Bahadur's flight and that he left Sindhia's camp and retired to Agra only because of the disagreement that arose between him and Maratha Chief regarding the treatment of certain servants. 11 As a proof of his innocence Anderson mentions the fact that after his flight Himmat Bahadur corresponded with him, but as a faithhis friend he passed on all these letters to Sindhia. It is true that dier his flight Himmat Bahadur made every effort to seek an interview with Mr. Anderson, but the intended meeting does not seem to have taken place.12

^{10.} Anderson was British Resident in Sindhia's camp.

^{11.} See Secret Proceedings; 29 March 1786; pp. 1064-66 and pp. 1076-77. 12. See Secret Proceedings; 29 March 1766, pp. 1276-77.

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After their flight from Sindhia's camp the Gosains took refuge in the territory of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Sindhia wrote to the English asking them to hand over Himmat Bahadur to him on the ground of the fugitive being a tributary of the Maratha Empire as well as for his being a servant of the Mughal Emperor. But the English Government turned a deaf ear to Sindhia's request. At the same time the Governor-General made it clear to the British officers in the Vazir's court that they were to use their utmost endeavours to prevent any intercourse between the Vazir and Himmat Bahadur, the latter under no circumstances was to be allowed to proceed to Lucknow. The Gosains were to be allotted a place of residence in some outlying district of Oudh and were to receive no encouragement whatsoever from either the Vazir or the English in their treasonable designs against Sindhia. were the main threads that guided the attitude of the English towards the Gosains during their stay in the Vazir's territory. 13

The Gosains took advantage of the weakness of the Vazir's Government and lost no opportunity in harming Sindhia. Their family and other effects were protected by Almas Ali, the Oudh Governor of Etawa, who was not on good terms with the Vazir and was a strong partisan of the Gosains. They tried to recover their jaidad, particularly the town of Firozabad. Accordingly the Fort of Firozabad was besieged in 1787. The collapse of Sindhia's authority in the Daob, and his defeat at Lalsot still further emboldened the Gosains. Sindhia defeated Umraogir in a battle against Ismail Beg, and carried him away as prisoner in April 1788. But when his position became still more precarious he tried to conciliate the Gosains and released Umraogir on 18th May, 1788. Himmat Bhadur had in the meantime fled away from the Vazir's territory and joined the Emperor Shah Alam.

The activities of the Gosains during the year 1787 had alarmed Sindhia, the Vazir and the English Government. Sindhia protested against the asylum granted to them and the Governor-General impressed upon the Nawab Vazir the necessity of issuing a proclamation declaring that the Gosains have forfeited their protection. The Vazir accordingly issued a proclamation¹⁴ on 9th

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^{13.} See Secret and Pol. Dept. Consultations, 24 Jan. 1787; No. 14. 14. See Original Receipt, 460, CPC; vii; p. 420.

September, 1787 ordering the arrest of the Gosains. The said proclamation remained ineffective mainly because it was not backed by force.

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The year 1788 was very critical for the Delhi Empire. In January, 1788 Shah Alam left Delhi in order to conquer the lost possessions of the Crown from the local Chiefs. The ruler of Jaiour submitted to the Emperor through the mediation of Himmat Bahadur. Next the Emperor attacked Najaf Quli Khan, who was in possession of Goculgarh. Himmat played an important part in the siege of the town and secured the defeat of the Chief. In the meantime the Rohillas attacked Delhi and struck a serious blow to the Mughal Empire. On 31st July, 1788 Shah Alam was deposed. Himmat Bahadur fought on behalf of the Emperor and defended the capital but he had to yield to the superior forces of the Rohillas.

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Early in the year 1789 Sindhia tried to imprison Himmat Bahadur under the pretence of the latter's having employed the magical art to take away his life. He also wished that the family and effects of Himmat Bahadur be sent out of the Vazir's dominion and handed over to him. But in both these objects he failed. Himmat Bahadur's family was driven out of the Vazir's territory but not handed over to Sindhia. Himmat Bahadur on his part took advantage of the rivalry that existed between Sindhia and Ali Bahadur¹⁵ and sought the protection of the latter. He rose high in Ali Bahadur's favour. He served his new master right down to the latter's death in 1802. Bundelkhand was mainly due to him. In view of his services The Maratha conquest of Ali Bahadur assigned him large revenues. It is said that he enjoyed a jaidad amounting to 13 lakhs of rupees.

Ali Bahadur died on 24th September 1802 in his camp before the fort of Kalinjar. He left two sons, Zulfigar Ali Khan who was a minor and was on the spot, and Shamsher Bahadur, who was gown up, but was away in Poona. Himmat Bahadur and Ghani Bahadur feared that the accession of Shamsher Bahadur to the hashad would deprive them of all power. So they plotted to place Would deprive them of all power. So allow were defeated in this attempt they were defeated

^{15.} Ali Bahadur was the Peshwa's grandson. Had been sent by the Ali Bahadur was the Peshwa's grands.

Govt. to aid in the settlement of Bundelkhand. 16. See Political Proceedings; OC. 16 Sept. 1802; No. 28 (Enclosure).

because Shamsher Bahadur was too quick in asserting his claims. He left Poona, reached Kalinjar and occupied the masnid. This offended Himmat Bahadur and Ghani Bahadur and they began to negotiate with the English far the transference of Bundelkhand into the hands of the Company.

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On 31st December, 1802 the English concluded the Treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa Baji Rao II. According to the sixth article of the supplement to the Treaty of Bassein the Peshwa agreed to cede in perpetuity to the Company, from the provinces of Bundelhand, territory yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 3,616,000.¹⁷ So the English took the first opportunity to take advantage of the internal condition of Bundelkhand and ally themselves with one of the parties. Himmat Bahadur's invitation and offer of help was much welcomed.

The alliance between Himmat Bahadur and the English was negotiated by Col. John Meisselback and Mr. Mercer respectively. An agreement was concluded on 4th September, 1803. According to it Himmat Bahadur was to help the English in the conquest of Bundelkhand, and the English in their turn promised him a jaidad of 20 lakhs of rupees and agreed to secure the release of his brother Umraogir who had been confined on account of a conspiracy against the Govt. of the Nawab Vazir. 18

Accordingly in September, 1803 when the British forces under Col. Powell crossed the river Jumna, Himmat Bahadur joined them together with his 4000 horse and 8000 foot. He was received with a salute of thirteen guns. His military strength, his influence over the local Chiefs and his knowledge of the country contributed largely to the success of the British. The letters of Mr. Ahmuty, the Collector of Allahabad, and Mr. Baillie, the Agent to the Commander-in-Chief, bear witness to his services. 20

^{17.} See Aitchison; Vol. vii; p. 59.

^{18.} See Secret Proceedings; OC. 3 March 1804; No. 11.

^{19.} See Secret Proceedings; OC. 3 March 1804; No. 17.
20. See Secret Proceedings; OC. 3 March 1804; No. 19 and No. 176 and Secret Proceedings; OC. 9 Aug. 1804; No. 241.

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Himmat Bahadur died on 3rd June, 1804 at Kanwaruh, near Bandah, at the ripe old age of seventy.21 His tomb lies two miles away from Bandah. After his death the jaided granted to him was not renewed to Raja Narindergir, his son and successor, on the plea that the jaided granted to Himmat Bahadur was personal and not hereditary. Anyhow in view of the services of Himmat Bahadur, Raja Narindergir was granted an assignment in Bundelkhand which was exchanged for a territory in Cawnpore district. in parganah Sikandra, by the grant dated the 1st March, 1806.22 Umraogir, whose release the English secured in September, 1803, was granted a pension of Rs. 1000 per mensem. He died on 12th January, 1809.

Such was the end of the Gosain brothers. They were very ambitious and aspiring, and the circumstances of their career remind us that they were typical free-lances. The period of their life covers a period when the affairs of India were in melting pot and vast opportunities were held out to ambitious men like them. They were well-known for their diplomatic talents and were often employed on diplomatic missions on behalf of the Nawab Vazir, Najaf Khan, Sindhia or the Emperor. They were also noted for their love of intrigue. Major Browne the British Ambassador in one of his letters to the Governor-General remarks that. (Himmat) is cunning....men are not hard to deceive, but I should think deception a virtue in this case".23 So afraid was he of Himmat Bahadur that he deputed two men to watch his activities and movements. Sindhia throughout his career repented over the dismissal of the Gosains and most of his troubles were due to their intrigues and double-dealings.

The Gosains were notorious for their lack of loyalty or fidelity. But still so high was the esteem in which their capacity tesourcefulness were held that their services were greatly in Their knowledge of the country between the Ganges and the Jumna and the influence they commanded over the local thiefs were always an asset for an army that was allied with them.

^{21.} See Secret Proceedings; OC. 21 June 1804; No. 232. 22. See J.A.S.B. 1871 p. 137.

^{23.} Browne's Correspondence; p. 402.

They helped the Nawab Vazir, Najaf Khan and Sindhia, respectively, in their conquests in the Doab. The British conquest of Bundelkhand was also mainly due to their exertions.

The Gosains maintained a well-equipped Risalah or Cavalry. It was generally composed of men who were related to them. The English conisdered Himmat Bahadur's Risalah greatly superior in equipment to the cavalry generally maintained by the princes of India. Besides the Cavalry, Himmat Bahadur's troops consisted of three battalions of infantry (about 1500 foot) disciplined and armed in the European manner under the command of Col. Meisselback,²⁴ a Danish soldier. These battalions were of great help to the British during the Bundelkhand campaign. There was a considerable number of irregular infantry as well carrying matchlocks. For the maintenance of so huge a military establishment, Himmat Bahadur was granted a big jaidad by his successive masters.

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24. For a short biographical sketch of Meisselback see Calcutta Gazette, 28 Oct. 1819.

Jains at the Court of Akbar

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R. KRISHNAMURTHI.

In the chapter on Jains in "Din-i-Ilahi", Mr. Roychoudhury has dismissed the relationship of Akbar with that community with scant attention. This is due to the fact that he has been ignorant of the numerous works in Sanskrit that give us a remarkably full idea of the subject. He has also been led into some errors of generalisation as well as of detail.

He starts by saying that during the early Muslim period the Muslims did not come into clash with Jainism. This is not so. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Muslim rulers contacted the Jains from the early Muslim rule in India¹ and the absence of mention of the Jains in the Muslim histories is due to the simple fact that the Muslims put down the Jains also as Hindus. Even during the time of Akbar and the later Mughals, the Muslim historians often mean Jains when they write Hindus.

Akbar's contact with the learned among the Jains did not begin in 1582 as Mr. Roychoudhury states but much earlier, i.e., a few years prior to 1568, and the close contact continued certainly till the death of Akbar and there is no ground to say that "we do not hear much of the Jains after the death of Hiravijaya. Suri in 1592". The first Jain, so far as we know at present, to influence Akbar and gain his intelligent patronage was Padmasundara. His work "Akbarshahisringaradharpana", written under the direct patronage of the Emperor, makes it clear that Akbar's interest in learned pundits of other faiths and his discussions on religious

^{1.} Vide Itihask Jain Kavya Sangraha by Agarchand and Bhanwarlal

^{2.} Akbarshahisringaradharpana by Padmasundara, MS of Anup Sanskrit library, Bikaner, dated V.S. 1626 (1569 A.D.). Mr. Dasrath Sharma has the date of the work as about 1560 A.D.

matters with them date back to his youth and the early years of " his reign.3

Padmasundara was the pupil of Padmameru and belonged to Nagpuria Tapagaccha4 and was honoured by Akbar with various gifts on his success in literary contests.⁵ About the year 1568 A.D. a debate was held in Akbar's court between Buddhisagara of Nagpuriya Tapagaccha and Sadhukirti of Kharataragaccha on the subject of a Jaina religious ceremony called "Paushada", in which Sadhukirti won and was conferred by Akbar the title of "Vādīndra".6 Padmasundara was alive then and did not take part in the contest. He died in a short time and although it is likely that the imperial contact with the Jains did not cease with his death, there is no mention of important Jains at the imperial court till the advent of Hiravijaya Suri.

Hiravijaya Suri (Harji Sur of Ain) was born at Palanpur and by his learning and piety soon rose to be the leader of the Tapagaccha section of Jain ascetics. According to the wishes of Akbar communicated through Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Governor of Gujarat, Hiravijaya Suri went to the court at Fatehpur on 18th June, 1582 A.D.7 On arrival a discussion took place between the Suri and Abul Fazl in which the Suri propounded the doctrines of Karma and an impersonal God.8 The Suri defining true religion said that the foundation of a faith should be compassion.9. Akbar made mention of Padmasundara, his "dear friend" whose scriptures he had preserved in his palace and these he offered to the Suri

4. According to Pattavali, Vide "Anekant", Ed. in Hindi, Vol. IV, p. 470 ff.

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^{3.} This corroborates the view of Abul Fazl that Akbar even during the years when he did not take much interest in the affairs of the kingdom, till 1560, he was showing the religious bent of mind which later became one of his most pronounced characteristics. A further corroboration is to be found in the saying of Akbar: "On the completion of my twentieth year (1562) I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow".—Ain III p. 386.

^{5.} Ibid.: Also Bhanuchandracharita Ed. by Mohanlal Dilichand Desai

^{6.} Bhanuchandracharita p. 14. Itihasik Jain Kavya Sangraha p. 140 ff.

^{7.} Sureshwar and Samrat p. 105.

^{8.} Ibid. p. 110.

^{9.} Bhanuchandracharita p. 9.

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as a gift. 10 Pressed by the Emperor to receive something from him, the Suri requested that all the caged birds and prisoners may be set at liberty and the slaughter of animals during the eight Jaina holidays (Paryushana) may be enforced at Agra. The Emperor granted the request for that year. The next year, 1583 he influenced the Emperor to enforce the order in the whole empire for all time.11

In June 1584 the title of Jagadguru (World Preceptor) was conferred upon Hiravijaya Suri. On this occasion caged birds on the banks of "Babar" were ordered to be released. The Suri left for Gujarat in 1586 (not in 1584 as mentioned by Mr. Roychaudhury). Arriving in 1582 he spent four monsoons at the apital and neighbourhood. During his stay not only did he impart a knowledge of Jainism to the Emperor but he also got various concessions to their faith in the form of farmans to promote nonkilling. Fishing in the lake of "Dabar" was prohibited. The Emperor is said to have taken a vow to refrain from hunting 12 (but hunting was not stopped by Akbar, as stated by Mr. Roychaudhury) and expressed a desire to leave off meat-eating for ever as it had become repulsive.

When Hiravijaya took his departure, Santichandra was left in his place at the court where the latter stayed till 1587.13 Mr. Roychaudhury seems to have been ignorant of Santichandra having immediately followed Hiravijaya at the court, as he says that the Suri's departure, Bhanuchandra remained at court and at another place confuses Santichandra with Siddichandra who are wo quite different persons.

^{10.} Hirasaubhagya Kavya, Ch. 14, Verses 91 ff.

Il. The farman was made in six copies and sent to six different parts the farman was made in six copies and sent to the Empire—Vide Krpa Rasa Kosa, Introduction, p. 19; also farman, Bhanuchandracharita, Appendix I, p. 77.

^{12.} Perhaps only on certain days. Bhanuchandracharita, Introduction 7; History on Certain days. 1 rernaps only on certain days. Bhanuchandrachard, Krpa Rasa to the Branch of the Bran

^{13.} Mr. Roychaudhury says, "We do not hear much of the Jains after Wr. Roychaudhury says, "We do not hear much of the seems to been of Hiravijaya Suri in 1592" (Din-i-Ilahi p. 162). He seems to the been curiously ignorant of the fact that important Jains lived in the of tourt of Akbar till the very end and continued to reside in the time of the figure of Akbar till his Shangir. Bhanuchandra and Siddichandra remained near Akbar till his

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To resume our narrative, Santichandra wrote a panegyric on the Emperor ('Krpā Rasa Kośa') and when leaving for Gujarat took with him farmans prohibiting the slaughter of animals and proclaiming the abolition of the Jazya and Pilgrim tax in Gujarat.¹⁴ The forbidden days were extended so as to comprise six months of the year.¹⁵

Santichandra left Bhanuchandra at the court. He and his pupil Siddichandra 16 remained to influence Akbar for the rest of his life. Bhanuchandra accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir and persuaded him to issue a farman abolishing the tax which was then levied on Jaina pilgrims to Satrunjaya.17 The hill was granted to Hiravijaya Suri as the head of the Svetambara Jains: he received the farman in 1592 with a request to send his pupil Vaijayasena Suri. The latter accordingly reached Lahore in 1593 and distinguished himself in many debates with Brahmans and successfully refuted the idea of certain Brahmans that the Jains did not believe in God. Some of the fruits of Vijayasena's influence were in the farmans prohibiting the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffaloes, repealing the law of confiscation of the property of the deceased and the capture of prisoners as hostages. 18 The Emperor was so struck by the learning and saintliness of Vijayasena¹⁹ that he conferred on him the title of "Savai Hiravijaya Suri" (in a way superior even to Hiravijaya Suri) and had the title of Upadyaya conferred upon Bhanuchandra by Hiravijaya Suri. Vijayasena was instrumental for the order prohibiting fishing in the Indus and the waters of Cutch for four months.20 Abul Fazl studied

14. Sureshwar and Samrat p. 140.

17. Vijayaprashastisar by Muni Vidyavijaya p. 47.

^{15.} Hirasaubhagya Kavya 14th Ch. Lines 273 ff.: Badaoni (Blochmann) p. 321 (1583 A.D.). Seems only to have been meant for Surat sarkar as inferred from later farman, Bhanuchandracharita, Introduction-Appendix p. 82.

^{16.} Mr. Roychaudhury errs when he says "This Siddichandra is possibly the Santichandra of Rev. Heras".—(p. 161).

^{18.} Vide farman, dated 1601, Bhanuchandracharita, Introduction-Appendix p. 80.

^{19.} After a debate on the Sun and the Ganges with the Brahmans, Suresh and Samrat p. 164 ff.

^{20.} Ihid. p. 165. A farman of 1601 (Ibid. 379) makes mention of a previous one regarding non-killing on certain days (about six months in the year), and the desirability of abstention from eating meat even on other days and impresses upon all the officials to observe the order scrupulously.

Vide also farman 1604 (Krpa Rasa Kosa p. 33) given to Jina Singh and

under Bhanuchandra "Saddarshana Samuccaya".21 It was Bhanuchandra who composed a set of 1000 names of the Sun for Akbar and recited it with him every morning.22 When the Jam of Cutch was defeated by Aziz Koka, Bhanuchandra influenced Akbar to order the release of all prisoners of war.23 The influence of the Jains reached such proportions as to invite the jealousy of the chief Brahmans of the court. Together with Bhanuchandra his pupil Siddichandra was also much respected by Akbar. extremely handsome man and endowed with amazing knowledge he was given the title of "Khus faham" by the Emperor,24 allowed to visit the harem, and studied Persian by suggestion of Akbar. On the death of Hiravijaya Suri, Bhanuchandra secured from Akbar a grant to the Jaina community of a piece of land for the construction of a stupa in memory of the monk. Both Bhanuchandra and his pupil were associated with the education of the Emperor's sons and grandsons respectively,25 and accompanied the Emperor to the Deccan. Both remained at court till Akbar's death wielding great influence, and were instrumental in securing rights to build temples in various cities and in enforcing farmans granted but not observed at times by local officials.

So much for the Jaina Svetambara Tapagaccha. While the predominant Jain influence on Akbar seems to have been from this sect, the Kharataragaccha was not unrepresented at the court.

Man Singh prohibiting slaughter on eight days in the Subah of Multan, referring therein to Hiravijaya and Jinachandra Suri and prohibiting slaughter during the twelve days including Paryusana and eight days from Vide also Yugapradhan Jinachandrasuri by Agarchand and Bhanwarlal Nahta, p. 91. Vide also inscription dated 1597 A.D. at temple Akham Distriction of Jinachandra's influence on Akbar: Photograph of inscription with Mr. Bhanwarlal Nahta, Bikaner.

21. A treatise expounding the six systems of Philosophy.

22. Bhanuchandracharita p. 29. Jain respect for the Sun, Vide Suresh and Samrat p. 163 ff.

23. Bhanuchandracharita p. 29.

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24. Mr. Roychaudhury is puzzled about the statement in the Lekha-Likhan-paddhati where it is mentioned that Jahangir (and not Akbar) is said to have conferred the title of "Ghus Faham" on Siddhichandra and also the title of Nadir-i-Zaman on him. The fact is that Akbar did confer the title of 'Khus Faham' on Siddichandra and later Jahangir also conferred the same true of 'Khus Faham' on Siddichandra and later Jahangir Pasand the Same title as well as the titles of Nadir-i-Zaman and Jahangir Pasand (Favourity to be some works, (Favourite of Jahangir) on Siddhichandra as indicated by his prose works. Vide Bhanuchandracharita p. 65.

25. Ibid. p. 42 ff.

Smith was largely unaware of Akbar's connection with this sect and so has been Mr. Roychoudhury.

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In 1591 hearing of a great Jaina teacher Jinachandra Suri presumably through Mantri Karamchand, a lay member of the Kharataragaccha, Akbar who was then at Lahore invited the holy man to the capital. Reaching Lahore in 1592,26 he gained the respect of the Emperor. In the same year he requested his patron to protect all Jaina temples, on hearing that the temples near Dwaraka were demolished by Naurang Khan.²⁷ A farman was issued granting Satrunjaya and other Jaina places to Karamchand.23 His disciple Man Singh with others accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir where fishing was prohibited in all the lakes of Akbar conferred the title of Yugapradhan on Jina-Kashmir.29 chandra and the title of Acharya to Jinasimha Suri. At the instance of the Suri fishing and animal slaughter were prohibited in Cambay for one year and in Lahore animal slaughter for the same period.30 Other monks of the Kharataragaccha who are known to have had intercourse with Akbar were Harsasara and Jayasoma who secured a victory at a debate conducted at the court of Akbar.

Mr. Roychoudhury has been ignorant of the above relations of the Kharataragaccha Jains with Akbar. Following Smith he says "In 159031 one Siddichandra visited Akbar at Lahore and was honoured with a title. He was placed in charge of the holy places of the Jains in the empire. The tax on pilgrims to the Satrunjaya hills was abolished in the same year".32 Smith seems to have made a mistake and somehow mixed up Siddhichandra with Jinachandra Suri about whom he knew nothing. While it is true that Siddichandra the pupil of Bhanuchandra had been with Akbar since at least a few years prior to Hiravijaya's death, no other Siddichandra visited Akbar and received an honorary title and was granted the control of the holy places of his faith.

27. Yugapradhan Jinachandrasuri p. 89 ff.

29. Ibid. p. 98.

^{26.} Karamchandravamsothkirthan (Hindi translation) p. 85.

^{28.} Ibid. 280 ff where a translation of the original farman now in Brahad Jnana Bhandparastha, Big Upasraya, Bikaner, is giver

^{30.} Yugapradhan Jinachndrasuri p. 102; Karamchandravamsothkirthan p. 85.

^{31.} Wrongly quoted, as Smith states the year 1593.

^{32.} Smith p. 167; Roychoudhury p. 161 ff.

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Now the one Jain of importance to "visit" Lahore about 1592 was Jinachandra who received the title of "Yugapradhan". It was to Mantri Karamchand that the Jaina places were made over and not to Siddichandra.³³ Smith errs again in saying that the temple of Adiswara at Satrunjaya was, consecrated by Hiravijaya in 1590.³⁴

33. Mr. Roychoudhury again misquoting Smith says "In 1590, the temple of Adiswara on the hills of Satrunjaya...was consecrated to Hiravijaya". Smith writes "consecrated by Hiravijaya".—Smith is wrong in the date.

34. Hirasaubhagya Kavya quoted in Suresh and Samrat (p. 259 ff) says that Tejpal Soni had repaired an old temple of Rishabdev called Nandivardhan, at Satrunjaya in 1649 S.V. (1592). Hiravijaya was invited to consecrate it. At the same time the Suri also consecrated another new temple which had been prepared by others. It was with reference to this visit that Bhanuchandra had a farman granted exempting the Suri and his followers from taxes. This farman dated V.S. 1649 (1592) (Krpa Rasa Kosa p. 25) was received by the Suri at Radhanpur in Mar.-Apr. 1593 A.D. The incident is narrated in Bhanuchandracharita, Chapter III, lines 48-71. Akbar and Bhanuchandra were then at Kashmir. The Emperor started for Kashmir in Aug. 1592 and came back in the winter of the same year. The date therefore given by Smith for the visit of the Suri, viz., 1590 is erroneous and Mr. Roychoudhury has followed him into the error. The date of the composition of Hemavijaya at the Satrunjaya hills, viz., 1593 was the year when the Suri visited the place and consecrated the temple.

Smith also errs with reference to the date of the Suri's death (Mr. (Roychoudhury follows him here also), which he puts down as 1592. The correct date is 1595 (S.V. 1652) as stated in the inscription quoted by Smith himself in Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. II, p. 272-3. Still in his Akbar he states that "In 1592 Hiravijaya Suri starved himself to death". The date given in the inscription No. 4, Vijayasena Suri, "Latest date S.V. 1650" obviously refers to the return of Vijayasena Suri to Gujarat from the imperial capital with the farman forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls, for the whole inscription. This explains the fact that the inscription refers to the death of Hiravijaya as taking place in S.V. 1652, a fact which could 1650, have been recorded if the whole inescription had been done in S.V.

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The Asiatic Review publishes an interesting discussion following a paper presented to the Society on 26 October 1943 by Prof. Coupland on the possibilities of an Indian Settlement. Prof. Coupland considers there are two problems which come for settlement; first the Hindu-Muslim problem and the next the problem of the Indian States. He is concerned for the time with the first. He starts with the provincial constitution naturally, and is definitely of opinion that the party Government, as adumberated in the Constitution of 1935, has definitely failed concluding that Parliamentary Government of that pattern has proved unsuitable to India in the absence of a well recognised party system established in the country. He feels that the alternative of a coalition government is the only possibility and would recommend one on the model of the Swiss Constitution. This provides for the representation of all the major cantons of Switzerland in the federal executive. For India he would substitute major parties instead of major cantons. The federal executive thus elected at the outset for a term remains in office during the whole term. That is so far as the Provincial Governments are concerned. The Governments change periodically, and, along with the changing legislature, the Executive bodies also change periodically.

In regard to the central administration he finds the problem more difficult. According to the ideas of Mr. Jinnah representing the Muslim League the homelands of the Mussalmans must constitute independent states as it were. This naturally would mean splitting of India into two, a Hindu India and a Muslim India. Prof. Coupland next considers whether this breaking up is inevitable. He thinks, from his own study of the matter, that, in order to win back the Muslims to the idea of a United India, the Central Government must have minimum authority, i.e., the Central Government should be vested with the least possible authority and control over the component parts. He admits that the circumstances of India demanded a strong centre as has already been too well demonstrated. Nevertheless he would make the concession to the Muslim demand and make what he calls a minimal centre with functions confined to (1) foreign affairs and defence, (2) tariffs, (3) currency and, as eminently desirable (4) communications. These are matters in which there is not likely to be conflict of interests. He thinks that if the Muslim sentiment is to be fully satisfied, even this minimal centre is not enough as they claim independent nationhood for Muslim India and would be satisfied with nothing less than the recognition of that, and of the Muslims being put on a footing of equality with the Hindus. If such a claim is admissible and should be admitted, he would provide regional arrangements dividing India into four regions almost exclusively for the purpose of constituing this Central Government. He would constitute therefore four regions for India, The Indus and the Ganges Valleys, the Deccan and the Delta Country of the South; two of these have a Muslim majority and the other two; a Hindu Majority. This the Professor thinks, would meet the Muslim Idea although it falls short of the Pakistan that is actually demand a light meet the Muslim Idea although it falls short of the Pakistan that is actually demanded. With such an arrangement, he believes the Muslims

would be agreeable to share the central authority with the Hindus, that central authority having but minimal powers. The Central Goverment would be a comparatively small affair, and its legislature may even be reduced to a single house of legislature. He would allow however that the economic regions for this kind of a regionalism may not be good enough all round. He would therefore allow dominantly Muslim areas to have this regionalism while dominantly Hindu areas might get on without this notion of regionalism. The adoption of this regionalism might even induce Indian States to join the regions where economic similarities recommended such a union. It would mean therefore that India would be divided into a smaller number of regions, in fact four, leaving but a minimal centre. There was an interesting discussion that followed in which distinguished administrators and others took part. Prof. Earnest Barker, who presided took care to point out that democracy is not synonymous with the rule of a majority as such; rather it was the common will as negotiated and agreed between a majority and a minority after due discussion. In effect it would mean rule by consent, the voting majority on any question being a record of the decree of that consent obtained as a result of the discussion. In actual practice, as is pointed out in the course of the discussion, the Congress Government showed clearly the supremacy of the arithmetical majority reducing democracy to the 'mob-rule' or tyranny of the majority as Aristotle called it.

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Prof. Barker went further in the discussion and pointed out that other methods are possible for the Government of India than either the Cabinet method of Great Britain, or the Federal method, and made the important suggestion that the religio-social communities of India should be encouraged extra-politically to assume the status of corporate bodies in regard to matters of religion, education and social customs. In fact he asked, "Was it not wild dream that the religio-social communities of India might find some satisfaction extra politically, that is, in the autonomous management of their community concerns of religon, education and and social observances?" That is in regard to the provinces. But in regard to the Centre he is rather inclined towards the suggestion of regionalisation, and suggested deep consideration deration of the 'felicitous suggestion' as he called it. The Secretary of State for India who joined in the discussion was content to point out that the peculiar type of constitution of Great Britain and the Dominions was not the only one, and suggested the exploration of alternative possibilities., Lord Halley agreeing with Prof. Coupland in regard to the causes that brought about the situation in India doubted whether it was right that the Indians should be under the belief that England had determined to divest herself of all responsibilities for India and hand them over to the Indians themselves which was really responsible for the impasse. He did not quite appreciate the regional arrangements suggested as it semed to him too artificial. He disappropriate the regional arrangements suggested as it semed to him too artificial. He disapproved of a weak Centre that Prof. Coupland's scheme would imply. Sir Alfred Watson did not feel persuaded that the conditions of regionalisato give the seemed to him were not against all human nature. "He was loth to seemed to him were not against an normal sive the minority representing only one-sixth of the population, an equal vote with the minority representing only one-sixth of the population, an equal vote with the minority to determine the with the other five-sixths, and enable the actual minority to determine the policy." He explained that such a reversal of democratic practice would be upage. be unacceptable anywhere. He certainly objected to the weakening of the Centre which this would imply and pointed out that such a weak Centre in India would be a menace to the World. Like Lord Hailey he thought that responsibility for the future of India was not intended to be wholly Indian and pointed out that the introduction of communal representation by the British Government clamped upon India a form of Government in which there could not be an alteration of parties in power such as there was in Britain. 'Until India accepted this democratic notion of parties not divided by religions or race but by function,' he said, 'we must continue to have very large responsibility' He would leave it to a future generation to find some solution for the problem of representation other than that based on communal antagonism.

Sir Robert Reid raised the question of the backward tribes in India, referring particularly to those in Assam and recommended frankly that these be left out altogther as they were not of India in religion, culture or appearance, and should not be attached to any particular province in their politically backward condition. They were found primarily in North-Eastern India which has an important role to play in the future. In any treatment recommended for these tribes, he wanted that this aspect of the question should be borne in mind.

Sir Frederic Sykes who took the Chair when Prof. Barker vacated it, took care to point out that the regional arrangement proposed had no regard to the population for the regions concerned, nor did it pay any attention to the Indian States. He further pointed out that nothing was said in the scheme regarding the important minority communities like the Sikhs, if they object strongly to the weakening of the Centre, and concluded by saying that the making of the constitution was a task which the Indians themselves should attempt, Prof. Coupland's suggestions being valuable as aid thereto.

The discussion on Indian constitutional changes was taken up on a subsequent day (January 18, 1944), Lord Erskine leading the discussion. Lord Erskine made it clear at the outset that he was not one of those who disclaim parliamentary responsibility for the future of India, and started with the idea, stated time and again that the Amery-Cripps proposals stand. The first essential to political progress in India, according to him, is the discovery of a method of constitutional progress acceptable alike to the Muslim community and the Hindu majority. He is of opinion safeguards provided in the Act of 1935 should ordinarily be enough. He assured his audience that the special powers provided in the Act were not suspended nor abrogated. He is not hopeful that the analogy of foreign constitutions would help the solution of the problem in India, and, that for a very considerable time, the continuance of an official functionary like the Viceroy would be necessary. He is definitely of opinion that in any possible arrangement the Provinces might continue to administer as here-to-fore while The alternational description of the street and the street as necessarily weak. The alternative would be, according to him, the division of India into several separate and quite independent states. This he rules out because in spite of differences there is a clearly prevalent and widespread feeling that the unity of India must be maintained.. He doubts whether those that advocate separation realise the immensity of the problem, and would ascribe all the present trouble to the introduction of democracy, which works by counting heads,

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He points out 95 millions of Muhammadans looking askance at 255 millions of Hindus, he points out further that other sections of the population entertain similar fears. He doubts whether the regional plan of Prof. Coupland will succeed and is doubtful whether a division of the country into more fully autonomous provinces would satisfy the Muslim demand. He hopes however that if the Centre is limited strictly in respect of its power, it may be acceptable. He would quote the analogy of the Roman Empire in the centuries following the Christian Era as an illuminating historical example. In the discussion which followed Mr. Godfrey Nicholson who took the Chair, regarded this as the most important question. He would recommend the continuance even of the deadlock till the Indians themselves could produce a constitution of their own making.

Sir John Hubback felt that Prof. Coupland's work laid too much stress upon the Hindu-Muslim problem to the neglect of the states. He thought the problem of the states is about as urgent, if not more, than the Hindu-Muslim problem. In regard to the backward tribes, he thought Prof. Coupland's treatment was hardly satisfactory in the interests of the 25 millions. According to him they ought to be a charge upon the Centre.

A. K. Pillai who followed in the discussion took the future of India to be a number of autonomous states with a Central Government of a confederal type.

Sir Henry Craik confined his remarks more or less to the states. pointed out at the outset that owing to the Congress attacks the states would be disinclined to join an All India Union and would much prefer a separate dominion of their own, rather than introducing the clash of the democratic and autocratic idealogies. There is a further difficulty of an economic chafacter which made a states dominion impossible. The attainment of the status of a dominion would annul all treaty rights between the states and the Crown. If British protection is to continue, the maintenance of a British force would be necessary and that is not likely to be acceptable either lo India or to Britain. Prof. Coupland's suggestion therefore was to the states being united with British India under guarantees for territorial integity and continuance of the Governments. Sir Henry thought however hat that arrangement is not likely to prove satisfactory and that the Princes Would have to agree to far reaching changes in their status. If somehow or other they are brought into the general Indian polity the British Government will have to be continued as a Central protecting power.

Mr. Tudor Owen who followed in the discussion recommended a constitutional form of Government for the states leaving the big cities outside dominions and would have such global force that may be established for world order, for the future control over these.

Mr. Jayadeva following pointed out that Professor Coupland's division by the satisfy India which aspires to a political unification, economic tyliural development of the country, harmonious development of industry and development.

Mr. J. P. Brander considered the Coupland scheme an academic one. He that the Hindus would not agree to Pakistan, and people realised from

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recent events that an undivided India and a strong Central Government alike essential. He felt even Dominion Status would be an impossible ideal. He came to the conclusion that Western Parliamentary democracy could not work in India. On the analogy of Russia and China, he would consider a strong executive Government would be found necessary for India, and that can be furnished only by the British Government.

Admiral Sir Fitz Herbert pointed out that the effort at solving the inter communal problem a failure. The attempt to solve the problem would have to be from the point of view of the position which India was likely to hold in the Post-War world. The second point of importance would be the defence of the country. If the problem is attacked from the point of view of these two, a final solution would be possible. In summing up the discussion Lord Erskine found that no solution seemed possible for the present, but continued exploration might result in a satisfactory solution being found.

This discussion in the East India Association on Prof. Coupland's suggestions throws into relief the difficulties of the problem. The first question which calls for attention is whether in the post-war world the Centre could be weakened with a view to the position and influence which India is bound to exercise. A strong, and as far as may be a unified Centre is of the essence of the situation. Even in the Hindu days when the States of India were almost independent, the arrangement generally was that complete autonomy was given to the subordinate States and Provinces in respect of the most part of the civil and internal administration. Nevertheless the Central Government had important functions, and had to be maintained in power to discharge those functions which necessarily were those of external defence, foreign relations, commerce and communications in the interior, the preservation of peace in the interior as far as it was possible in those days to ensure orderly progress of the various parts. The need for a strong Centre certainly is not less now, nor is it likely to be in the post-war world. In fact a strong Centre would seem to be of the essence of the situation. The next point of importance, in fact the most essential fact of importance, is whether a division in any form at all is called for. If the Muslim minority, a large and important minority as it is, should be given the right of self determination what is it that prevents other important minorities which may perhaps be less numerous, but certainly not less important, should be given a similar consideration; and this would become the more urgent as these comparatively small minorities would become far greater minorities in any one of the regions of Prof. Coupland, or of the divided India of Pakistan. So far there has not been shown any important consideration other than religion to call for this kind of a division. In the actual condition of India, where at least in Hindu India the social organisation is based, if we might say so, on religion, arrangements will have to be made to safeguard the really vital religious interests of the minorities, the bigger ones as well as the smaller, and the proper method of attack in an effort to settle this problem, is to make efficient provision for safeguarding the religious interests of the make efficient provision for safeguarding the religious interests of the minorities all of them and allow considerable amount of freedom of amount of freedom of conscience in respect of various matters. From the point of view of secular interest it has not been shown that there could be any difference between the could be a could be any difference between the could be a co any difference between Muslims and the other communities in India. Any

division of India on the basis of religion would cut it up into too many pieces to pull its weight in international world politics. On that single ground any attempt at division should be deprecated.

One other important matter is whether India can by her own resources alone provide for her defence on land, sea and air. The discussion we have reviewed above brought it out clearly that India should maintain her association with the British Commonwealth, it may be in a revised form. If so, the "Quit India" notion would be putting the cart before the horse. There is further the economic position of India. To assure a sound economic position, outside association would be quite as important as internal reorganisation such as agricultural and economic reconstruction.

On the whole we may congratulate the East India Association on having brought about such a valuable discussion on the Coupland Report.* All points raised in the course of the discussion deserve the most anxious consideration of all those interested in the welfare of India, present and future.

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*Prof. Coupland's Report on the Indian Problem. 3 volumes. Published the Oxford University Press. Vol. I, Indian Problem—1833-1935. Vol. II, Indian Politics—1936-1942. Vol. III, Future of India.

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INDIA AND DEMOCRACY, by Sir George Schuster and Guy Wint. Messrs. MacMillan & Co.

This is an important work bearing upon a topic of the utmost importance at the present moment. As its name indicates, the work deals with the question of a democratic Government for India and the prospects that lay before the country in the post-war world for which India should, like other countries, prepare herself even while deeply engaged in her war efforts. The book falls broadly into two parts-part I by Guy Wint and part II by Sir George Schuster. The first part is a survey of India's past, both political and social in two parts. It passes rapidly and very cursorily in review the political and social back ground before the British contact with India. This is followed immediately by the influence that the British connection exercised over both the political and social constitution of the country bringing the account down to the date of the Act of 1935. Notwithstanding the serious study of the problems connected with the question made by the author, we can hardly resist making the remark that the study of India, particularly Hindu India, is cursory and the views expressed therein cannot be regarded as anything but the result of a mere superficial observation. We might mention as a mere instance that it is broadly stated that these purely Indian administrations had a very narrow outlook and hardly did anything of a permanently beneficial character for the welfare of the country. It would be useless to cavil where the book devotes less than 60 pages to the survey; but this remark is too important a statement to be passed over. To mention merely an instance, of beneficial constructive works, we have only to mention a few irrigation works which would compare with the modern magnificent works of a similar character, and could not but have had the same idea of lasting benefit to the generations yet to come when these were actually constructed. The Lake of Girnar of Asoka and the Anicut of Karikāla Chola on the Kaveri which presented, according to competent authority, the idea of controlling waters at the head of the Delta, and distribute it for the benefit of agriculture. The construction of the great irrigation tank, the so called Bhojpur Lake by King Bhoja, with a water spread of 250 miles, as calculated by the Royal Engineers who surveyed the region for the purposes of the construction of the G.I.P. Railway, and the almost simultaneous construction of an irrigation tank on the borders of the Tanjore and South Arcot Districts, the bund of which extended over a length of 16 miles. Many other instances could be quoted, some perhaps even during the period of Muhammadan rule, to rebut this general statement. This need not mean that the British Administration was not responsible for achievements of great benefit to the people. When Mr. Guy Wint passes on to the more and the British Administration was not response to the people. on to the more modern aspect of the question he presents an account which may be regarded as eminently fair. Even where he discusses the influence of a personality 12 of a personality like Mahatma Gandhi, he presents a conspectus of events that led to the Act of 1935 and the working of the Act during the following. On the whole he presents the case fairly even in describing the failure of that Act and the causes that actually brought it about.

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After this preliminary survey, begins the really more important part of the work, that of Sir George Schuster. Sir George surveys the problem from the vantage point of one who occupied the position of administrative responsibility and helped in the carrying on of the Government of India during the critical period. He presents on the whole an arresting account of the problems that confront India laying emphasis on a wide national service which in India has to be essentially rural and agricultural not withstanding the vast expansion and improvement on the industrial side of it. He views the position of India as a country which has to take its place among the nations of world in postwar times. In his own words, 'it is not that India should set any limit to her ambitions for attaining industrial greatness, but rather that industrial greatness must be balanced by agricultural progress, and that artificial encouragement to advance in the industrial field must be regulated as part of a comprehensive plan'. that basis he writes his account and presents on the whole a very fair and impartial review of the position bringing into consideration all the elements of the complex problem of India, religious and communal differences, the position of the Indian States, India's standing among the nations of the world involving problems of international relations, defence, etc. He brings out the salient features of his conclusions in a chapter at the end of the book where he presents the whole in a dialogue between an imaginery Indian reader and himself. He sums up the whole in the following terms:

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'My main conclusions are four. First Parliamentary democracy of the Westminister pattern will not suit India and you will have to work out a system of your own. Secondly, there can be no true democracy of any form except on a foundation of better universal education than exists at present in India, nor indeed, without this can there be any real social and material improvement. Thirdly, the communal question can only be settled in the course of working together on practical tasks. Therefore the essential thing is to find a basis on which Indians can, with adequate freedom and responsibility, get started to work on the practical tasks of administration and government. order to get such a start in conditions which all sides will accept, I believe that the presence of some impartial arbitral authority may provide the key to the whole problem. I believe that in the long run this can be best secured by developing the functions of the British Crown. Fourthly, India will not be able for some time to stand alone in the world. She will not have the necessary political strength and unity, nor, which is of much more practical importance, will she have the necessary strength to defend herself, fighting forces adequately trained and commanded, as well as manufacturing capacity capable of equipping those forces. Her best chance of obtaining freedom and security to develop her own destiny on her own lines lies in remaining a member of the British group'.

We commend the book as a very important contribution to the study different may be the views actually held by them.

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THE BHAGAVAD GITA AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP By Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. (Lond.), I.E.S. Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, Publishers.

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This is part I of presumably four parts intended ultimately to give a right interpretation apparently of the Bhagavad Gita by the author. The volume before us is a preliminary study of work already done on the Bhagavad Gita The Bhagavad Gita has received a very considerable amount of attention in recent times and several scholars of eminence have studied the problem and several important publications have been made available, A work like the Gita accepted as a work of canonical authority by all sects of Hindus and consisting of a little more than 700 ślokas, and forming a part of the Mahābhārata challanges enquiry. This naturally takes the form whether the work is an integral part of the Mahābhārata challanges enquiry. This naturally takes the form whether the work is an integral part of the Mahābhārata; whether it had written by been the author of the Mahābhārata; whether it was single author that wrote Mahābhārata if the Mahābhārata is composed of various put together by one author, or having been written on a smaller compass, had received additions from time to time. If so, whether the Gita is one such addition. Such are the questions that naturally arise and have actually been asked and answered. As a preliminary enquiry, an examination was made whether the Gita by itself is a work of one hand or whether it has suffered interpollations. This last question of interpollation has received considerable attention. The German Savant Richard Garbe made an elaborate enquiry and even that has been considerably improved by a disciple of his, Prof. Otto in the Original Gita, a work of learning and value quite recently. This author has, by his investigation, reduced the original Gita to a comparatively small treatise of but 122 ślokas as the genuine Gita, the rest of it being interpollations. This raised the one important question as to the validity of an enqury like this, and the method pursued as to what is the genuine text of the author and what are interpolations. Unfortunately in an enquiry like this it often happens that the enquirer tries to read his own thoughts into the work and his sense of what is proper and what is not, a great deal depends upon his judgment. Such an enquiry easily reduces itself to the doctrinaire method of judging certain parts as fit and proper, and the others as interpolations which sometimes looks quite arbitrary, from the point of view of an integral notion of the Gita. One particular detail of this enquiry, which leads to a number of similar wrong details, is in the interpretation of certain expressions occurring in the Gita as representing certain well-known text books on the subject of more modern composition; the familiar terms sankya and yoga have been taken to represent ideas incorporated in the classical text books of the name which clearly belong to a later period. Making an elaborate enquiry in full detail, Mr. Roy arrives at the conclusion that the Gita is, except for trifling details, one integral and is more an upanished than an episode of the epic Mahabharata. There is some warrant for this as there is some authority for Krishna being regarded as an upanished teacher of the Pancharata school. Taking the Bhagavad Gita to be such, Mr. Roy comes to the conclusion. to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata, as it has come down to us, is a vast work which had undergone revisions from time to time and additions, the Bhagavad Gita being one such addition at a particular stage of these revisions

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Then he launches into the enquiry concerning the character of the Mahābhārata and its composition. This naturally is a vast enquiry and leads to much discussion regarding the various parts and possible interpolations among which this author would lay emphasis upon what he calls the Vaishnava revision. This, according to the author, is responsible for the introduction of the upanishadic Gīta into the Mahābhārata, the Gīta itself undergoing incidentally a Vaishnava revision likewise, a revison which transformed an upanishadic vēdāntic handbook into a Vaishnava manual of the Pāncharātrins. This only makes the interpolation theory sectarian in point of character; whether it would bear that interpretation and whether it is demonstrable it is a general handbook of vēdāntic thought, vēdāntic meaning perhaps advaidic having been transformed by clever interpollation into a Vaishnava manual.

This naturally leads to an enquiry into the possible relationship of the Bhagavad Gīta to the Mōkshadharma of the Mahābhārata which contains the Nārāyanīya, the orthodox text book of the Pāncharātrins. Mr. Roy regards this Nārāyanīya as a separate treatise incorporated into the Mahābhārata as the Upanishad Gīta itself and various other important treatises. He attempts to demonstrate that the Nārāyanīya is later than the Gīta and must have been included in the Mahābhārata either simultaneously or separately. He does not appear to make any reference to the Ēkāyana Śākha of the Veda which the Pancharatrins claim as older than even the Rig Veda itself, and on the authority of which has been based the Pancharatra itself. No doubt his Ēkāyana Śākha is now believed to be lost although there are references to it in the older upanishads themselves, such as, for instance, Chandokya. This remains to be tackled before Mr. Roy's conclusion could be accepted as anything final.

The work under review gives evidence of an elaborate and detailed study of the whole mass of literature bearing upon these important questions, and gives evidence of immense reading and critical faculty of a high order. We shall await the publication of the further parts of this important work with very great expectancy.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISHNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, FROM SANSKRIT AND BENGALI SOURCES. By Sri S. K. De, Professor and Head of the Department of the Sanskrit Dept., Dacca University, Dacca. Publishers: The General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta.

A history of the Vaishnava movement on a comprehensive scale has been the desideratum for some considerable time though very important contributions to the study of the subject have been made from time to time within recent years. The history to be complete and satisfactory has perbagavata doctrines and trace the development of this school of religious living faith with various forms prevailing all over the Indian continent. In according to localities, each of which having its own peculiarities of features

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developed under varying conditions. One such major movement is the Vaishnavism of the Bengal school, or as it is sometimes called the Chaitanya movement, another important school similar to this would be the Gujarati school of Vallabhacharya on which there has just been brought out an important treatise awaiting review. The Vaishnava faith as such goes back to the days of the vedic and pre-vedic, evidences have recently been found of the Vaishnava cult in the Indus Valley civilisation going back perhaps to times anterior. From these small beginnings, the religion, Vaishnavism. has been growing from time to time till in the centuries on either side of the Christian Era some kind of a special stimulation has been given to it. and we find the efflorescence of the faith all over the continent. It seems to have had a congenial home in South India and developed there into its full measure during the first millennium after Christ, and received the hallmark of a systematic religion in the hands of Ramanuja. It seems to have been propagated thence onwards, moved into the Maharashtra country, thence northwards to Central India and the United Provinces where it found a second home, and thence spread in various forms eastward, west-ward and north-westward into various reforming religions of Modern India. This vast movement has to be traced in all details in any history of the Vaishnava movement as such, and this in summary is clearly indicated in the preliminary chapter of the Padma Purana which could be taken to indicate the correct order of progress of the Vaishnava movement. In this work, a comprehensive treatise on the important movement in Bengal, we find the fullness of treatment naturally to be expected from the vast learning and careful scholarship of the author. He traces the Bengal Movement certainly to the school of Brindaban and goes back to its earlier affiliations. He seems to find that he could not trace the Bengal Vaishnavism to anything anterior to the Śrimad Bhāgavata and is content to take that as the ulterior limit. He does not attempt to trace any connection between the Bengal movement with that either of South India or of the Maharashtra. The Bengal Vaishnava Movement as such, it would be regarded as unconnected with the Southern Vaishnava Movement or of that in Maharashtra. The tracing of any such connection would be possible only by a deep and intimate study of details of this movement which, for various obvious reasons, may not yet be altogether possible. Such comparative study would become possible by a detailed study of these separate movements and then a comparative study to estimate the influence of one school upon another. There is a considerable amount of prejudice, naturally as it may appear, to acknowledge indebtedness to the Southern school in particular. It seems however possible to trace the influence of the South both in the Vaishnavism of the Brindaban school and in its further developments in the north. The indebtedness of the South to the northern school of Vaishnavism in its early stages is complete and provable almost on textual authority which takes us back to the beginning of the Christian Era. To this vast study Dr. De's book does make an important contribution giving us a fully detailed history of Bengal Vishnavism exploiting the sources in Sanskrit and Bengali more or less fully. We commend the work to all serious students of the History of Vaishnavism as a whole.

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Well-ve The fir: Sir J. 1 Punjab telf, he STUDIES IN LATER MUGHAL HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB 1707-1793.

By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. With a foreword by Sir Shafaat
Ahmad Khan. (The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore 1944).

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As Sir S. A. Khan has pointed out, few historians have attempted the detailed history of the Punjab in the eighteenth century, and particularly about its middle. Dr. Gupta can therefore be regarded as one of the pioneers to plough this field. With his usual thoroughness and detailed equipment as to sources analytically sifted, he traces the main stages in the dissolution of Mughal rule in the Punjab and explains the factors that brought it about. That enabled the Sikhs to revive their power after the quarter of a century of extreme depression in their fortunes following the death of Banda, slory of Adina Beg Khan who became a man of mark is striking, as that of a person who could float on the surface of anarchical politics and even succeed. Thus he became independent both of the Emperor and the Governor of Lahore in those stormy days and contrived with the help of the Marathas and the Sikhs to expel the Afghans from the Punjab in 1758, shortly before he died. His record as an administrator was good in an age of administrative confusion and political anarchy In diplomacy and statesmanship he was much above the average. He was the chief instrument in the fall of the capable Mughlani Begam, whose career as the ruler of her husband's heritage might have been easily more successful, with a little more care and self-restraint on her part.

The invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani are next detailed and followed by an account of Timur Shah's campaigns in the Punjab down to his death in the middle of 1793. An account is also given of the resources and extent of the Durrani empire and of the character of its administration. A note is given about the effect on the Indian dress and produced by the Durrani rule in the Punjab and the Afghan contact with the Indians. At the end there is a descriptive account of the invader's road from Kabul to Delhi which was marked by pillars fixed at regular intervals. The appendix matter is interesting as showing the quick recovery of the Sikh power and its assertion of sovereign right even immediately after the disaster of Panipat. The bibliographical notes on the sources are fairly exhaustive. It is impossible to give a more detailed analysis of this able survey of the most complicated politics of a province which was the battle ground of Mughal and Maratha, and Afghan, for a number of critical years.

C. S. S.

IISTORY OF THE SIKHS By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Vol. II—Cis-Sutlej Sikhs 1769-1799 pp. XIX & 320—with a Forward by Sir Jogendra Singh. Vol. III—Trans-Sutlej Sikhs 1769-1799 pp. X & 183. (The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore). 1944.

Dr. Gupta has established a secure reputation as a researcher, The first volume of his History of Northern India in the 18th and 19th centuries. Sir J. N. Sarkar, useful in building up on a granite foundation one period of hulab History, including that of the Delhi Empire. Though not a Sikh himborought out in shining colours the heroes and patriots of the Sikh

community in the pre-Ranjit Singh epoch, and he also gave us therein an instructive picture of Sikh life and character which had been moulded by factors of political oppression and a bitter struggle for survival

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Thus, Dr. Gupta says that the story of the progress of the Sikhs of the Cis-Sutlej country, from 1769 onwards until the close of that century is one of their almost annual blundering raids into the Upper Gangetic Doab, which, however, though full of sad relics, have not been wholly unprofitable With a little more vision and a litle more statesmanship, the Sikhs could easily have become masters of Northern India. After a survey of the political condition of India, comprehending even states of the distant south like Hyderabad, the Carnatic and Mysore, our author finds a life of complete selfish isolation marking all the states of the time, with no personal bond between the ruler and the ruled, and justifynig the remark made by Jean Law that "so far as I can see there is nothing that you could call Government between Patna and Delhi." The Cis-Sutlej Sikhs themselves were torn by mutual rivalry and jealousy and their army consequently came to be split up into a miscellaneous collection of independent feudal contingents, based upon a chain of dependency of land-holding reaching down to the individual horseman. The enterprising expeditions indulged in by the Sikh Chiefs formed in one sense a transition to the evolution of their territorial chiefships. Their relations with Zabita Khan Rohilla in the years 1775-79 form a very intriguing and complicated tissue of political fraud and changing military alliances. Abdul Ahad Khen contributed a good deal to the intervention of the Sikhs in the affairs of Delhi and the Doab. The career of Amar Singh of Patiala is illustrative of the way in which a resourceful Sikh Sirdar built up his position and could take advantage of the political situation. Najaf Khan had to repeat in 1781 what the Sayyid brothers had done to the Marathas 62 years before and to accept the sovereignty of the Sikhs over the country to the west of the Jumna and their right of levying blackmail called Rakhi, (being two annas in the rupee of the standard land revenue) in the Mughal territories in the Upper Gangetic Doab. The importance of this recognition and its consequences are clearly brought out by Dr. Gupta. The further open encroachment of the Sikhs and their increasing interference in Delhi politics alarmed the British Government and Warren Hastings minuted, on the 22nd April 1784, on the need of forming an alliance with the Emperor against the Sikhs, as an additional security against their invasions near the Frontiers of Oudh. Hingne, the Maratha Agent at Delhi, feared the consequences that might result from this new plan and Hastings had finally to give up the idea of setting up a pro-English party in Delhi. Mahadji Sindia's treaty with the Sikhs concluded in May 1785, though on a provisional basis, had a fitful career and finally broke off, owing to the inherent difficulties of the situation. On the whole, Sindia's policy towards the Sikhs should be said to have been a failure. He appreciated the fighting capacity of the Sikhs and the value of an active co-operation with them. But they were most intractable and not at all amenable to reason. They also lacked politically also lacked politically also lacked politically and the result in the result. also lacked political vision and a sense of diplomatic values; and the result was that the Sindia failed to keep them in check and his Agents were unable to prevent their inroads. In the years after his death their depredations became more mark to their depredations became more marked and their clash with Thomas and Perron and final submission to Shelt. submission to Shah Zaman closed an epoch, but did not indicate any definite settlement.

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Dr. Gupta takes up in the third volume the story of the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs in the same years. He traces the career of expansion of the Sikh power from the Doabs of the Central Punjab into the surrounding plains on all sides and thence on into the regions of Kangra and Jamna. Their on all with Shah Zaman in the fateful years 1793-99 are delineated at great length. The significance of Ranjit Singh's occupation of Lahore was two-fold. It meant the beginning of the process of the extinction of indenendent Sikh chiefs and the establishment of a definite united monarchy. A chapter is devoted to the nature and character of Sikh administration, with particular attention to land tenure and revenue and the administration of justice, regarding both of which a considerable improvement was effected on the previous condition. It is however to be noted that fear of the growing Sikh power diverted trade from Afghanistan and beyond, from the Punjab to Northern Rajputana. The picture of the social economic life of the people is interesting but does not call for any particular remark, except that the country was on the whole well-governed and the condition of the cultivators and other classes of the people was very much better at this time than it was subsequently under Ranjit Singh and his followers. The documentation and illustrative maps are very useful and the index is clear and very explanatory.

C. S. S.

1. THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA pp. 413 (1943.) 2
ANNEXATION OF BURMA pp. 338 (1944). By Anil Chandra
Banerjee, M.A., (Published by A. Mukerjee & Bros, 2, College Square,
Calcutta).

Dr. A. C. Banerjee has become a well-known figure among workers in the field of Modern Indian History and his recent publication of a biography of Peshva Madhava Rao I has been generally acclaimed as a lucid and correct exposition of a complicated subject of study. The first of the two books under review takes up the history of the policy pursued by the British Government towards Assam and Burma in the past. Since with Japan's entry into the great war, Burma and the threat to India from its side have brought into prominence the importance of the Eastern Frontier both from the political and from the military point of view.

The observations of Captain Welsh, who was sent to Assam in the time of Lord Cornwallis, show us that he exceeded the authority delegated to him by Government, but claimed to be excused for having done so in the special circumstances of the prevailing conditions in Assam. The prohibility of any interference in Assamese politics, ordered by Sir John Shore, the Calcutta Government then.

Anglo-Burmese relations were radically changed by the Burmese conquest of Arakan and by the consequent migration of the Mags into Bengal. The pacific Government of Shore was not prepared to precipitate any outbreak of war owing to the apparently aggressive attitude displayed by the of Captain Symes, whose report is a very useful and instructive source, are detailed in a chapter which concludes with the opinion that Captain Cox

gave as to the necessity of a solid alliance with Burma, which otherwise was. in a fair way to come under the influence of the French. Wellesley could not bring about any definite understanding and Burmese highhandedness continued as before to be exhibited in a very unreasoning manner. The question of the Arakan refugees and the increasing troubles with Assam are outlined in the succeeding chapters and the complicated nature of British relations with Cachar and with reference to the Arakan boundary, the final rupture with the Burmese Government, the operations of the war of 1824-20 and the contents and significance of the treaties that ended the war, form the narrative of the rest of the book. Dr. Banerjee is inclined to exonerate Amherst from the blame that was directed against him for his failure in the vigorous conduct of the operations of the invading army. The treaties of 1826 which are given in the appendix matter show a considerable amount of restraint on the part of the British. Amherst himself was first unwilling to annex Arakan and the amount of indemnity was recommdended for a reduction by General Campbell. One-third of Assam was brought directly under British rule in order that the required revenue for the maintenance of a garrison might be assured. The commercial treaty provided for in the treaty of Yandabo was the real basis from which further complications were to proceed and drag the Burmese again into war.

The second book Annexation of Burma surveys the events leading to the annexation of Arkan and Tenasserim in 1826 and the miserable fortunes experienced by the British Residency in Burma, followed by the declaration of war in 1852 and the annexation of Lower Burma,—the whole narrative of the war and its operations being very full and elaborate. Col. Phayre, who carried out the annexation, makes it clear in his journal that he was perfectly justified in claiming that his failure to secure a treaty was not due to any of his own faults. The later treaties of commerce secured by Phayre and by Fytche are interesting preliminaries to the ruin of king Mindon's kingdom and to the loss of its independence. The reign of Thibaw ending in the Third Burmese War and the annexation of Upper Burma form a most distressing chapter; and we learn that the annexation which had not been finally decided on by the Government of India when they despatched their army to occupy Mandalay, was forced upon them by the Secretary of State acting under the pressure of British commercial interests. The suppression of dacoity and the other good work at reorganisation done in Burma by the British require to be narrated in a subsequent volume and this suggestion we commend to our scholarly and industrious author.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF INDIA. By Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., and Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A. (Published by A. Mukerjee & Bros, College Square, Calcutta). Pages 882. First Edition, April 1944. Price Rs. 12|8|-.

This book is intended for the use of College students, particularly of the Intermediate and B.A. Pass stages. It has got the merit of having been written on a unified plan and of embodying, in a continuous and simple narrative, all the fruits of the latest researches done in the main fields of Indian historical inquiry. It contains the usual introductory matter of the

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geographical and racial factors that underlie the evolution of our history; herein it stresses the concept of the fundamental unity of India underlying the physical and other diversity that prevails. The sources of information are explained in their principal categories and, happily, have not been made heavy. The features and affinities of the Indus civilisation and the various stages of the evolution of Indo-Aryan culture and history follow a definite line of treatment marked by continuity and precise expression. The dynastic history of Northern India, interspersed with notices of the cultural condition of the land, is fairly full. South India and the Deccan in the first millennium A.D. are however compressed in about 16 pages and the later dynasties and their fortunes down to the thirteenth century get equally compressed. The estimate of various rulers of the Muhammadan dynasties that ruled in the land is fairly satisfactory. The characteristic Turkish of administration, of Indo-Muslim of the Bhakti cult of the times, the rule of the Mughal and Suri dynasties, the estimate of the Maratha State in its political and cultural significance for India and the emergence of settled British rule from out of the confusion of the eighteenth century, are all well proportioned, alike from the points of view of sequence, clarity of outline and mutual interaction. Perhaps the reader may feel that there has been an undue compression into very short compass of the history of the 19th and 20th centuries and the consequent fore-shortening of modern tendencies in our history. But this is, to a certain extent, inevitable in a work which deals with the entire range of Indian History from the pre-historic past. The maps are fairly clear. The typography is good, but a proper index and perhaps short notes on the value of source material indicated at the end of chapters would have constituted welcome additions that are bound to enhance the usefulness of the book to the more serious student.

C. S. S.

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., pp. xv 416.

The gloomy present naturally turns our mind to the dark past and it is in the fitness of things that during the world holocaust an able indologist should choose to examine the military methods and ethics of ancient India. The primitive man was as eager to win by his personal prowess what he coveted most, wealth, honour and an attractive mate, as his more civilised descendant of today. With the evolution of society his aggressive instincts Were not suppressed but sublimated and diverted to the services of the State. In India the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and the war-like profession formed the close preserve of a select cost and select caste, but otherwise there was little difference between the war-lords of the ancient and medieval times and the fuelirers and duces of this disillusioned age. Even in those unsophisticated days the stage was set by elever diplomacy, the "issues were clouded by skilful propaganda, behind the fighting forces were ranged the state-controlled war industries and the strategy of the fighting generals was reinforced by the more subtle manipulations of the fighting generals was reinforced by the financier. Of the traditional fourfold forces, elephantry has of the financier. Of the traditional fourious forces, the brain dominated as become an anachronism to-day, but the charlotty and as to its own in the form of armoured cars. The brain dominated as ever over the brawn, but the arena was limited and the peculiar social and political institutions banned the idea and ideology of a total war. The civilian population escaped much of the horrors of modern wars mainly because the military apparatus was less efficient and partly because the ethics of those days were somewhat different. Not that the ethical principles always governed military conduct, for Arjuna did not hesitate to hurt the uncharioted Karna and "Kuta Yuddha" or unfair fighting was not unknown. Parashu Rama essayed total extermination of the entire fighting community, not once, but twentyone times. But while public opinion did not approve of unequal, unfair and ruthless fighting in those primitive times, every thing is considered fair in war to-day.

There are few works on exclusively military maters in Sanskrit and Pali literature but Mr. Dikshitar has made an exhaustive study of all the extent sources, literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaelogical. The result has been an extremely readable volume on a little known subject. The parallelism of the south and north Indian Canons to which he draws our attention is of special interest, but one would like to know where the main inspiration came from. We also wish that it had been possible for the learned author to trace the evolution of the various institutions, tactics and strategies he describes and to give us a chronological account rather than a narrative without any reference to chronology. But that is probably too much to expect at the present stage of our knowledge.

There are a few printing errors and one or two lapses of a different category. It is doubtful whether Shankarncharya in his famous verses entitled "Mohamudgara" compares "moha" to a mudgara (page 114) and the "animals whose horns were used" for making armours could not possibly include tortoise and elephant (page 126) though the shell of the one and the hide of the other conceivably furnished suitable materials for that purpose.

As one lays down the volume one is apt to enquire—'How much moral progress has been achieved by homo sapiens during the last two thousand years though magic has receded to the back-ground and science has made gigantic strides."

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The Ceylon University Journal, University of Ceylon, Colombo.

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In a compass of 25 chapters, the first volume presents a bird's-eye-view of the history of India down to circa 700 A.D., stressing, in particular, the folk movement of the Satvatas gradually into the South, glimpses of the Mauryan penetration into the Tamil land, and a possible Tamil equivalent of Asoka's agniskhamda, the Hun problem in Indian history, a study of the Vakatakas, some problems of Gupta history, and the Gurjara empire. Then follows a survey of Kalingadesa with a note on the main styles of Hindu architecture. This part closes with a paper on the essentials required for historical research in our land, among which particular stress is laid on co-operation among the workers. Beginning from Chapter XV comes South Indian History; its evolution through the ages of the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas and the imperial Pandyas of the 13th century follows. This volume ends with a learned paper on Indian expansion beyond the seas and the maritime enterprise of South Indians, which was most notable till the times of Marco Polo and Wassaf.

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Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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Annals of Old Madras Lighthouse Road

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M. A.

The Lighthouse Road runs to the east of the High Court Buildings, Madras, and connects North Beach Road with Sir T. Muthusami Iyer Road. It is so named because it faces the Madras Lighthouse.

The Madras Lighthouse is housed in the tall handsome main tower of the High Court Buildings which is an admirable specimen of the handwork of the Madras Workmen combining use with ornament. The beautiful dome of this tower was designed by distinguished experts in the line, Lord Lausdowne, Governor-General of India, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras and Sir Arthur Collins, Chief Justice of the High Court, Madras, each having laid a stone of it. The marble statue of Sir T. Muthusami Iyer, the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court, is in the crypt on the first floor under the Lighthouse Tower and Sir Arthur Collins had it so housed despite opposition from Government.

The climb to the Lighthouse is somewhat strenuous. Winding stairs lead up a narrow corner turret to a vast roof. A second turret, to the North East, contains more corkscrew steps. When fifty have been mounted the visitor is ushered into a big room. Here he signs his name in a book and pays a fee of two annas. Then a dizzy iron stair twists round and up a giddy height to the Lighthouse. The encircling balcony commands a wide-flung panoramic view of the city; the Dare House, the premises of Messrs. Parry & Co., the Harbour, the four red buildings of the Port Trust (now turned grey), the circular grey forms of gigantic Iron Oil Tanks, the steeple of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, the Central Station Towers, the tall Chimneys of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, and the old buildings of the Pachaiyappa's and Madras Christian Colleges.

Owing to exigencies of the war the Lighthouse now stands light denied and no visitor is allowed.

The Lighthouse has a history of over a century and a half behind it. It dates back to 1795 when Captain W. T. Money, T. D. Fulkes, and A. J. Applegarth, Commanders of Indiamen represented to Government that ships learing Madras at nightfall from the southward were compelled to lie to and risk the shoals of Covelong, while those approaching from northward to guard against sand banks of Armagon and Pulicat and suggested.

that a fixed light on the Fort would enable the vessels to enter the roadstead at all hours.

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The ships in those days lay at anchor just outside the Fort. The sea was breaking quite close to the fortifications. The inmates of the Fort used to look out from the windows the sailing of an East Indiaman and the landing of goods and passengers by the mapula boats through the surf on to the beach just opposite to the Sea gate. The goods were piled on the sand in front of the Sea gate just about the place where the road now runs waiting to be carried to the Office of the Sea Customs,—the Officer is now called the Collector of Customs. Turing records in 1792 that on landing at Fort St. George he walked to the water Gate not more than 50 yards from the sea.

The suggestion of the Captain took root. Government consulted the Chaplains "on the eligibleness of the Steeple of St. Mary's Church as a site." The Chaplain reminded the Government that at the dedication of St. Mary's when the Reverend Richard Portman received the church as a sacred charge and free will offering from the Governor of Fort St. George (to whom powers had been delegated for that purpose from the Bishop of London) and the other contributors to the expense of the building, the parties respectively promised for themselves and their successors "to refuse and renounce to put the church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever."

Ultimately the Government selected the roof of the Commercial Exchange (the present Officers' Mess) as the position for the light. The construction of the light itself was completed by November 1796. The lantern was secured in a skeleton cage housed in a wooden building. It was guarded with weather boards on the land side and only showed its light seawards. The illumination was effected merely by a dozen tumblers of oil bearing wicks fixed to iron wire supports which gave a dull yellow flame which appeared of a reddish tinge out at sea not unlike the end of a lighted cheroot. The light thus produced was assisted by a few looking glasses at the back of the lantern. But poor as it was, it was better than nothing and a great boon to navigators making the port in the night. The light was 90 feet above sea level at high water and could be seen from the decks of the Hon'ble Company's ships about 17 miles and from their mast heads near 26 miles.

At the request of the President of the Exchange Committee, Lord Hobart opened the Lighthouse in December 1796. A signal station was also erected on the roof.

In later years the light was somewhat improved by reflectors and lamps but it remained in the old place.

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ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS LIGHTHOUSE ROAD

New apparatus for the Lighthouse arrived on 14th November 1837 by the True Briton. It cost £ 1,600 besides freight. The new Lighthouse was to be in some respects similar to that at Pondicherry, but with considerable improvements.

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At about the beginning of 1838 the commanders of the ships trading to Madras, understanding that a new light was to be exhibited suggested to the Chamber of Commerce their conviction that it would be most beneficial to all ships frequenting the Port of Madras to have the new Lighthouse erected near the Custom House.

In 1798 the Second Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, ordered the removal of the Custom House from inside the Fort, first of all to the temporary huts on the beach and then to the Paddy Godown on the North East Beach, lately occupied as a "French Prison"—the site of the present Custom House. The reason given for the change is the increase of trade; the move was most probably necessitated by the fact that the sea which in 1797 was touching the walls of Fort St. George, had by 1837 receded farther and farther away and the ships had to anchor about two miles from the shore and that the roadstead at about the site of the present Custom House was more favourable for landing. North Beach Road or First Line Beach was really the beach in those days. The sea has now receded several hundreds of yards owing to the sand accretions—caused by the southern arm of the modern Madras Harbour—a mile or more to the northward.

This new Lighthouse was immediately to the northward of the wall of Fort St. George. It was a most elegant granite building very much like a grecian Doric column standing on a cubic pedestal elevated above the massive steps. The corners of the steps were replaced by four flanking buttesses, which apparently solid to the eye, are made to act as departments, being lighted through their roofs by sky lights invisible on the outside. From the top of this column a light was exhibited.

On January 1, 1841, the Lighthouse was opened for use. It excited some admiration. The lantern consisted of a twelve sided polygon, framed in gun-metal, nine of the faces or sides of which were of glass, and the remaining three flanked. The interior diameter of the lantern was 9 feet, and the height, exclusive of the roof, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The light was produced by means of Argand lamps of a simple construction, attached to planted parabolic reflectors, of which 15 were in constant use. The oil consumed was the best cocoanut oil of the ordinary kind. The lamps and reflectors were attached to machinery, by the aid of which they were made to reciprocate, that is, move backwards and forwards through an angular space of 90° lostead of revolving. The principle of the Lighthouse was a novel one and was highly thought of by scientific men of those days.

The Fort Lighthouse was replaced in 1843 by a Lighthouse erected on the North Glacis of the Fort St. George near the Old Lighthouse within the compound of the High Court Buildings.

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The design originated with Captain J. E. Smith of the Madras Engineers, who began to excavate the foundations on 17th July 1838. These were sunk 10 feet below the ground to receive a forty feet square base of laterite, from which the brickwork foundation rose in a compact masonry block.

Lord Elphinstone and a distinguished gathering witnessed the laying of the first stone on September 19th of the same year. This building was completed in December 1843 and the lamp lit on the New year's day, 1844 as announced by a notification by the Marine Board dated 9th October 1843: On and from 1st January 1844, a Light will be exhibited on the New Lighthouse erected at Madras immediately to the northward of the walls of Fort St. George and the light heretofore exhibited from the Old Lighthouse within the Walls of Fort St. George will be discontinued. The new light will be elevated 128 feet above the sea level.

This Lighthouse was built at a cost of Rs. 75,000 of which Rs. 60,000 was the cost of the building and Rs. 15,000 was the cost of the lighting apparatus, reflectors and lamps weighing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons. The light used was a first class white Catadioptric light of a reciprocating and not a revolving motion with five faces of which three were presented seaward at one time. The rapidity of the movement was so adjusted that the duration of the flashes varied from 0° to 48° and of the eclipses from 0° to 72° roughly in the ratio of 2:3. Designed to clear vessels of the Pulicat Shoal and into the roadstead it was visible at 20 miles distance from the deck of the ship in clear weather. The light was 177 feet above the ground.

When the High Court Buildings were opened in 1892 it was proposed to remove the Lighthouse to its main tower which is an octagonal structure of brick and stone.

The optical apparatus used was of the third order group flashing type and had a focal distance of about 5,000 millimetres and a vertical angle of 80°. It consisted of eight panels of lenses in four groups of two. The period of light was double flashing every half minute. At the focus was an improved four wick Douglas burner supplied with heavy mineral oil by two pressure lamps, thus providing a continuous supply of cool oil to the flame of 2,000 candle power. The flash was of half a minute periods giving two flashes of about two seconds separated by an eclipse of two seconds followed by a long eclipse of twenty-three seconds and was calculated to be visible at a distance of about 20° miles in clear weather. The light in the new

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apparatus showed all round the compass at a height of 190 feet above sea level.

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The new Madras Light in the High Court tower was formally handed over on July 1893 by the P.W.D. to the Presidency Port Officer. It was officially tested from the sea by the Port Authorities on April 2, 1894. The B. I. S. N. Co.'s agents placed the S. S. C. at the disposal of the Government for the purpose. Among those present on board were not only Officials to test the operations but also a number of guests: Capt. H. A. Sheet, Presidency Port Officer, Capt. W. B. Simpson, Deputy Conservator of the Port, Capt. H. D. Baddelay, Government Surveyor, Mr. T. W. Ashhitel, Executive Engineer, Mr. M. E. Clarke, Mr. W. M. Clarke, and Surgeon Capt. Young. The party embarked on Board the Camorta shortly after 9-30 P.M. and by 10 P.M. the Vessel left the harbour and proceeded in a southerly direction towards Seven Pagodas.

The night was very dark with few if any stars visible and rather hazy. Both lights, the old and the new, were kept working all night and made it practicable to compare the illuminating power of both. The general verdict was that the new light gave a much more intense and brilliant light than the old. A strong head wind and current however delayed progress.

At 1-20 A. M. the log showed $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles when the new light had dipped below the horizon. The old light had disappeared about 3 miles or half an hour previously. The Camorta was then put about and her course set in a northerly direction for the Pulicat Light. The Madras Lights were successively picked up and were not lost again. Pulicat light was sighted at 4-15 A. M. The Camorta was turned and her course set to Madras in the usual track of vessels making for Madras Harbour. The testing operations gave satisfactory results. The Camorta re-entered her berth in the harbour at 6-30 when the Officials and guests came ashore after a pleasant voyage.

The Light in the Lighthouse was first lighted in June 1, 1894.

The Old Lighthouse was thus deprived of its light by its legal neighbour. It was occasionally used as a flag-staff.

In 1927, the light in the Lighthouse was changed from the four wicks burner to that of the 55 millimetres autoform Chance Bros burner 4,000 candle power. Kerosine Oil is used and the principle is the same as that of the Petromax lamp. The penetrating beam is more powerful and visible at 18 miles in all weather, the geographical range being the same. It can be visible at a still greater distance provided the geographical range is varied by increasing the present height of the Lighthouse Tower, which is 160 feet above sea level.

In April 1939 experiments were made at electrification of the Lighthouse. In the apparatus now at work the bulb was fixed and experiments made. The mode in which the authorities would introduce electricity in the working of the Lighthouse has not yet been given any definite shape. Whether it will result in mere electric illumination of the present system by introducing suitable optical lenses or whether the present apparatus weighing about two tons would be replaced by an entirely new set of electric apparatus weighing about $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons remains to be seen.

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Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320 A.D.)

BY

KISHORI SARAN LAL, M. A.

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The death of Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.) left the Sultanate of Delhi in a state of utter disorder such as inevitably follows a long, centralised and despotic rule. It would be out of place here to enumerate the various cliques and crimes that mark the days that followed his death, until Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, a son of 'Alauddin was crowned king. Having been kept under strict watch in his early days and then succeeding to the throne at the critical age of sixteen or seventeen, Qutbuddin began to lead a life of extreme licentiousness and debauchery. The various measures which he took mark a reaction from the conditions in During his reign (1316-1320) of four years and some 'Alauddin's time. months conquests were made and public works carried out; but the most dominant feature of his times was the extremely low morals of the king and the court. It was in his reign that Khusrau Khan, an obscure slave, rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the most exalted position of Vazīr.

Khusrau Khan belonged to the low caste of Barvaris or Parvaris of Gujarat 1. He seems to have been converted to Muhammadanism in his early childhood and given the name of Hasan. When 'Ainulmulk Multani

براده ومن مدول من سرباز که بیمر با دباندم سرانداز اددای طالیهٔ درسیس را بال که جان باز ندمرفرمانوایان

[Tughlaqnamah, verses 338-39.]

Briggs (Ferishtah Vol. I. p. 387, note), therefore, does them scant justice when he says that "the Purwary is a Hindu outcaste, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."

of Gujarat. Futuh. p. 362.

For a detailed discussion on this point see Ishwari Prasad, a History of Caranna Turks, Vol. I, pp. 8—9 foot-note.

^{1.} Khusrau Khan was a Parvārī. Baranī, 'Isamī, Yahyn as well as the later Muslim Chroniclers say that Khusrau Khan belonged to a low caste of Gujarat. Amīr Khusrau, a contemporary writer, praises them (Baradu) for their gallantry and sacrifice. He says that they are men brave and courageous and are employed by the Rajas of Hindustan for whom they are always ready to lay down their lives:

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sacked Malwa in 1305 Hasan and his brothers fell into the hands of the Muslim army. At the imperial court Hasan was taken into the body of the personal slaves of Sultan 'Alāuddin or assigned to Malik Shadi a nobleman of his court. When Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ascended the throne in 1316 he became highly enamoured of the youthful Hasan and in the very first year of his reign he bestowed upon him the title of Khusrau Khan, the office of Vazarat and all the dignities and jagirs of Malik Kafūr. In elevating Khusrau Khan Qutbuddin had refused to gain from the experience of 'Alāuddin, who had conferred extraordinary distinctions upon his favourite Malik Kafūr. In course of time Khusrau Khan proved as much an anathema for the Qutbi as Malik Kafūr had proved for the 'Alāū regime.

After securely seating himself upon the throne Qutbuddin turned his attention towards the kingdom of Devagir, where Harpaldeva, son-in-law of Ramdeva, had assumed perfect independence. The Sultan marched towards the Deccan in 1318. Khusrau Khan, his favourite, accompanied him on this expedition. When the imperial army arrived on the borders of Devagir Raghu, minister of the late king Ramdeva, fled to the hills in defiance of the royal order to submit. Khusrau was detached with a powerful army to pursue him. Qutlagh, an officer in Khusrau's forces, was successful in seizing some of Raghu's adherents from whom he was enabled to ascertain the strength of Raghu's army as well its location. Khusrau Khan attacked the Maratha minister in a defile and completely routed his army. "The Hindus, who had pretended to independence, were either slain, captured or Raghu himself was most severely wounded but escaped capture. After this signal victory Khnsrau Khan returned in all haste as the king had summoned him urgently. On his way back Khusrau received the intelligence that Rana Harpaldeva had not submitted and had taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khan went in his pursuit but was two or three times vigorously attacked by the Hindu Raja. At last Harpaldeva was severely wounded in a stiff engagement and was taken captive. Qutbuddin was overjoyed at this victory of his general and received him "with a hundred flattering distinctions." The rebels were severely punished. Harpaldeva was inhumanly flayed alive and his body was hung on the gates of Devagir by the orders of the Sultan.

By the beginning of Rajjab 718 A. H. (September 1318 A. D.) the rainy season was at an end, and the Sultan turned back towards the capital. Khusrau Khan was ordered to penetrate farther into the south and lead an expedition into the kingdom of Telingana. On his way to M'abar, Khusrau began to entertain evil designs against his master. His ambitious projects

^{2.} The author of Tarikh-i-Mubammadī (finished 842 A. H.) writes that Khusrau Khan was brought up by Malik Shadi of the court of 'Alāuddīn, [Tarīkh-i-Muhammadī Ald. Uni. M. S. fol. 126.]

SULTAN NASIRUDDIN KHUSRAU SHAH (1320 A.D.)

about finding a new principality would be described later; suffice it here to say that the general marched on into the south acquainting his confidants with his secret plans.

On his arrival in M'abar the Raja of the country fled away. The invader obtained some loot, and about one hundred elephants fell into his hands. Barani, always deficient in the description of battles, is altogether silent about the engagements which Khusran Khan fought against the Hindus in the Deccan. But Amīr Khusrau gives a graphic and, at places, an exaggerated account of the exploits of Khusrau Khan. He says that the imperial army advanced march by march. During the march the Hindu soldiers committed as many ravages as the Turks. Every inhabited part was made desolate. When the army arrived in Warangal the Hindu inhabitants fled confused. The royal forces encamped "three bow-shots" from Warangal. Khusrau Khan ascended an eminence from where he reconnoitred the fort. The Hindu horsemen of the Rai numbered more than 10,000, wheras the foot soldiers were beyond calculation. Despite their numerical superiority the southerners were overwhelmed in the battle against Muslim cavalary numbering 300 or even fewer horsemen.3 Some booty of gold and jewels fell into the hands of the imperial army which pursued its enemy to the gates of the citadel and burnt down all the gardens and groves so that the "paradise of idol-worshippers became like hell". Next morning Khusrau Khan attacked the outer walls of the fortress which were breached. A large number of Hindus were slain and many others taken prisoners. After taking the outer walls Khusrau began the investment of the inner fortress. He ordered Khwaja Haji, the 'Arīz, " to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine". At this Rai Pratap Rudra Deva was alarmed and sent messengers to sue for peace. He agreed to surrender five districts and promised to pay a large tribute including 12,000 horses, annually. Flushed with victory the low-born general subjected the Rai to many indignities before accepting the truce, but in the end he relinquished most of the ceded and conquered territory except the fortress of Badrkot, "which the Khan had an object in demanding".

The rains detained Khusrau Khan in M'abar, where he passed his time in devising means for rising in revolt against the Sultan of Delhi. As has been said before he used to consult his friends about his determination to found an independent principality of his own. He had a large army under his command, and, as in the case of 'Alāuddin, the wealth of the Deccan had aggravated his ambition of reigning somewhere independently. According

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^{3.} Nuh Sipehr Elliot Vol. III, p. 560. So vast a difference between the strength the two forces is incredible.

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to Amir Khusrau when he was settling the terms of treaty with the Kakatiya Raja Khusrau Khan had relinquished all claims to the conquered territory except "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khan had an object in demanding." But Khusrau's designs were soon known to many a well wisher of the Sultanate, and Malik Tamar, the fief holder of Chanderi, Malik Afghan and Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Kara induced him to go back to the capital. As these nobles had large armies at their command Khusrau Khan dared not turn a deaf ear to their threats and exhortations and prepared to return to Delhi. For the time being his grandiose schemes were shattered to pieces.

At Delhi the Sultan was extremely delighted to see him, and regarded the loot of some gold and jewels and the hundred elephants as a large booty. The disappointed Vazīr finding the Sultan so very joyous at his exploits, began to complain against the attitudes of Malik Tamar and Talbagha when he was far away in the south. The Sultan, who was blinded by the infatuation he had for the vile Parvāri, severely punished these well-wishers of the State. Malik Tamar was deprived of his Jagīr and thrown into the prison. Malik Talbagha, who had frankly and openly told the Sultan about Khusrau's evil intentions was publicly insulted, his fief was seized and he was imprisoned. This great injustice disgusted the courtiers and many of them resigned their honours and jobs on one pretext or another. Moreover, no one dared in future to apprise the king of Khusrau Khan's evil intentions for fear of similar punishments.

After such a quick fall of his enemies the work of the Vazir became easy. The punishments of Malik Tamar and Talbagha had induced many a noble to side with Khusrau. 4 Many other victims of the licence or the wrath of the Sultan also clung to him. Bahauddin Dabir, who had been ordered to surrender his wife to the embraces of the debauch king, sought the protection of Khusrau Khan and became one of his best supporters. One of these days Khusrau made a petition to the king that he longed to see his kith and kin who lived far off in Gujarat. His request was granted and he called a large number of his Parvari friends and relations to Delhi. On their arrival he took them into his confidence and gave them horses and robes and wealth. He used to consult the leaders of these Parvaris and a few other trusted adherents such as Yusuf Sufi and the sons of Qirat Qinar about his intended revolt. It was unanimously decided that the Sultan should be killed within the palace of Hazār Sitūn. While these secret discussions were being held day in and day out at the residence of Khusrau Khan, the crafty Vazīr one day begged the Sultan for another favour. He said that he left the palace very late every night and was consequently

^{4.} Hajiuddabir : An Arabic History of Gujarat, p. 845.

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deprived of the company of his relations who had left their native place only for his sake. If, therefore, they could be allowed to enter the palace at night they could come and see him there. Qutbuddin ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be left with Khusrau's men so that they could come and see him at any hour of the night. This is Barani's version. Ibn Battutah, however, says that it was a custom in those days that when a Hindu accepted Islam, the Sultan used to present him a robe and a gold ornament. According to this version Khusrau Khan informed the Sultan that some of his relations wanted to embrace Islam but felt shy in waiting upon him in the day time and wished to be converted and to pay repsects to the king at night. Whatever might have been the pretext of Khusrau, the indolent Sultan, whose faculties had been sapped by drink and debauchery, could not see any evil design behind this request, and the keys of the palace gates were given to the relations of the Vazir.

In delivering the keys the Sultan handed over his own death warrant to the Parvārīs. Every night after it was sufficiently quiet about three hundred armed Parvārīs used to enter the palace and move about here and there. The people saw these armed ruffians freely enter the palace at dead of night but they dared not inform the Sultan of their evil intentions for fear of his wrath. An attempt of Qazi Ziyāuddin Khan to apprise the king about the irregular state of affairs in the palace met with a sudden rebuff. Khusrau Khan was the only person in whom the Sultan reposed his trust.

One night as Qazi Ziyāuddin, the superintendent of the night guard, was taking his rounds, Randhol, a relation of Khusrau entered with a few Parvāris and accosted him. While they were busy talking, Jahariya, a Parvārī stabbed the Qazi from behind and killed him on the spot. murder caused consternation in the Hazar Situn, which was now filled with the Parvaris. Jahariya dashed towards the king's private apartment and killed its chief guards Ibrahim and Is-haq. When Qutbuddin realized the situation he tried to escape into the haram, but Khusrau caught him by The king was intoxicated that night and due to his intoxication and physical strength, he easily threw the traitor on the ground and sat tight upon him. Jahariya reached the spot, which was indicated to him by the shouts of Khusrau pinned under the weight of the Sultan. He Struck off the head of Sultan Qutbuddin, and threw it down the battlements of the palace. A few servants of the king, who were left on the upper storey also fell to the daggers of the Hindus. This happened in the month of Jamadussani 720 A. H. (July 1320 A. D.) according to the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubārakshahī.5

to that of Khusrau, a contemporary writer. See foot-note-13.

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After this gruesome murder Khusrau Khan sent for all the high officials of the court like Malik 'Ainul-mulk Multani, M. Vahiduddin Qureshi, M. Fakhruddin Jāna, M. Bahāuddin and the sons of Malik Qarābeg. He kept them under semi-imprisonment that night and compelled them to promise allegiance to the New Order. While the usurper was busy in establishing his power, Randhol, Hisāmuddin, a brother of Khusrau, Jahariya and many others entered the royal haram and began to perpetrate horrible crimes. At the outset they finished all the possible claimants to the throne one after another. Farid Khan, Abu Bakr Khan and three other younger sons of 'Alāuddin, namely, 'Ali, Bahā and 'Usmān were murdered in cold blood. The mother of Farid was also killed and many an immate of the haram was ravished. Such ghastly punishments were inflicted upon the innocent, says Ziyā Barani, as no infidel could perpetrate even in the land of infidels. 6

Not being confronted with any opposition whatsoever, the regicide ascended the throne and styled himself "Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrau Shah". He held a grand durbar and conferred titles and honours on the people, raising to high positions many of his favourites and those who had helped him to secure the throne. 'Randhol was given the title of Rai Rayan and also the house of Qazi Khan. Hisāmuddin, the Sultan's brother, was married to a princess of the royal haram and the title of Khan-i-khanan was bestowed upon him. 7 Bahauddin received the title of Azamulmulk. Among others who obtained honours were Yūsuf Sūfi who became Sūfi Khan, 'Ainulmulk Multani became 'Alam Khan while Ikhtiyaruddin Sambal received the title of Hatim Khan. M. Kamāluddin Kūfi became Vakil-i-dar and M. Fakhruddin Juna was appointed Akhārbeg or the master of the stables. The Vazārat was entrusted to Tājulmulk and Vahiduddin Qureshi, and the offices of M. Qarabeg were entrusted to his sons. Everybody willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new regime and the new king was proclaimed from the pulpits of mosques as the greatest of the Musalmans (Amir-ul-Mauminin.)

According to Maulanā Ziyāuddin, however, the accession of Khusrau ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. On the fifth day of his accession, says he, idol worship was begun inside the palace. Khusrau Shah usurped the wives of Sultan Qutbuddin and the Parvāris took possession of Muslim girls. Copies of the Qurān were torn to pieces and used as seats for idols which were placed in the niches (mehrābs) of the mosques. In short, infidelity was in the ascendant and the followers of the

6. Ziyāuddīn Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shahī Text, p. 408.
7. The author of Subah Sādiq writes that Hisāmuddīn was married to a daughter of Sulian Alāuddīn, Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Bankipore Ms., folio 1673.

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true faith were subjected to humiliations unprecedented in the history of the Sultanate. The Sultan thought of enhancing the power and the dignity of the Hindus and a large number of them gathered round him. 8 All this the chronicler writes with the passion of a staunch Muslim, who could not tolerate a convert ascending the throne; particularly one whose accession was accompanied with cruel punishments inflicted on innocent women and children. But the narrative of Barani suffers from gross exaggerations. It is possible that some Parvāris worshipped idols inside the palace and tore up copies of the Quran, and that the Sultan on account of his obligation to them for securing him the throne did not interfere with what they did; but the assertion of Barani that Khusrau Shah tried to establish a Hindu Raj is wholly incorrect. Khusrau had been converted while he was a mere boy, so that his Hindu name has not even been mentioned by any historian. In the wars that he fought in the Deccan he was as cruel to the Hindu kings and inhabitants as any Turkish Sultan had been. There he broke Hindu temples, and Amir Khusrau graphically describes the humiliations to which the king of Telingana was subjected by him. According to Ibn Battuta he got many Parvaris converted to Islam. These facts clearly show that Khusrau always regarded himself as a Musalman and there is not a single instance to prove that his behaviour or inclination was anti-Islamic. Barani nowhere says that Nasiruddin persecuted Muslims simply because they were Muslims. On the other hand he admits that for the period of time that he reigned he was styled as Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah, his khitba was read on the pulpits of the mosques and his name was struck on the coins.

A glance at the list of the newly appointed officers, again, would clearly show that almost all of them had held various offices in the reign of his predecessor. There is scarcely any doubt that some of them were raised for being Khusrau's allies in securing his accession, but one thing is evident that except Randhol and one or two others all the Parvaris dropped into the background after Näsiruddin's accession. The new king relied on the trusted nobles of Delhi; and he was so anxious about their good-will and co-operation that he even resorted to a coup d'état to secure their consent to his assumption of power. He continued the traditional policy of striking on his coins the title of Amīr-ul-Mauminīn with his name and seeing his khutba read in the mosques. At the capital he had not done anything prejudicial to the interests of the Musalmans. In the provinces also he left the Muslim Governors undisturbed, and as later events show most of them were quite satisfied with the revolution that had come about at Delhi. It is impossible that the governors of Multan, Samana and Ajmer would have helped Khusrau Shah in the establishment of a Hindu Raja against Ghazi

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^{8.} Baranī, p. 411.

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Tughlaq who had proclaimed himself as the champion of Islam. Moreover the army of Delhi which consisted mostly of Muslim soldiers could never have fought on the side of Khusrau Shah against Ghazi Malik had they in the least considered Khusrau to be inimical to Musalmans. If at the time of actual warfare a portion of the royal army deserted to the Tughlaqs it was simply because Nāsiruddīn's cause was fore-doomed to failure and not because they had deserted a champion of Hinduism and had gone over to a champion of Islam. It is, therefore, evident that Nāsiruddin was in no way prejudiced against the Muslims and the accusation of Barani that under his regime neither the honour nor the religion of the Muslims was safe is quite wrong.

Nasiruddin had obtained the throne by murdering Qutbuddin and assassinating all the royal princes. Naturally his conduct had made him unpopular among his subjects. Although the majority of the people at Delhi had reconciled themselves to the new Government, a certain section of the population was bitterly opposed to the rule of the regicide. Day and night did they scheme to overthrow the usurper. Prominent among these discontended nobles was M. Fakhruddin Juna, who was ever in search of an opportunity to fly away from Delhi and join his father Ghazi Tughlaq, Warden of the Marches at Deopalpur. This veteran warrior was very indignant at the wrongs that had been done to the family of Sultan 'Alauddin and "writhed like a snake" to wreak vengeance upon Khusrau Shah; but he could not rise in open revolt against him so long as "the light of his eyes" Malik Juna was staying at the capital.9 Fakhruddin used to write to his father about the state of affairs at Delhi and messages between the two were constantly exchanged through the services of one 'Ali Yaghdi. Ghazi Tughlaq exhorted his son to reach Deopalpur from where they could organize opposition against the king and Malik Juna one day astounded the court by riding off with a few chosen followers post-haste towards Deopalpur. He was careful to take the son of Behram Aiba with him on his flight. Khusrau Shah immediately despatched a force under the son of Qirat Qimar in pursuit of the fugitive, but the latter eluded the pursuers and safely reached Sirsuti (modern Sarsa). On his arrival there he found that his father had already garrisoned its fort by sending Malik Sarbata there.

Relieved of anxiety about his son, Ghayasuddin set to work for the overthrow of his avowed enemy. He sent letters to Governors of various Provinces requesting them to assist him in overthrowing the infidel. It was an appeal made to the Muslims because to the Tughlaqs the cause of Islam seemed to be in jeopardy. "The slogan of revenge for religion, so common yet so effective in the history of the Muslims was now started."

^{9.} Tughlaqnamah, pp. 62-64.

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'Ali Alkaus, the Amir of Deopalpur and Behram Aiba, Governor of Uchch joined Ghazi Malik, but M. Maghalti, Governor of Multan refused to side with him. The diplomat Ghazi instigated the people of Multan to rebel against their Governor and Maghalti was killed by his own men. Muhammad Shah, the Amir of Sivistān had been imprisoned by his own nobles but the letter of Ghazi Malik became the "talisman of his release." His people set him free and he set to work for the cause of the Tughlaqs. Malik Hoshang, fief holder of Ajmer showed signs of genuine support but in reality his "feet of determination were lax." 'Ainulmulk, the Governor of Malwa, Dhar and Ujjain at first hesitated but then promised help to the Ghazi when he got a suitable opportunity. But Malik Yaklakhi was not contented with sending a curt refusal to the Tughlaqs. He even marched out to fight the latter but was finally killed by his own men.

Thus did Ghazi Tughlaq, after welcoming his supporters and sweeping away his enemies, prepare for a final struggle for the throne of Delhi. It is not possible on studying Barani to impute motives to Ghazi Malik's sincere efforts to overthrow Nasiruddin, but undoubtedly he had given the war a religious colour. To his extravagant appeals for help in the holy cause the Muslim Governors of Multan, Sivistan and Samana, and many other great nobles of Delhi had sent a blunt refusal. Their refusal to co-operate with the Tughlaqs clearly shows that they did not quite trust Ghazi Malik's hightoned appeals. It was only Behram Aiba who had whole-heartedly supported the Ghazi and his motives in siding with the latter are not far to seek when it is remembered that M. Juna had taken Aiba's son with him when he had escaped from Delhi. From the very beginning Khusrau had great apprehensions from Ghayasuddin and it was on account of him that he had given particular attention to his son Malik Jūna and had appointed him to the high office of Akhūrbeg. 10 How could Ghayasuddin have been a saviour of Islam when most of the Governors and the people of northern India and the greatest of the Musalmans of the day, Shaikh Nizāmuddin Aulia never recognized him as one? The truth appears to be that in spite of his protestation the motives of M. Tughlaq in fighting for the throne Were quite secular, and he had risen against Näsiruddin only after his son had sent him full information about the condition of the court and had joined him at Deopalpur.

Events at Delhi also had taken a new turn. Ever since M. Juna had successfully fled from the court and the real intentions of the Tughlaqs had become manifest, Nāsiruddin had set himself to organize his forces for future emergency. Intelligence of the happenings in the various Provinces cansed by the diplomacy of Ghazi Malik had reached his ears and the

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^{10.} Hajiuddabīr, p. 848.

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deaths of Maliks Maghalti and Yaklakhi had sufficiently alarmed him. Although Khusrau had fought many battles in the Deccan in the time of Qutbuddin yet he was no match for the veteran warrior Ghazi, who had struck terror into the hearts of the Mongol invaders. Khusrau Shah gave the command of his forces to Sufi Khan. With the troops he already had and some others whom gold had secured for him he prepared to fight the Tughlag adventurers. A portion of his army, some 40,000 strong, marched under the command of Khan-i-khanan, the king's brother, to check the advance of Ghazi Malik from the very start. They marched to Sirsuti but failed to capture it. Then they proceeded onward to Deopalpur to give battle to Ghayasuddin there. The rival forces met in an open field somewhere near Dabhali or Dalili, then a town between Sirsuti and Deopalpur. After a short skirmish the royal forces were utterly routed and they fled pell-mell. Their youthful commander fled from the field of battle leaving behind elephants, baggage and treasures to be seized by the victors. A large number of vanquished were taken prisoners. The intelligence of this terrible disaster was conveyed to the king. It broke his spirits and frightened his partisans.

After the conclusion of this battle Ghazi Tughlaq reorganized his forces for the final encounter. By now his financial resources had become quite satisfactory. While at Deopalpur, he had come to know of a caravan of horses and goods meant for the Sultan of Delhi and had waylaid it. 11 Again in the battle fought near Sirsuti he had plundered much baggage and treasure belonging to the imperial army. So far as his fighting force was concerned, it consisted of those brave warriors of the northwest who had served him for several years in the past and whose fidelity he could confidently trust. The right wing of his forces was commanded by Bahāuddin, his sister's son, and in support of this young general was deputed Behram Aiba of Uchch. The left wing was commanded by M. Jūna and with him were deputed Shihāb Ghori and Mir Shadi two other veteran warriors of repute. The centre was commanded by the brave Tughlaq himself. With his forces thus marshalled Ghazi Tughlaq arrived by forced marches near Delhi and encamped near Raziyā's tomb in Indrapat.

Khusrau Shah on his part also prepared to fight a last desperate battle. He brought out all the treasures from Kilukhari and Delhi, gave his soldiers two and a half months' salary in advance, and tried all means to prevent any sort of disaffection among his troops. But so confident had the people become of Ghazi's victory that many a soldier who had accepted Khursau's gold gave up all idea of fighting and went home. Indeed the demoralized army of Delhi was no match to the sturdy soldiers who followed in the wake of Ghazi Malik, "and to whom the present war seemed to be

^{11.} Tughlaquamah, p. 77.

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nothing short of a Jihad." ¹² In his extreme despondency and nervousness Nāsiruddin burnt all records and account books of the Imperial
treasury. He held a council of war and consulted his supporters regarding
the course of action to be adopted. It was decided to fight to a finish. The
sultan marched out of Siri with his nobles and followers and encamped
near the Hauz-i-'Alāi. With him were men like Yūsuf Sūfi, Kamāluddin
Sūfi and Shāyastā Khan. Hātim Khan the Amiri Hajib also accompanied
the royal army. Not far from Indrapat where the Ghazi had pitched his
tents Nāsiruddin took up a position of great advantage. Behind him stood
the gigantic fort of Delhi on which he could rely for provisions in case of
emergency and in front of him were a large number of groves and gardens
to save him from terrific assaults. But the advantage of his position was
marred by the betrayal of 'Ainulmulk, who took the road to Dhar and Ujjain
on the eve of the day of battle. His desertion broke the heart of Khusrau
Shah who saw around him naught but despondency.

It was on a Friday that the belligerant armies came in conflict on the plain of Lohravat, a village now untraceable but then surely situated somewhere between Delhi and the Hanz-i-khās. Khusrau Shah himself commanded his troops. According to Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi a short but stiff engagement was fought in which the royalists hurled back the forces of Ghazi Malik which retreated some distance. But in this battle Malik Talbagha Nagori, one of the staunchest supporters of Nasiruddin, was killed; and Shayasta Khan also fled away from the field of battle, although he did not forget to plunder the camp of the Ghazi during his flight. In spite of this desertion Khusrau Shah held on till the evening, fighting gallantly and desperately all the time. This stubborn resistance moved Ghazi Malik to a quick and determined action. He collected round him his troops and exhorted them to fight with all the might they could muster. His stirring appeal had the desired effect and about three hundred of his loyal and chosen horses fell fiercely upon their adversaries. The force of this charge made an irreparable breach in the ranks of Nasiruddin. The Delhi army sustained a crushing defeat and its soldiers fled pell-mell.

Khusrau Shah had lost the battle. Realizing that all was over for him how, he left the battle-field and escaped towards Tilpat. A whole day's battle had exhausted him completely and he craved for some rest. As night tame on he concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi his patron of Jore. All night long he stayed there but the next day they seized him there and struck off his head. This is Barani's version. Amir Khusrau also gives a similar account and says that Ghazi Malik considered it a duty to decapitate Khusrau to avenge the insult on Sultan 'Alāuddīn's family.

^{12.} A history of Qaranna Turks, p. 13.

Ibn Battuta gives a little different and more detailed account. He says that Khusrau successfully concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi but when he became hungry he gave his ring to the gardener to fetch him some food. The ring was detected and its owner caught. Ghazi Malik first treated him kindly but later on ordered him to be beheaded. According to Amir Khusrau Nāsiruddin was killed on Saturday 1st Sh'abān 720 A. H. (6th September 1320 A. D.)13

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Thus died Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrau Shah after a restless reign of four months and some days. He had lived a life of great vicissitudes. Captured in the sack of Malwa, he began his life as a slave of a nobleman of Delhi. From that low position he rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the highest dignity of Sovereign through favouritism, through cunning and through his own merit. The orthodox Barani to whom this low-born infidel was nothing short of a devil upon earth, hurls every sort of abuse upon Khusrau Shah. But other historians like Amir Khusrau. Yahya and even the orthodox Badayuni give him just praise. From the very beginning of his career in the Sultanate of Delhi Khusrau Khan to be what one of the most renowned "slaves" of mediaeval India could aspire to be. He secured the throne by such crafty yet admirable means that he deserves our praise for his planning intellect and dexterity. Once he had gained possession of the crown he tried to preserve it with all the might he could command. Amir Khusrau, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Badayuni praise Khusrau Shah for his strenuous efforts and gallant fight to keep the throne of Delhi. It was not his fault that his reign was so short. His only fault was that he had trusted too much a nobility and a soldiery which were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. Deceived by his followers and deserted by his troops he stood on the field of battle till the last hour of the fight, and directed the remnant of his army with a perseverance that deserves our applause. The last days of Khusrau call forth for a pardon of his early life. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.

^{13.} The date given by Amir Khusrau appears to be quite correct. Numismatical evidence shows that Ghayasuddin Tughlaq ascended in 720 and not in 721 A. H. as Yahya says.

According to Barani Nasiruddin reigned for four and a half months. He, therefore, ascended the threne some time in Rabi-ul-Avval 720 so as to complete four and a half months in the beginning of Sh'aban. It is, therefore, evident that Vahya's date of Nasiruddin's accession (5th Rabi-ul-Awal 720 A. H.; 20th April 1320 A. D.) and Amir Khusrau's date of his death (6th September 1320 A. D.) are the most probable.

A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militarism

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ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M. A., P. R. S.,

Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

In an article entitled Origin of Sikh Militarism, which was published in a previous issue of this journal, I dealt with the pontificate of Guru Hargobind and put forward some tentative conclusions about the sudden militarisation of the Sikh Panth after Guru Arjan's tragic death. I now propose to trace the growth of Sikh Militarism during the period 1645-1664.

Guru Har Rai succeeded his grandfather in 1645 and held the takht till his death in 1661. As he was born in 1631, he was just a young boy at the time of his accession, and he was only thirty years old at the time of his death. Macauliffe says, "He was very attentive to his devotions and. ablutions......The Guru employed every device that sleep might not overcome him, and prevent his matutinal devotions which were the object of his earnest solicitude. Although many rich men came to visit him, he made no distinction between rich and poor, and centred his hopes only in God. His food was very simple. He desired not dainty dishes, and thanked God for all His mercies." 1 This aspect of Har Rai's character was much exaggerated by later Sikh chroniclers. The Panth Prakash gives us the following story: "It is said that while walking one day in his garden his. cloak came in contact with a number of flowers and dashed them to the ground. The Guru was so touched with the incident that ever after he carried his cloak carefully in his hand when walking in his garden." 2 Macauliffe, however, says on the basis of reliable Sikh records, "In the afternoon the Guru used often to gird on his sword, equip himself with his bow and arrows, mount his horse, and proceed to the chase." 3 A man who loves hunting is hardly liked to be 'touched' at the sight of flowers dashed to the ground by his cloak.

Dr. Narang tells us that when Dara was being hotly pursued by Aurangzeb's troops (1658), he resorted to Guru Har Rai for help. Guru sent out a detachment of his men who contested the passage of the Bias

^{· 1.} Vol. IV, pp. 275-276.

^{2.} Narang, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 62. 3. Vol. IV, pp. 276—277.

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with Aurangzeb's troops, and prevented them from crossing the river until Dara had reached a place of comparative safety." 4 No authority has been quoted for this statement. The Sikh chronicles utilised by Macauliffe inform us that the Guru's part in the War of Succession among Shah Jahan's sons was limited to some vague words of encouragement addressed On a previous occasion the Guru had cured Dara of a serious disease. Moreover, the Prince's favourite priest Mian Mir had been loud in the Guru's praises. So Dara remembered the Guru during his wanderings in the Punjab 5 and wrote a letter asking for his assistance. In reply, the Guru asked him to remain satisfied with the spiritual empire which he had obtained, and added, probably for his consolation, "Aurangzeb, who is unmindful of God, may obtain wordly empire, but shall suffer without respite in hell-fire." Dara then proceeded to Kiratpur in the hope of obtaining the Guru's assistance, but found him absent. The Prince then sent him a second letter which reached him in Khadur. The result was that the Guru and the Prince had an interview on the right bank of the Bias. solved some of the Prince's theological doubts and difficulties, complimented him on his spiritual knowledge, gave him instruction in the Sikh religion, and added, "Go to Lahore, fortify thy position, fight when necessary, and obtain victory. God assisteth themselves." Dara then requested the Guru to grant him faith in God, and took his leave. Before departing for Lahore he requested the Guru to impede as much as possible the progress of the pursuing army sent by Aurangzeb. Macauliffe does not refer to the measures taken by the Guru, if any, in compliance with this request. Irvine says that Har Rai 'joined the standard of Dara', but he does not explicitly tell us whether the Guru really gave the Prince any military assistance. 8 Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, ".........Dara Shukoh had paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to sadhus, and the Guru had blessed the Prince when a fugitive in the Punjab after the battle of Samugarh." 9

There is no doubt that soon after this meeting between the Prince and the Guru, Aurangzeb summoned the latter to answer for his conduct. The

^{4.} Transformation of Sikhism, p. 63.

^{5.} After the battle of Samugarh (May 29, 1658) Dara reached Delhi on June 5, 1658, left Delhi after a week's halt, reached Lahore on July 3, and left Lahore for Lower Sindh on August 18. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I—II, Chaps. 16, 18.)

^{6.} This shows that the meeting took place some days before July 3 (on which date Dara reached Lahore) and some days after June 12 (on which dete Dara left Delhi.)

^{7.} Macaulife, Vol. IV, pp. 277-279, 300-303.

^{8.} Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 77.

^{9.} History of Aurangues, Vol. III, p. 353.

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Sikh version of the story is confused and not free from miracles, but it geems pretty clear that the Guru sent his eldest son Ram Rai to Delhi to make excuses on his behalf. 10 The causes that led the Emperor to summon the Guru are thus expressed by Macauliffe: "......complaints were made to Aurangzeb against the Guru. The Guru, it was said, had met Dara Shikoh, blessed him, and assisted him in opposing the Emperor; and it was also reported that he was preaching a religion distinct from Islam, and performing miracles in evidence of his divine mission. The Emperor was accordingly advised to send for him and convert him to Islam unless he could clearly establish his religious pretensions by the performance of miracles, at the royal court. When the Guru was once converted, hundreds of thousands of Hindus would follow his example." 11 The statement that the Guru had assisted Dara against the Emperor is obviously not an admission of the Guru's guilt on the part of the Sikh writers. It is merely one of the complaints submitted to Aurangzeb by a person or persons not named in the Sikh chronicles. 12 So far as the alleged religious motive of the Emperor is concerned, it is probable that the traditions preserved by the Sikh is a correct one. Persecution began very early in Aurangzeb's reign. A charter granted to a priest of Benares in the first year of his reign states that his religion forbade him to allow the building of new temples. An order issued early in his reign called upon all local officers in Orissa to pull down all temples, including even clay huts, built during the last ten or twelve years, and to allow no old temple to be repaired. 13 It is not improbable therefore, that soon after his accession Aurangzeb should have turned his attention to the Sikh Guru, who had already offended him politically by blessing his rival. The Sikh records furnish us with an important piece of confirmatory evidence. When Ram Rai reached Delhi a meeting of Muslim priests was held by the Emperor's order for the purpose of interrogating him on the subject of the Guru's hymns. Ram Rai escaped the Emperor's wrath by altering a line in one of Guru Nanak's hymns. 14 Why should Ram Rai be interrogated, not on the subject of his father's assistance to Dara, but on the interpretation of a hymn offensive to Muslim sentiments? It is unfortunate that neither Dr. Narang nor Sir J. N. Sarkar has noticed the religious aspect of the Emperor's policy towards Guru Har Rai.

Aurangzeb did not consider the Guru's offence serious enough to deserve punishment. This is another argument in favour of the view that

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^{10.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 304-307.

^{11.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 304.

^{12.} It seems that Dr. Narang accepted this allegation as true, read it in conjunction with Dara's request that the Guru might impede the progress of the pursuing army tent to the control of the control of the co tent by Aurangzeb, and came to the conclusion quoted above.

^{13.} Sarkar, History of Aurong seb, Vol. III, p. 301.

^{14.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 308-309.

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Har Rai's sympathy for Dara did not extend as far as military assistance. The Emperor, however, adopted a good precaution. Ram Rai was detained, in Delhi, probably as a security for his father's good behaviour. It is likely that Aurangzeb intended to exercise some sort of control over the Sikhs, Mohsin Fani says that the Sikhs 'had already become accustomed to a form of self-government within the empire.' 15 Aurangzeb must have been aware of this—as Governor of Multan and Sindh 16 during the years 1648— 1652 he had some opportunity of coming into close contact with the Sikhs -and a suspicious autocrat like him must have been anxious to bring this state within the state under his own authority. The Guru might have suspected the Emperor's real motive. His reply to the Emperor's letter asking him to appear in Delhi 'without delay' is significant. He wrote, "I have no business with thee that thou shouldst have summoned me. I am not a king who payeth thee tribute "17 When Ram Rai came to Delhi and altered a line in one of Guru Nanak's hymns, the Emperor 'conferred a mark of favour' on him. The foolish young man was so much elated that " he gave himself airs as if he had been already appointed governor of a Province." 18 The shrewd Emperor was probably glad to find in him a pliant tool. He was the Guru's eldest son and heir-apparent.19 If he succumbed to the influence of the Mughal Court, the Emperor might easily keep the turbulent Sikhs under control through him. Macauliffe says, "The Guru then passing in review the whole of Ram Rai's conduct since his arrival in Delhi, his treachery to his faith, his unnecessary exhibition of miracles, and his long absence, decided that he was not fit for the Guruship." 20 It seems that in the words "his long absence" we have a covert allusion to Ram Rai's submission to imperial influence.

Whether Guru Har Rai really saw through the Emperor's game may be uncertain, but the latter's policy after Ram Rai's disinheritance leaves no room for doubt that Aurangzeb was trying to bring the Sikh community under his effective control. Aurangzeb allowed Ram Rai to go to Kiratpur to endeavour to induce his father to reverse his decision regarding him. Why should the Emperor allow the hostage to go? The obvious interpretation is that he wanted to utilise the hostage as his tool. The Emperor's

^{15.} The Sikh practice of addressing and describing the Guru as Sachcha Padshah was continued in the days of Har Rai. (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 281.)

^{16.} Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vols. I-II, Chap. VI.

^{17.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 305.

^{18.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 309, 310. Compare Ram Rai's statement: "This powerful Emperor hath so appreciated me that he hath given me much wealth." (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 315.)

^{19.} Primogeniture was then the principle governing the succession in the Gurus' family Macauliffe (Vol. IV, p. 275) cells us that Har Gobind selected Har Rai 2s his successor wishing as successor, 'wishing as far as possible to observe the custom of primogeniture.'

^{20.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 310.

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attitude was widely known. When Ram Rai arrived at Lahore after his father's refusal to see him at Kiratpur, he was well received there. Macaulife says, "Apart from being the eldest son of the Guru and a reputed thaumaturge, he was also supported by the Sikhs through policy, for it was believed that he possessed the confidence of the Emperor. On this account men who had previously not been Sikhs, now became his disciples and espoused his cause." Ram Rai himself gave wide publicity to his relations with the Emperor. When he requested his uncle Dhir Mal to intercede for him with the Guru, he observed, "I am......on very good terms with the Emperor Aurangzeb, and I shall certainly complain to him." When the Guru heard this he observed, "After full consideration I have arrived at the conclusion that Ram Rai was blinded by the love of pelf when he so far forgot himself as to alter a word in a hymn of Guru Nanak to please the Emperor. What was done in the beginning will also be done now." 21

The Emperor had obviously succeeded in creating dissensions within the Sikh community. His proceedings during the pontificate of Har Krishan are the logical continuation of the policy explained above. Ram Rai was at the Emperor's court in Delhi when his younger brother was appointed to the Guruship in Kiratpur. He proclaimed himself Guru, with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of the Emperor 22, and sent his masands to collect the offerings of the faithful. "The masands became proud and rebellious, and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves." Ram Rai then laid his case before the Emperor. His address to Aurangzeb is very significant: "......This misfortune hath befallen me on account of my obedience to thee. My father was opposed to thee on that account, and at his death ordered my younger brother never to be reconciled to thee and never to look upon thy face." 23 There is no exaggeration in these words. Before sending Ram Rai to Delhi Guru Har Rai had observed, ".....I have registered a vow that I will never look at the wicked Emperor Aurangzeb." 24 In response to Ram Rai's prayer the Emperor summoned Har Krishan to Delhi. 25

At this stage the Sikh chroniclers have put a very interesting soliloquy at the Emperor's mouth, and we make no apology for quoting it in full: "I want to convert all the Hindus to Islam, but I apprehend failure in the Punjab, for there the people greatly reverence the Guru, and, if they rise against me, I shall have great difficulty in effecting my design. I have already several times considered how I can induce the Guru to accept the

^{21.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 311-313.

^{22.} Compare the statement of masand Gurdas. (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 316.)

^{23.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 315-317.

^{24.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 307.

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Muhammadan faith. It was on that account I summoned Guru Har Rai, He sent his son to me, and I have him now in my power. There is yet another brother, of whose resistance to my designs I am equally apprehensive; but if I succeed in bringing him here, I may bribe him into acquiescence. If he obstinately resist, I will set both brothers at variance, and they shall die by mutual slaughter. In this way my faith will quickly spread in the Punjab.....The Sikhs will never suspect that I have put both brothers to death. I shall kill the snake without breaking my stick." 26 This is the Sikh interpretation of the Emperor's policy, and it fits quite well, not only with his character, but also with those incidents of Sikh history which we have narrated above.

Har Krishan came to Delhi, relying probably on Raja Jai Singh's patronage 27, but he died before the Emperor could get an interview with him. 28 His successor, Teg Bahadur, wandered through Northern India for about four years (1664-1668) and joined Raja Ram Singh at Patna in 1668. According to the Sikh chronicles, the Guru's roving life was intended 'to avoid annoyance from his relations'; it seems, however, that Dhir Mal and Ram Rai were intriguing against him in the imperial court. 29 We do not know whether Aurangzeb took any step against Teg Bahadur. Probably the Emperor was satisfied that the Sikhs would be sufficiently weakened by internal dissensions. Indeed, he had nothing to fear from a Guru who was compelled to wander from the Punjab to Bihar. Moreover, the Cooch Behar and Assam expeditions (1661-1670), the conquest of Chittagong (1666), the Afghan war on the north-western frontier (1667-1676), the Jat rebellion (1669), the Satnami rebellion (1672) and the expeditions against Shivaji, Bijapur and Golkonda (1660-1680) kept the Emperor fully occupied.

Ram Singh was appointed to recover the imperial prestige in Assam in December, 1667. He reached Rangamati in February, 1669. 30 As Teg Bahadur met him on his way at Patna, we must conclude that the Guru joined him some time in 1668. 31 This meeting could not have been

26. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 317-318.

30. Sarkar, History of Aurangseb, Vol. III, pp. 212-213.

^{27.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 320. Har Krishan came to Delhi in 1664. Two years later Shivaji came to the imperial court, relying on Jai Singh's pledge for his safety. (Sarkar, Shivaji, p. 141.) Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shivaji on September 30, 1664 and he crossed the Narmada on January 9, 1665 (Sarkar, Shivaji, p. 105).

^{28.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 322-328.

^{29.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 338.

^{31.} According to the Sikh tradition Ram Singh's invitation to the Guru came before Gobind Singh's birth (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 348). Irvine (Later Mughals, Vol.), p. 78) says, "A Patna, during his absence, his son Govind was born". The absence was, of course, due to the Guru's march to Assam. This is quite impossible. Guru Gobind was born in 1666, while Teg Bahadur could not have joined Ram Singh before 1668. Irvine relied on Macauliffe (Vol. IV, p. 357.)

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accidental. Ram Singh might have been interested in the Sikhs when his father acted as Har Krishan's guardian in Delhi. 32 He retreated from Assam in March, 1671, remained for some years at Rangamati, and reached the imperial court in June, 1676. 33 Macauliffe says that the Guru accompanied Ram Singh from Assam to Patna. 34 There are two insuperable difficulties in accepting this statement. Ram Singh left Assam in March, 1671, and waited at Rangamati till the early part of the year 1676. Even if we suppose that the Guru remained with him at Rangamati during these five years (a supposition which finds no support in the Sikh chronicles) and accompanied him up to Patna during his return journey to the imperial court (which he reached in June, 1676), we cannot explain Teg Bahadur's execution in 1675. 35 And we must remember Macauliffe's statement that

the Guru returned to the Punjab 'after protracted residence at Patna.' 36 It

may be assumed that Teg Bahadur left Ram Singh's camp about the time

of the latter's retreat from Assam (March, 1671) and returned to Patna.

'After a protracted residence' there he returned to the Punjab.

At this stage it is necessary for us to revert to Guru Har Rai's career. Dr. Narang observes that his pontificate was an era of peace and suggests three causes which, in his opinion, made peace natural at that time. "The Sikhs", he says, "had just passed through a stormy career, and it was natural that a pause should ensue." He forgets that the, 'stormy' part of Har Gobind's career had covered a period of seven years at the most (1627-1634), and that it had ended about eleven years before Rai's accession. The effects of the 'stormy career' must have exhausted themselves by that time. Secondly, Dr. Narang gives us the story of the dashed flowers quoted at the beginning of this article, and comments, "A man who was moved by the destruction of a flower...... was not fit to lead armies against the Mughals." We have already proved the absurdity of this story. Thirdly, Dr. Narang says, "The temptation to arms offered by the mild rule of Jahangir and Shahjahan was removed by the iron hand of Aurangzeb..."37. If the 'mild rule' of Jahangir really offered any 'temptation to arms', that temptation was surely too weak even for a 'stormy' Guru like Hargobind, who did not fight against the Mughals as long as Jahangir was alive. The first thirteen years of the pontificate of Har Rai fell within the 'mild rule' of Shahjahan; yet the Guru resisted 'the temptation to arms'. As a matter

^{32.} Macauliffe says that Ram Singh's principal queen, whose father's family were Sikhs, interested the Prince in Teg Bahadur. (Vol. IV, p. 351).

^{33.} Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 216.

^{34.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 359-360.

^{35.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 387.

^{36.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 361.

^{37.} Transformation of Sikhism, p. 62.

of fact, Shahjahan's rule was hardly mild on the non-Muslims. He ordered the demolition of the newly built temples in his whole empire, totally prohibited the erection of new temples and the repairing of the old ones, made systematic efforts to convert the Hindus both by persuasion and by force, dismissed Hindus from his service on account of their religious convictions, and imposed taxes on Hindu pilgrims. ³⁸ The 'iron hand' of Aurangzeb introduced only one innovation, viz., the reimposition of the Zizya, and that came many years after Har Rai's death.

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Har Rai was too young at the time of his accession to appear as a military leader, and, whatever the reason may be, he did not revert to militarism even when he attained maturity. Macauliffe says, "He maintained two thousand two hundred mounted soldiers. These he kept by his grandfather Guru Hargobind's advice as a precautionary measure." 39 We do not know what this precautionary measure was directed against; Macauliffe does not refer to any military exploit. It may be that Hargobind did not like the extinction of the military tradition—if tradition we may call it—established by himself. Or he may have apprehended that Shahjahan's persecuting zeal would not leave the Sikhs in peace. From what we know of Har Rai's character it may be presumed that he was temperamentally incapable of emulating his grandfather's example. It seems that Shahjahan took no notice of the Sikhs during his pontificate, although Macauliffe incidentally says that the Emperor was hostile to the Guru. 40

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^{. 38.} Saksena, History of Shahlahan, pp. 293-296.

^{39.} Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 277.
40. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 278.

EDITORIAL I

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We regret very much that a combination of adverse circumstances should have brought about undue delay in the publication of this number of the journal, which is the number for December 1944. Several minor difficulties connected with the Paper Control and the necessity, at the last moment, to have to change the press, have been responsible for the delay for one thing. Our effort to get the rather stiff limitation on the size relaxed proved impossible for this number. We are therefore going to press with the number under the limitations imposed upon us, and count upon our clients to bear with us for this delay. Our contributors may send their further contributions as usual, as we shall be going to work on the April number, the first number of the new volume, with a more liberal quota of paper kindly allowed by the Paper Controller to the Government of India, almost immediately on the issue of this number. Let us hope that we have got through the last of this kind of trouble due to adverse circumstances created by the war.

EDITORIAL II

"A NOTE ON THE TAMIL LAND AND THE EASTERN COLONIES".

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in a note "Tamil Land and the Eastern Colonies", in the Journal of the Greater India Society makes a quotation from the Śilappadhikāram, Book XIV, ll. 106-110 and draws far-reaching conclusions from these lines. He would postulate a Tondi in the East Indian Archipelago, on his interpretation of the passage quoted by him in the note. The purport of the passage is that Tondi was a port of assemblage of a large number of ships, bringing various articles from the East along with clothes and camphor, etc. The aroma of these articles collected there was carried into the city of Madura by the east wind entering the city naturally from the season. This would become clear once we take note that the whole Passage has reference to the changing seasons of the year when the wind varies from direction to direction, changing the climate and making consequential changes in the life and habits of the inhabitants of Madura. It will be found that there are references to the south wind blowing through Korkai, the important southern port on the Tinnevelly coast. The west wind blows from Podiyil the famous hill associated with the name of Agastya and the northern blowing through the hill feature Sirumalai on one of the high roads leading to Madura from Trichy. These are all referred to in the passage and the statement follows that the seasons of these winds are all over; and the next hot winds have commenced or are in prospect. It

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will be seen therefore that the inhabitants of Tondi, the proud possessors of these articles of commerce brought by a large number of ships from the east are not others than the inhabitants of the port on the eastern sea-board of the Tamil country. The port of Tondi is in the district of Ramnad, and is a much neglected sea coast village now; but it does not follow that there was not a port of great importance at other periods of history. Prof. Sastri is inclined to find fault with the commentator Adiyarkkunallar, whom he ascribes to the 14th century; but does not give any reason for this, for stating that Tondi belonged to the Cholas. He also notes that the late pandit Mm. Swaminatha Iyer 'who countenanced this interpretation is equally at fault. Mr. Sastri is apparently not aware that Tamil literature notes a Cholan Tondi as opposed to a Kuttuvan Tondi, that is the Tondi of the Cholas as opposed to the Tondi of the Cheras. Prof. Sastri regards Tondi as having risen into some importance in the 12th century but hardly gives any reasons for thinking so; nor is he any more particular to support his view that Adiyarkkunallar is a commentator who lived in the 14th century or thereabouts.

Tondi is certainly a well-known port in the locality in which it is and has had considerable shipping trade with the coast of Jaffna and the nearer ports of Ceylon apart from the distant foreign trade across the Bay of Bengal. There seems no obvious reasons why it should not have been a port of some importance then. We remember having struck upon a part of the trunk road leading westward from Tondi to reach the Chera capital on the west coast. This certainly has reference to the later centuries, but the trunk road stretching from coast to coast does not come into existence in a day, and such roads usually follow ancient lines of communication, roads or no roads. It seems therefore that Prof. Sastri has misunderstood the passage and builds up a series of statements hardly acceptable to serious students of the Śilappadhikāram and other Śangam literature, notwithstanding his independent general statement regarding the grammatical forms etc., and the general make-up of the Śilappadhikāram.

SRI VALLABHACHARYA, LIFE, TEACHINGS AND MOVEMENT (A RELIGION OF GRACE)

BY

BHAI MANILAL C. PAREKH-SRI BHAGAVATA DHARMA MISSION SERIES, VOLUME VI.

The Bhagavata Dharma Mission, Rajkot is doing very useful work in attempting to expound the Sri Bhagavata Dharma mission to the public. This Sri Bhagavata Dharma so-called, promises to meet the need of a very

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large clientele among the Hindu populations all over the country and might ultimately prove in some modified form the common religion of the Hindus of the future, providing for the Hindus a unifying bond of religion in all the baffling variety of schools of religious teaching in the country. Of all the many religions that had been taught from time to time by great teachers in the country which came to prosperity and great vogue, declining and disappearing in the process of time, the Bhagavata Dharma so-called, seems to exhibit a vitality and a capacity for adjusting itself to the needs of modern Hindu society, and promises to become the Hinduism of the future. Among the multitudinous gods and the various efforts to propitiate each one of them with a view to the attainment of the good that could be got out of them from time immemorial, that form of human effort which is called Bhakti, stands out as possessed of great vitality and a far greater appeal than the rest, and this has taken the form for more than 2,000 years, of Bhakti or devotion to Siva or Vishnu. Of these the latter seems to have made a far greater appeal and has adapted itself from time to time to the varying needs of the vastly growing society like the Hindus of India. The particular development of which Sri Vallabhāchārya is one of the great exponents seems to have had its origin in the Tamil land of the South, as the Puranas lay it down. The adaptation of the religion of grace formulated by the northern schools of the Vaidika Pancharatra found welcome in the south, and got in process of time adapted to suit the needs of the mass by an appeal which seems due to the harnessing to this high purpose the ordinary habits of the Tamil south in the matter of love and affection of a very homely character to the requirements of religious devotion. All the modern religions prevalent in India, the kindly Bhāgavata doctrines of Chaitanya and Vallabhāchārya as well as the more rigorous teachings of the Vira Saivas alike have their origin there. Even the teachings of Guru Nanak and his followers could be traced historically to the southern source. This part of the subject does not seem to be as much understood and as readily accepted as it should be. Nevertheless the elaborate exposition of the life and teachings of Śrī Vallabhāchārya, such as the author of this work has made only goes to show without a doubt that that is the fundamental teaching that has been adapted to the requirements of the more rigorous times of the 15th and 16th centuries of Hindu India overrun by the Muhammadans. This is a welcome addition to the modern literature expounding this particular teaching-the Bhāgavata teaching which in one way or another might provide that common religion for the varying millions of India of the fature.

BOOK REVIEWS.

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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

By Md. Karims Sawanihat-i-Munbaz. By Md. Hussain Nainar.
Published by the University of Madras.

The history of the Carnatic from which arose the present day Madras Presidency is of great interest to serious students of history. As is wellknown the so-called province of the Carnatic arose out of Mahomedan devastation of the region conquered and annexed to the territory of Bijapur as a result of the treaty imposed upon the southern states of Golkonda and Bijapur by Shah Jahan after his definitive conquest of the Dekhan in the year 1636. The aggressive activities of the two Mahomedan kings against the empire of Vijayanagar under their last ruler went on persistently and, at the death of the emperor Aurangazeb in 1707, there was formed a province of the Carnatic as it is called south of what then was the Subah of the Dakhan. In the arrangements that followed, this part became gradually a part of the Subah of the Dakhan and there was considerable dispute as to whether it formed an independent province or was only a part and parcel of the Subah of the Nizam. The rival claims put forward could not be finally settled at the time. In the following years the region called Carnatic became the nawabship of the Carnatic to which officers were appointed by the Nizam ever since Asaf Jhah, the Subah of the Dakhan, made himself practically independent of the Mughal empire in A.D. 1724. Pretty early in its history the capital of the region was fixed at Arcot by Daud Khan. Ever since the appointment of Sadat-Ullah-Khan, this became the Nawabship of Arcot which played an important part in the history of the 18th century. In the third generation after this the Nizam appointed one of his officers who had already earned a reputation as a great minister in the northern district of the Madras presidency as a Nawab. In the wars of that period the Nawab of the Carnatic was nominally the principal figure, fighting being done by the rival trading companies of the French and the English. The latter kept itself in close alliance with the Nawab of the Carnatic and became more or less managers of the State of the Nawab in the course of the half century following the death of Anwaruddin in the battle of Ambur in 1649. The history of the period is a very complicated one and showed all the features of the struggle of the rising of a new state. The history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic particularly in this half century have so far been written from external sources only more or less—the Company correspondence, French documents bearing on the period at Pondicherry and elsewhere, and correspondence, letters, etc., by contemporary writers.

Md. Hussain Nainar the Reader at the Madras University and Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu took it upon himself to publish the sources for the history of the period available in these Indian languages. The volume before us constitutes Part IV of the series. An account by a contemporary writer who wrote from the Court of the Nawab contains a narration of all that came to his notice. Naturally therefore it partakes more or less of the character of an account of the lives and domestic disappointments of the Nawabs primarily. Incidentally public affairs come in for notice. These have to be elucidated by letters, correspondence, etc., published by the company's servants and others concerned in the transactions of the period. Though these are of minor value speaking comparatively, they have a purpose to serve and must be exploited by any serious student of history.

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While appreciating the value of these publications one feels bound to draw the attention of the translator to what seems defects of translation, which naturally detracts substantially from the value of the work. Several expressions familiar certainly to a habitual reader of Persian and Arabic are left untranslated. This would mean a serious break in the reading to those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the language and depend entirely upon the translation. These should ordinarily be translated then and there as it occurs; should it prove inconvenient for any reason, they may all be collected together and the translation given in an appendix at any rate.

We commend the work nevertheless as an important contribution to the elucidation of a complicated and a much disputed part of South Indian History bearing upon the important topic of the foundation and organisation of the Presidency of Madras.

PESHWA BAJIRAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION

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V. G. DIGHE, M. A., PH.D. FOREWORD BY

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR.

(Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. 1944). Pp. x and 235. Price. Rs. 6.

A full-length biography of Bajirao the Great has been a long-felt desideratum. He is estimated by Sir J. N. Sarkar to rise to the height of the Carlylean 'Hero as King'. Dr. Dighe bases his sound monograph on a thorough study of the State papers of the Peshwas and of documents

preserved in the archives of Goa and of Jaipur. The last noted body has yielded valuable evidence for the great Maratha penetration into Hindustan that became so marked in the time of this Peshwa. Bajirao has been rightly held to be the greatest personality after Shivaji in Maratha History. The imperial period of Maratha History was initiated by him. Real and effective expansion could begin only after the stabilisation of the security of the Maratha homeland should have been achieved, largely by an understanding of neutrality forced on 'Nizamu'l-Mulk. The firm establishment of the Peshwa's control in Gujarat, the campaigns against Janjira and the rapid advance of Maratha arms into Malwa culminating in the famous battle of Bhopal and a direct threat to the security of Delhi bring us to the zenith of Bajirao's triumphant career. The Salsette campaign was indeed a glory for Chimnaji Appah, the capable brother of the Peshwa; but it greatly added to the lustre of the Peshwaship.

Dr. Dighe devotes a chapter to the position of the Peshwa at his nominal ruler's court and he clearly shows that while the methods of Maharajah Shahu and his Minister were different, their objective was the same. Even by the last years of the Peshwa's rule the political revolution that was to reduce the Maharaja to a nullity after the death of Shahu Chhatrapati was already in fair swing and clearly perceived by keen observers. Bajirao's character is portrayed in glowing colours, but our author carefully adds that he could not effect any permanent reform, nor come up to the height of Shivaji in constructive work.

C. S. S.

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MARATHA HISTORY

RE-EXAMINED.

(1295-1707).

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M.A.,

Professor of History, Fergusson College, Poona.
(Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2).
Pp. xi and 348.

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Professor S. R. Sharma has made a name for himself by his vigorous and clear presentation of aspects of Indian History relating to Muslim rule. He has taken up a survey of Maratha History which should reconcile the march of research with the necessary change of outlook that has been made

so essential by the development of Maratha histriography from the generation of Scott-wearing and his immediate successors like Broughton and Elphinstone down to the present generation of scholars headed by Sir J.N. Sarkar and containing many distinguished names, not to peak of the almost volcanic activity of the researchers of Maharashtra both in collecting record and other material and in interpreting it, which has been such a marked feature of Indian historical scholarship since the days of the venerable Ranade.

What is called the background for the rise of the Marathas is explained as the incubation period—a period of probation and tutelage under Muslim rule in the Deccan, which furnished the rising nation its great opportunities for political and military distinction. While stressing the view of Scottwearing that the Muslim versions of Maratha achievements were necessarily garbled and therefore urging a corrective to the supervalues attached by some scholars to Persian histories, and noting the frank and straightforward accounts of the Maratha bakhairs and other records, our author claims "to be artistic without being unscientific, sympathetic without being uncritical and simple without being unhistorical", and he has succeeded in an obvious measure in his aim. Thus, for example, he says of Tanaji's heroic exploit that it "has indelibly impressed itself on the racial memory of the Marathas as an achievement of the first magnitude; and well it might, for it was here that the Koli Nag Nak had first opened the Maratha resistance to the Muslim advance under Muhammad Tughlaq."

As usual, the Chhatrapati Sivaji is presented as being not a mere Empire builder, but acting as a man with a mission who drew his inspirations from history and from the Classics and from other sources of Hindu Dharma. Adequate attention is paid to the naval activity of the Marathas which began under very favourable auspices. As regards the crisis of Sambhaji's rule and the exile from Maharashtra of the Central Government at Gingee, we read with great approval of the deeds of the saviours of the legacy of Sivaji and of the heritage of Maharashtra. A fairly correct estimate is given of Ramaraja and of his heroic wife, Tara Bai. Evaluating the achievement of the Maratha nation, Prof. Sharma emphatically asserts that it has hardly a parallel in the history of India; but he accepts that the achievements of Vijayanagar watered the roots of Maratha freedom by its inspiration. He also stresses on the unique character of the royal title and administration reared by Sivaji who displayed an extraordinary apprehension about the European settlers. This book would refute the charge that the Maratha Empire ever attempted to establish a communal dominion.

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A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS

BY

V. S. BENDREY.

(Karnatah Publishing House, Bombay 2).

Pp. vii and 197.

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Mr. V. S. Bendrey has already made his name as a keen and thorough student and writer on topics of Maratha and Deccan History, and has given a useful guide for Akbar's Divine Era in his Tarikh-i-Ilahi. His Study of Muslim Inscriptions is based on the inscriptions published in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for the years 1917-1938. It elaborates the principles and methods needed to be applied in the study of inscriptional material and details all the problems confronting the student of such material. author has laboriously worked up much the greatest part of about 650 inscriptions that have been hitherto published in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica; and he has explained the scheme of references that he has adopted in its points of difference followed in the E.I.M. He has also pointed out the confusion generally made about the Arabi or Shuhur San in the E.I.M. With regard to the fasli era, his explanation is most useful, particularly with regard to its origin and its use in Northern India and the Deccan. The caution is given by him of the ordinary errors occurring in the reading of inscriptions, as well as in their transliteration. Conventional terms have got to be transliterated with care, particularly as they bear different meanings in different contexts. Examples of such terms are Faujdar, Havaldar, Subahdar and Sar-Lashkar. Care is urged also in the estimation of the direct and indirect values deducible from these inscriptions; especially great caution ought to be taken in arriving at the comparative significance of etymologically similar expressions and in applications of evidential data to the understanding of the historical background. The first or apparatus part of the book is very valuable as a companion for work to the student of history; and the second part containing the chronological table of the inscriptions recorded in the E.I.M. 1937-38 includes a tabular statement of the contents, and in the index matter, we have a classification of these and lists of places and personal names referred to in them. Of course, Mr. Bendrey recognises that it has not been possible for him to follow strictly the principles enunciated in the previous part, whose 20 short sections contain, in the language of Shaikh A. Sarfaraz Bahadur who writes the foreword; "Almost everything of importance that could be said on a scientific approach (at once practical, precise and perfect) to a thorough and methodical study of the Epigraphic material." . C. S. S.

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Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, Calcutta.

The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.

Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona City.

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The Hindustan Review, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

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Brahmavidya; The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar.

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The Poona Orientalist, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.

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ANCIENT INDIA AND SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURY BY DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D.—VOL. I. ANCIENT INDIA, PP. 844; AND VOL. II, SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE PP. 911—ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY, POONA, Rs. 10 EACH VOLUME, 1941.

The first of these two volumes of the learned author's papers, constitutes a revised edition of the work published by him, under the caption, Ancient India, more than thirty years ago, to which a number of chapters have been added in order to bring the treatment chronologically down to about 1,300 A.D. The second volume deals more particularly with phases of the history of South India from about 1,300 A.D. onwards.

In a compass of 25 chapters, the first volume presents a bird's-eye-view of the history of India down to circa 700 A.D., stressing, in particular, the · folk movement of the Satvatas gradually into the South, glimpses of the Mauryan penetration into the Tamil land, and a possible Tamil equivalent of Asoka's agniskhamda, the Hun problem in Indian History, a study of the Vakatakas, some problems of Gupta history, and the Gurjara empire. Then follows a survey of Kalingadesa with a note on the main styles of Hindu This part closes with a paper on the essentials required for architecture. historical research in our land, among which particular stress is laid on cooperation among the workers. Beginning from Chapter XV comes South Indian History; its evolution through the ages of the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas and the imperial Pandyas of the 13th century follows. This volume ends with a learned paper on Indian expansion beyond the seas and the maritime enterprise of South Indians, which was most notable till the times of Marco Polo and Wassaf.

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The second volume takes us on swimmingly through the history of the glorious Vijayanagara empire and its achievement of conservation of the best fruits of Hindu civilisation, the history of the early Wodeyars of Seringapatam-Mysore, who are the real present-day guardians of both the Hoysala and Vijayanagara heritages, the declining days of the Hindu empire of the Rayas in the seventeenth century; and then we come on to the age of Shahji and Shivaji in their expansion into South India and to Akkanna and Madanna, the powerful Hindu ministers of Golconda in the last days of that Sultanate. The volume concludes with a glimpse of the well-known legendary hero Raja Desing of Gingee and of some aspects of early English trade. While these historical chapters constitute the first part of this volume, we get in the succeeding part a number of valuable papers dealing with cultural subjects of great interest like the Sangham Age, Tamil literary brities, including Perundevanar, saints like Nammalwar, and Tirumangai, Buddhism in Kanchi, Mylapore and its ealiest nucleus, Pancharatra in classical Tamil literature, the full extent of Minamsa-Sastram, the Agnikula and a farkula and a few notes of administrative and iconographic interest. All these papers are of great cultural significance and historical importance, and greatly help, as has been justly claimed, to a correct understanding of the history of India in general and of Claimed, to a correct understanding of the history of India in general and of South India in particular. The volumes are comparand in value and interest to the Collected Papers of Prof. Maitland and Fro de's Short Studies on Great Subjects, to give only two analogues.

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Rājasēvāsakta

DIWAN BAHADUR S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hony. Ph.D.,

Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India,

Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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Crime and its Punishment in the Jain Canons (By Prof. JAGADISH CHANDRA JAIN, M.A., Ph.D.)

ROBBERY.

which robbery, adultery in women, murder and non-execution of the king's order are chief. Robbery was considered a regular art (vijjā) in ancient India. Various types of thieves are mentioned thieves (āmosa), robbers (lomahara), cut-purses (ganthibheya) and burglars (takkara). The Jain canons describe a number of robbers of fame, who resided well-guarded in the robber-settlements known as corapalli. The Vivāgasuya gives a graphic description of a corapalli known as Sālāḍavī situated in the north of Purimatāla in a forest. The corapalli was located in an unapproachable mountain-ravine; it was further guarded by a wall and bamboo-hedges (vamsijāli) and surrounded by a trench (pharīha) formed by inaccessible water-falls (pavāya) of the mountain. It had one gate; but there were many secret passages and it had its own water supply3. Sīhaguhā is mentioned as another corapalli in Rāyagiha4.

The elaborate description of the robbers given in the Jain canons shows that they were very powerful and it was difficult even for the king to suppress them. There were regular fights between the king's army and the robbers which sometimes resulted in the defeat of the former. The robbers carried off the cows, horses, maid-servants, children even

Mūladeva is considered as the arch thief of Hindu fiction, whom Bloomfield identifies with Karnisuta, Goniputraka, Gonikāputra or Gonikasuta. He is supposed to have written a famous manual of thieving entitled 'Steyasāstra Pravartaka' or Steyasātra Pravartakā'.

^{1.} Science of larceny is ascribed to various authors headed by Skanda, Kanakaśakti, Bhāskarānandi and Yogācārya. Thieves were also called Skandaputra. Compare Grecian Mercury and St. Nicholas of England. This God was the patron deity of thieves; Radha Govind Basaka, I.H.Q., v. 1929, p. 312 ff; also see Kathāsaritsāgara (Vol. II, pp. 183-4), note on 'Stealing'.

^{2.} Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (=Uttarā.) 9. 28. For seven types of robbers and eighteen ways of encouraging robbery, see Panhavāgarana Tikā (=Panha. Ti.) 3, p. 58; cf. the types of coras in the Buddhist literature; Law, India-Described, p. 172 f.

^{3. 3,} p. 20, Upadhye's ed.

^{4.} Nāyādhammakahāo, vaidya ed. (=Nāyā) 18, p. 209.

^{5.} Panha., 3, pp. 43a ff.

^{6.} Nisitha Curni Pithikā, Mss., encyclostyled copy, ed. by Vijaya Prema Sūrisvara (Nisi cū., Pi.), p. 90; Uttarā cū., p. 174; cf. also Mrechakafika (IV. 6) which refers children being robbed away from the lap of the nurses.

nuns,7 and set fire to the villages, towns, houses and forests. They destroyed the ships, extracted money at the point of the sword, made forcible entry into the residence of monks and threatened them with death.3

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The thieves were expert in making breaches in the wall. Various types of the breaches of the wall are mentioned, viz., the breach of the shape of an 'upper part of the wall' (kavistsa), jar (kalasa), fish (nandāvatta), lotus and a human being. It is stated that once a burglar was caught in the breach he had excavated, by the owner of the house who took hold of his feet protruding from the breach. But the burglar's companion dragged him out from the other side of the wall. Caught in this position he was smashed by the upper part of the wall coming down. The robbers came out at night and at times lived on half-burnt corpses, flesh of wild animals and roots. 10

The Vivagasuya describes Vijaya of Saladavi who was the ring-leader of the robbers who aimed at the object on hearing its sound (saddavehī) and was the foremost warrior in wielding the sword. He gave shelter to adulterers, pick-pockets, thieves and many other undesirable persons. He raided towns and villages, lifted cattle, took captives, waylaid travellers, terrorised people by breaking open their walls, tortured them, destroyed their property and extracted money from them by force.11 hear of Cilaya, a slave-boy (dasaceda) of Dhanna of Rayagiha. Being dismissed by his master from service he approached Vijaya, the leader of five hundred robbers of Sihaguhā and joined his gang. The leader of the robbers appointed him as his body-guard with a sword in his hand (asilatthiggāha). Vijaya taught him various spells (vijjā) and incantations (manta) etc., in connection with the art of larceny. In course of time, Vijaya died and Cilaya was appointed in his place. Now once Cilaya proposed to commit a dacoity in the house of Dhanna. The robbers prepared themselves and well-equipped with swords, bows, arrows and various other weapons marched towards Rayagiha, amidst the beating of the drums, to invest the house of Dhanna. The robbers reached the city-gate; their ring-leader recited the spell which could open the locks (tālugghādanī-vijjā),12 took out water from his water-bag (udagabatthi)

^{7.} Cf. Vyavahāra Bhāsya (=Vya. Bhā.), 7, p. 71 a; Brhatkalpa Bhāsya (= Brh. Bhā.), 6. 6275.

^{8.} Brh. Bha., 3. 3903 f.

^{9.} Uttarā. Ti., 4, p. 80 a f.

^{10.} Panha., p. 45a.

^{11. 3,} p. 20; also Naya., 18, p. 208 f.

Basaka I.H.Q., Vol. V, 1929, p. 313; also see Daiakumāra-carita, p. 77, Kale, Bombay, 1925.

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and sprinkled it over the doors. The doors were opened and Cilaya, along with his party rushed into the city. He challenged the citizens to stop him and along with huge amount of wealth, carried off Sunsuma, the daughter of Dhanna to the forest. 13

The commentary on the Uttaradhyayana mentions another robber Mandiya by name. Mandiya tied a handage round his knee and pretended that he was suffering from a festering boil (dutthaganda). He worked as a tailor (tunnāa) during day time and robbed the people at night. The robber had an underground cell and whatever wealth he brought was kept in this cell. The robber also had a sister. It was the practice of the robber that he got the stolen property carried by a man, who was seated near the well built in the middle of the underground cell and his sister under the pretext of washing his feet, hurled him into the well where he died. When Muladeva was appointed as sovereign of Bennayada, he tried to catch the robber but could not succeed. Once Muladeva (clad in the dress of a Karpatika) hid himself at a certain place at night. Mandiya passed that way and promised Muladeva to make him rich. Muladeva was made to carry the stolen goods. But while washing the feet of Muladeva, Mandiya's sister made him a sign to flee away and Muladeva escaped. Later on, Muladeva married Mandiya's sister and impaled the robber.14

Punishments for robbery were of various kinds, amongst which imprisonment, mutilation and death penalty were chief. We are told that when the robber Vijaya carried off the daughter of the merchant Dhanna, the latter approached the city police (nagaraguttiya) with large presents and lodged a complaint. The police officers, clad in mail coats, duly armed with bow, arms and weapons, started in search of the robber. They reached an old garden and discovered the corpse of the girl in a well. Following the foot-marks of the robber the police reached the Maluka thicket and put the robber under arrest. They showered blows on him with fists, elbows, knees and sticks, tied his hands behind his neck, suspended the ornaments of the deceased girl on his neck and brought him to the town. They marched him on the roads beating him with thong, cane and whip (kasa-laya-chiva), throwing over him ashes, dust and filth proclaiming to the citizens his crime of murdering the child. They then put him into prison where his feet were tied in a wooden frame (hadibandhana), deprived him of food and drink and beat

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^{13.} Naya., 18, p. 209 ff.

^{14. 4,} p. 94a f; also cf. Bhuyangama cora (Uttara. Ti., 4, pp. 87 if); Rauhineja cora (Vya. Bhā. 2.304; also Yogasastra Com. by Nemicandra; J.A.O.S., Vol. 44, 1-10, article by H. M. Johnson; also Cf. Yajhavalkya-smrti II. 23. 273).

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him with lashes thrice a day. The robber died in course of time. 15 Then we hear another robber-chief named Abhaggasena of Purimatala. The king of Purimatala raided the robber-settlement with a huge army; but before the king's army reached the settlement, Abhaggasena was informed by his spies about the intended attack. He marched against the enemy and routed his army. After sometime the king decided to win over the robber by conciliation (sama) and by creating confidence in him. He declared a ten days' festival in the town in which Abhaggasena was invited along with his friends and relatives. He was entertained by the king lavishly and one day when the robber was engrossed in merrymaking he was put under arrest and was executed.16 We are told about a certain priest, who robbed the purse of a merchant containing one The merchant demanded the purse but the thousand sahasso naulo. priest would not return it. At last the merchant sued him in the court and the priest lost the case. The king ordered the priest either to be given one hundred lashes or to swallow human excreta ($g\bar{u}$). The culprit preferred the former. But after receiving a few lashes he was tired and he preferred to take excreta. After taking it a little he refused to take any more and he asked for the lashes again. Thus the culprit had to undergo both punishments and his whole property was confiscated.17

Even women were punished for their offences although the severity of punishment to women-folk was not the same as those to men. Pregnant women, for example, were exempted from torturous punishments. We read of a certain girl who was banished by her parents. She got a job in the house of a wine-merchant. The girl was pregnant and in order to fulfil her pregnancy-longing she used to steal money from her master's shop. One day she was caught and the merchant reported to the king, who handed over the girl to be executed after delivery. After delivery, however, the girl escaped and her son was brought up by the king.¹⁸

ADULTERY.

Like robbery, adultery in women also was punished severely with death, imprisonment, mutilation and banishment. We are told that a person who committed adultery was censured and beaten, his head was shaved and his penis mutilated. 19 Ujjhiya was a merchant's son of Vāṇiyagāma who used to visit a courtesan named Kāmajjhayā. It so happened that the king also loved the same courtesan. One day, finding Ujjhiya in her

^{15.} Naya. 2, pp. 53 f.

^{■ 16.} Vivāgasuya (=Vivā.), 3. p. 21 f.

^{17.} Ācārānga cūrņi (=Ācā. cū.), 2. p. 65.

^{18.} Gacchācāra Vivrti 36; Mahā Nisitha, Schubring, Guj. trans. Mss. p. 17.

^{19.} Arsi. . 15, p. 1002; cf. Mann., VIII. 374.

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house, the king turned him out and kept the courtesan as his mistress. After some time Ujjhiya succeeded in visiting Kāmajjhayā secretly. He was caught and was belahoured by the royal officers. His hands were tightly bound behind his back, his nose and ears were mutilated, his body was besmeared with oil, he wore a pair of rough rags, round his neck was thrown a garland of red flowers, red dust was sprinkled over his body, he was made to eat the small pieces of his flesh, his offence being proclaimed at every square with the beat of a broken drum and thus he was led away to the place of execution.20 A similar story is told about Sagada, who secretly visited the courtesan Sudamsana, a keep of the king's minister. Sagada was charged with adultery and was brought before the king, who ordered him to be executed along with the courtesan. Sagada was made to embrace a red-hot iron image of a woman till he Then Bahassaidatta, a minister of king Udayana, was impaled for a similar offence along with the queen.22 Similarly a merchant of Srinilayanagara is said to have been ordered to be executed for an offence of living in adultery with the queens of the barem. In this case it is said that not only the offender but even his friends and admirers were put to death.23

Then the commentary on the Uttaradhyayana refers to two brothers, named Kamatha and Marubhūi of Poyanapura. The former lived in adultery with the latter's wife and was brought to the notice of the latter by the former's wife. Marubhūi left his house and returned after sometime in the disguise of a Kārpāṭika. He found his wife and his brother together and reported the matter to the king, who ordered Kamatha to be arrested, and accompanied with the music of harsh sounding drums with a garland of earthenware vessels (sarāva) around his neck, mounted on an ass,24 he was led throughout the city and in the end was banished from the town.35.

It seems that the Brahmanas were awarded a lighter punishment for the same offence. We are told that a certain Brahmana committed adultery with his daughter-in-law and as a punishment-he was asked to touch the four Vedas and that was enough to expatiate his sin.25

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Vivā. II, p. 18 f. For a similar description see Kanavira Jātaka (No. 318); Sulasā Jātaka (No. 419); also cf. Yājāvalkya-smṛti (III 5, 232 f.); Manu., VIII, 372 f.

^{21.} Viva. 4, p. 31.

^{22.} Ibid, 5, p. 35.

^{23.} Pinda Niryukti, 127.

^{24.} Even women were awarded this kind of punishment (Manu., VIII. 370).

^{25. 23,} p. 285 f.

^{26.} Vya. Bhā, Pī., 10. 17; cf. Gautama, XII, 1, 2 sūdra who intentionally ceviles twice-born men by criminal abuse or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends.

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MURDER.

Murder was another crime which was punished with death penalty. public execution and fines. We hear of the prince, Mandivaddhana of Mahura who wanted to kill his father and rule over the kingdom. He employed a barber and asked him to cut his father's throat with the razor. The barber was frightened at the conspiracy and reported the matter to the king. The king ordered the prince to be executed publicly. He was led away by the police-officers to a square road where he was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne and was sprinkled over with hot water, etc. The officers put a red-hot necklace around his neck, fastened a badge (patta) on his forehead, and placed a crown on his head and thus he was executed.27 Even women were not spared and were severely punished. Devadatta, the queen of Pusanandi, was jealous of her motherin-law, whom she killed with a red-hot iron staff (lohadanda). When Pūsanandi came to know of this, he ordered Devadatta to be put under arrest by the police-officers, her hands were tied to her back, her nose and ears were mutilated and she was impaled publicly.28

NON-EXECUTION OF KING'S ORDER.

Non-execution of king's order was another offence which was dealt with very severely. Generally the king was an absolute monarch in those days, and as a rule it was absolutely necessary to carry out his orders. It is said that the persons who disobeyed the king's commands were thrown into salt (kharantaka) where within a very short time-its duration being calculated by the time that was taken in milking a cowtheir body was reduced to a skeleton.29 Four kinds of assembly (parisā) are referred to in the Jain texts, viz., Khattiya, Gahavai, Mahana and Isi. It is said that an offender from the Khattiya assembly was punished with the cutting off of his hands or feet, he was beheaded, impaled, killed by one stroke of sword and was thrown away. The offender from the Gahavai assembly was burnt to death on a pile of bark, husk or chaff; the offender from the Mahana assembly was taunted in disagreeable terms and was branded with a mark of a pot (kundiya) or a dog (sunaga) or was banished;30 and the offender from the Isi assembly was admonished mildly.31

People giving rise to the slightest degree of suspicion in the minds of the kings, were punished heavily and often were deprived of their life, We hear of Kappaya, the minister of Nanda, who was once preparing

^{27.} Vivā., 6, pp. 36-39.

^{26.} Ibid., pp. 49, 55.

^{29.} Aca. ck., p. 38.

^{30.} cf. Arthasastra, p. 253; Yajhavalkya smrti, II. 23, 270,

^{31.} Rayafaseni yasutta, 184.

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for the wedding feast of his son. The ex-minister of Nanda, who was a rival of Kappaya, informed the king that Kappaya was making preparations to establish his son on the royal seat. The king, without making much inquiry, is said to have ordered Kappaya and his whole family to be cast into a well.³² The same plot was devised by Vararuci against his rival Sagadāla, the minister of the ninth Nanda. When Sagadāla came to know that he was suspected by the king, anxious to prevent the ruin of his whole family, he persuaded his son to put him (Sagadāla) to death.³³

Cāṇakya too is said to have met the same fate at the hands of his master. It is said that once Subandhu, who was jealous of Cāṇakya, approached the king and reported that the latter had killed his (king's) mother.³⁴ The king inquired of the maid-servant, who confirmed the report. Next day when Cāṇakya visited his master, he did not receive him properly. Cāṇakya felt that now his life was drawing to its close. So being indifferent to worldly interests, he retired to the jungle to starve himself to death, and was consumed in the flames.³⁵

Then we are told about Sālivāhana of Paitthāna who once ordered his commander-in-chief to go and conquer Mahurā. The commander-in-chief could not understand as to which Mahurā was to be conquered, southern or northern. He marched with his army and succeeded in conquering both. When the king learned of his victory, he felt extremely happy. At the same time he also got news of the birth of a son and the find of a treasure-trove. The king's pleasure knew no bounds and in an excitement he started striking at his beds, pillars, buildings, etc. Now, in order to bring the king back to his senses his minister started destroying the pillars, the furniture and the buildings of the palace himself and declared that it was the act of the king. When the king heard of this he was seized with wrath and he ordered the minister to be executed. However, the minister was concealed by the officers and

^{32.} Avasyaka cūrņi (= Ava. cū.), II, p. 182.

^{33.} Ibid., p. 184.

³⁴ It is said once Durdharā, the queen of Candragupta, who was pregnant was dining with the king. On Canakya's order the food of the king was mixed with very minute dozes of poison so that the king may gain immunity from poison. Now observing that the poison almost instantly killed the queen, Cāṇakya ripped open her womb and extracted the child Sthavirāvali Carita (8.377-414); cf. also Buddhist tradition about Bindusāra.

^{35.} Dasaveyāliya cūrni, p. 81f. In the Jātaka (v. 229 ff.), we come across a king who stripped his five ministers of all their property and, disgracing them in various ways, by fastening their hair into five locks, by putting them into fetters and chains, and by sprinkling cow-dung over them, he drove them out of his kingdom.

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was saved. 36 We read almost a similar story about king Sankha of Vārānasi, who, at some slight fault of his minister ordered his execution secretly. About Candragupta it is said that when he occupied the throne of Pādaliputta, the Ksatriyas taking him to be a son of peacocktamers, did not obey his commands. Candragupta was enraged at this and he ordered the whole village to be burnt to ashes. 38

It seems that even for ordinary offences the kings did not hesitate to inflict severe punishments. The Uttarādhyayana cūrni tells us that once during the time of the Indra festival, the king made a proclamation that the citizens should leave the town and go out to celebrate the festival. A priest's son, unmindful of the king's order, remained in the house of a harlot; the king ordered him to be executed. The priest offered his whole property to save his son, but he could not save him from the gallows. On another occasion, king Ratnaśekhara announced the celebration of moon-lit night (Kaumudipracāra) and asked the citizens to leave the town in the company of their wives. The six sons of a layman did not care for the royal command and stayed at home. Later on, at the request of the layman, only one son was saved and the rest were executed.

There are instances when the autocrat kings acted wantonly. It is said that king Kumbhaga of Mihilā banished the guild of the gold-smiths simply because they could not repair his ear-rings. ⁴¹ A physician was put to death by a king simply because he could not cure the prince. ⁴² We are told that the prince Malladinna ordered a painter to be executed for no fault of his. ⁴³

The offenders were also sentenced to great humiliation as their relatives were ordered to live in the Candala settlement.44

Besides, the following types of punishments are mentioned specifically:—putting in irons (aduyabandhana), in fetters, in stocks (hadibandhana), into prison, screwing up hands and feet in a pair of shackles and break them, cutting off hands and feet, or ears or nose or lips or

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^{36.} Brh. Bhā. 6. 6244-6249.

^{37.} Utara Ti., 13, p. 185a. O harman and Talanda Como ila

^{38.} Bṛh. Bhā., 1. 2489.

^{39. 4,} p. 82 a.

^{40.} Sūyagadanga Tikū (=Sūya. Ti.), 11, 7, p. 413.

^{41.} Nāyā., 8, p. 105.

^{42.} Brh. Bha., 3. 3259f.

^{43.} Nāyā., 7, p. 107.

^{44.} Witary. Ti., p. 1902.

CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT IN THE JAIN CANONS

head or throat-glands (muravã), piercing the organ (veyagachahiya?)⁴⁵, body, (angachahiya), the sides, tearing out eyes, teeth, testicles, or tongue, hanging, brushing, whirling round, impaling, lacerating, pouring acids (in wounds), belabouring with cuf grass, twisting the organ like a lion's tail (sihapucchiya),⁴⁶ like a bull's tail, burning in a wood fire and being left to be devoured by crows and vultures.⁴⁷

PRISONS.

There were regular prisons in those days,48 although we do not know what kinds of offenders were imprisoned and for what period. But it seems that the general conditions of the prison was not good. The prisoners were severely tortured in the prison and frequently they died. The Vivagasuya gives a vivid description of a well-equipped prison in Sihapura. Dujjohana was the jailor who provided jails with various kinds of instruments of torture. There were a number of iron-jars filled with copper, tin, lead, lime-water (kalakala) and oil cooked with alkaline ingredients (khāratella) always kept on fire. There were jars containing urine of various animals; handcuffs (hatthandaya), fetters (pāyadnuya), wooden frames to fasten the feet (hadi), and iron chains; various kinds of whips, stones, sticks, clubs, ropes, traps, swords, saws, razors, iron-nails, leather-straps, needles, hatchets, nail-cutters, and darbha grass. The criminals were made to lie on their backs, their mouths were opened by means of iron-staff, the red-hot copper etc. and the urinswas poured into their mouth; they were tortured by various instruments.49 The plight of the prisoners was miserable. They suffered from hunger, thirst, heat, cold, cough and leprosy. Their nails, hairs, beard and

^{45.} This meaning is given in the *Pāiyasaddamahannavo*, p. 1020; Abhayadeva, however, gives a variant, 'vāikacchachinnaga' and renders as 'Uttarāsanganyāyena vidāritah' (Ovāiya Sū. 38. p. 164).

^{46.} Also refer to the commentary for explanation.

^{47.} Sūya. II. 2. 35; Ovāiya Sū., 38, p. 162 f; Panha, p. 52 ff; also cf. Milindapanha (Ed. Treckner), p. 197; Furthur Dialogues of Buddha, p. 63.

^{48.} According to Jain tradition during the first era the punishment was of a mild character. The first two Kulakaras established the 'hakkāra' when the syllable 'hā' uttered in the censure of the crime was enough to punish the offender. Then came 'makkāra' when the syllable 'mā' was enough to punish the offender. Then was established the punishment of 'dhikkāra' when the word 'dhik' produced the deterrent effect on the mind of the offender (Dhigdanda and Vāgdanda are also mentioned in the Vāfāavalkyā smrti. I. 13, 367). Then it is said that Raabhadeva, the first Tirthankara introduced the punishment of confinement to a particular area (mandalabandha). After that Bharata is said to have introduced Caraka or imprisonment and chaviccheya or mutilation of hand, foot, and nose etc. (Jambuddivapannatti. Sū., 2. 29; Thānānga., 7. 557).

^{49. 6,} p. 36 ff,

mustaches grew; they lay in their own excrement and urine and died in prisons only. They were dragged by the feet and were thrown away in ditches where they were devoured by wolves, dogs, jackals, big rats (kola), cats, and birds. 50

Another reference to prison is made in the Nayadhammakahao. It is mentioned that once at some slight fault, the merchant Dhanna of Ravagiha, referred to above, was arrested and was put into prison where the robber Vijaya was undergoing imprisonment. Both were put together and their feet were bound in the same wooden frame. The wife of the merchant used to send her husband a sealed tiffin box (bhoyanapidaga) every day through her servant. Vijaya requested Dhanna to share his food with him but the latter always refused saying that as he had murdered his daughter he preferred giving it to crows and/or he would throw away on dung-hills but he would never share with a murderer of his own child. Once Dhanna wanted to go to attend the call of nature. He asked Vijaya to accompany him to a place where he could be at ease. But Vijaya refused saying that he had taken plenty of food and drink and hence it was natural for him to go for excretion whereas he had nothing to eat. The merchant again requested the robber and ultimately agreed to share his food with him. In course of time, through the influence of his relatives and friends, after paying money to the king, Dhanna was released from prison. He immediately left for a hair cutting saloon (alankāriyasabhā), he bathed in a lake and having offered oblations (balikamma) to the deities, he came home. The robber Vijaya, however, died in the prison and never came out.51. We are told about the imprisonment of King Seniya who was given hundred lashes every morning and evening; no interview was allowed and food and drink was stopped to him. Later on, his Queen Cellana was allowed to see him; she concealed food in her hair and offered it to her husband.53

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On certain special occasions, such as the birth of a child, coronation ceremony or festivals general release of prisoners was declared by the king. 53

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^{50.} Panha., 3, p. 54.

^{51.} Naya. 2, p. 54 ff. Compare the Jataka where the life of the prisoner is described very hard. The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner is taken as a standard of comparison for a person who had not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablution (VI. p. 8)

^{52.} Ava. cū. II, p. 171.

^{53.} cf. Naya, 1. p. 20. cf. also Arthafastra, p. 165.

A New Link between the Indo-Parthians and the Pallavas of Kanchi.*

BY

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A.,

Though Archæology, Numismatics and Epigraphy, each by itself, are great assets to the Historian, they rarely combine to assist him in any intricate problem of history. Sometimes the evidence adduced by these remain inexplicable when considered separately, but they gain a new meaning and assume fresh importance when collated together. Such may be said to be the case of some new evidence that is now advanced on what may be called the 'Indo-Parthian Origin' of the Pallavas of Kānchi.

It was my father the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya who first traced the origin of the Pallavas of Kānchī to the Pallavas mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas where they are classified as foreigners outside the pale of Aryan society1. He thus postulated that they were a northern tribe of Parthian origin with their original home in Iran. This theory was first accepted by scholars, but discarded by later writers as resting wholly on doubtful philological resemblance of the words Pahlava and Pallava. Several arguments against the 'foreign origin' were cited, such as the absence of any reference to Pallava migration in copper-plate grants, the more possible identity of the Pallavas with the indigenous Tondaiyar and the Kādavar, and the testimony of the poet Rājašēkhara of about, the 10th century A.D. who refers to two distinct Pallava kingdoms, one in the south and the other in the north-west. Thus some scholars considered the Pallayas as of Chola-Naga origin2, indigenous to the southern part of the Peninsula and Ceylon and having nothing to do with Western India and Persia, while others placed their original home in the Andhra country between the rivers Krishna and Godavari; yet others connected them with the Mahārāshṭra Āryans3 and the Imperial Vākātakas4.

A paper sent to the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad (1941).

^{1.} Archl. Sur. Rep. for 1906-7, pp. 217 ff.

^{2.} Ind. Ant. Vol. LII, pp-75-80.

^{3.} C. V. Vaidya: History of Mediaeval India, Vol. 1, p. 281.

^{4.} J. B. O. R. S., 1933, p. 180 ff.

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The question of the origin of the Pallavas may, therefore, be said not to have yet been satisfactorily settled. Opinion seems to have now swung. back, and recently two authors, after examining the arguments for the 'indigendus theory', were inclined to advocate the 'foreign origin' first propounded by Venkayya. A very important evidence that is helpful in settling this question is now available. It is found in one of the explanatory labels to the sculptures decorating the walls of the verandah round the central shrine in the Vaikuntha-Perumal temples at Conjecvaram. This unique and valuable epigraph narrates how on the death of Paramesvara-Pottaraiyar of the Pallava family without any issue, a deputation of ministers waited on Hiranyavarman of a collateral line and requested him to grant them a ruler for the vacant throne. Hiranyavarman, thereupon consulted his nobles (kulamallar) and then his four sons, and enquired who among them would accept the sovereignty. All of them declined the offer except the youngest prince, Paramesveravarman, aged twelve years. Thereupon the deputation offered, probably to Hiranyavarman as the chief of the family, the makuta resembling an Elephant's Head which they had brought for the sovereign-elect. The passage7 reads:

"Aturaņaru śēvakaņ = iduvitta kkēļkuvir[/*]idu kaļirinralay = aņru nuņ magaņudaya makuṭaṅgaļ = ivayi eṇru

Tarandikonda-Pôśar Hiranyavarmma-Mahārājarkkuch = cholla avar biti-padu idam "

(This is) the scene where Hiranyavarmma-Mahārāja was seized with fears (on) hearing Tarandikondapōśar say 'Hear (what thy) elderly servants submit. This (i.e., the object brought) is not an elephant's head, but (only) thy son's makuta'.

^{5.} Mr. K. R. Subrahmanyam in his 'Buddhist Remains in Andhra', p. 73 ff. and Mr. P. T. S. Iyengar in his 'History of the Tamils', p. 329.

^{6.} These Historical sculptures form the subject of a Memoir (No. 63) by the late r. Minakshi issued recently by the Arch. Sur. of India.

^{7.} The inscription is published in S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 135 but the reading there is not quite reliable. A revised reading is given by the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar in Memoir No. 63 noticed above.

^{8.} Ramanatha Ayyar (Memoir, No. 63) reads here 'biti-[vi] du' in the sense 'abandoned fear' but Padu is clear on the stone. My colleague Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao also favours the reading padu as the fear is at the thought of the son's impending departure and separation (pirivin santāpam) mentioned later on and not really at seeing the makuta resembling the elephant's head. Dr. Minakshi has missed this implication and ascribes the fear either to Hiranyavarma's ignorance of court customs or to his old age and failure of vision.

The passage previous to the one just cifed is damaged, but it also refers to 'the elephant's head' brought by the deputation. These two passages clearly indicate that the makuta presented to the King-elect was really shaped like an elephant's scalp. Appropriately endugh in the sculptural representation9 above this label can be seen standing three persons, of whom one in the centre is carrying an object like the elephant's scalp. This object must be the crown that Nandivarman had to wear on ceremonial occasions. Excepting this single sculptural representation of the elephant's scalp and the epigraphical explanation of it just cited, no other reference to such a head-dress has so far been found in Pallava sculptures, and in fact, in the whole range of Indian Art. But a study of the Greek coins of the successors of Alexander the Great throws light on this custom. The elephant's scalp10 as a motif of head-dress is found for Alexander in the early coins of his governors, Ptolemy I of Egypt and Seleucus of Babylon. To the numismatists this headgear was a puzzle and they explained it variously, as representing the conquest by Alexander of India, the land of the elephant par excellence, as a mere symbol of power, as a mark of deification, as a mint-mark specially referring to the elephant-god of Kāpiśa11 etc. Alexander12 did not adopt the emblem of elephant's scalp himself on his coins, but this symbol served as the iconographical expression of the monarchical principle to some of his successors. When after the death of their master13, his generals Ptolemy I and Seleucus, established themselves as kings, the former in Egypt and the

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^{9.} This panel is very much damaged.

^{10.} The use of scalp as a device on coins was first started in the island of Samos belonging to the Ionian Greeks. Demoteles or his successor at Samos before the end of the 7th century caused to be struck the first official coins of Samos with the lion's scalp. This was adopted as the chief Samian device and it continued to decorate the city's coinage until she became merged in the Roman Province of Asia (Greek Coins: Seltman, p. 31), But the elephant itself was used as a device in the coins of Antimachos Theos, Heliokles, Lysias, Antialkidas, Archebios, Apollodotus Soter, Menander, Zoilos, Maues, Azes, Ayileses and Zeionises (I.H.Q. Vol. XIV, p. 301)

^{11.} The tutelary deity of the city of Kapisa is supposed to be Indra accompanied by an elephant (I.H.Q., Vol. XIV, p. 299) The kingdom of Kapisa formed the connecting link between Bactria and India. See Greeks in Bactria and India: W. W. Tarn, p. 138.

^{12.} In early times it was deemed sacrilegeous to put the portrait of a human being on coins. But Alexander introduced his portrait on his issues in the guise of Zeus or Heracles and the figure can be recognised on coins with absolute certainty. After his death this figure came to be used as a type on coins and he was even raised to the rank of divinity.

^{13.} Coins were issued in Alexander's name long after his death. Such type were minted by many cities in Asia Minor and they continued to be struck long after even his empire had crumbled into small states. In fact, Alexanders's coinage was among the most lasting of his institutions.

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latter in Babylon, they issued their early coins with the figure of Alexander wearing the elephant's scalp. Rao Bahadur K. N. Diks'hit has noticed coin of Andragoras a satrap of Parthia under Alexander the Great, bearing on the obverse the head of Alexander as on the coins of Ptolemy I of Egypt¹⁴. Agathocles the tyrant of Syracuse who concluded an alliance with Ptolemy I issued a similar type of coin with this head-gear, in Africa¹⁵. This symbol was also adopted by Antiochus IV¹⁶, Alexander II¹⁷ and Lysias¹⁸, but the best and most artistic specimen of the elephant-scalp type of coin is that of the Bactrian king Demetrius II who re-conquered the countries of the Indus valley which had been occupied by Alexander the Great, but subsequently surrendered by his successor Seleucus I to Chandragupta. Demetrius, known as 'the first king of Bactria and of India' is here represented with a helmet resembling an elephant's head complete with proboscis and tusk, and it is surmised that he was consciously imitating Alexander whom he regarded as his ancestor and ideal.

The tradition behind the adoption of this symbol is not clear. Some of the kings like Ptolemy who used it had no connection with India, and Seleucus had even bartered his Indian Province for 500 war-elephants. It is, therefore, supposed that the use of this symbol for Alexander represents the utmost extent of Power 19, for both Ptolemy I and Seleucus who first adopted it 'had every object in representing themselves as the successors of the man who had reached the summit of human greatness 20. It is however just possible that this motif is reminiscent of Alexander's connection with India.

The coincidence in the use of this peculiar head-dress by the successors of Alexander in the centuries B.C. and by the Pallava ruler Nandivarman in the 8th century A.D. is of more than ordinary interest. In the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple inscription mentioned above, Tarandikonda Pōśar, the vriddhāgāmikar (i.e., aged soothsayer), is stated to have prophesied that Nandivarman would become a Chakravartti i.e., the king of kings²¹ (ivan Chakravartti āvān). The consecration (abhishēka) ceremony

^{14.} Ind. Ant, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 120-21.

^{15.} Historical Greek Coins: G. F. Hill, No. 65.

^{16.} The Greeks in Bactria and India: Tarn, p. 189.

^{17.} The Seleucid Kings of Syria: P. Gardner, p. 26, No. 61.

^{18.} Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India: P. Gardner, Pl. X, 6 and Indo-Greek Coins: R. B. Whitehead, Vol. I, p. 30.

^{19.} In the royal consecration called Rajasaya, the king has to step on a tiger skin as a symbol of acquisition of power.

^{20.} The Greeks in Bactria and India : W. W. Tain, p. 131.

^{21.} In this connection the adoption of the imperial title 'king of kings' by the Saka and Pahlava sezerains is worthy of notice.

of this king is stated to have been immediately celebrated when he was still an unmarried 22 prince of only twelve years. 23 It is not, however, clear from the inscription whether this ceremony was in the nature of mere nomination to the throne or of actual coronation (mudi-sūttudal).

It is worthy of note that in the sculptures of the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple, the elephant's scalp is not found as a head-dress of the Pallava kings. Its use by Nandivarman alone may be said to signify his elevation to regal power, as in the case of Ptolemy I and Seleucus who first adopted this symbol on their coins when they established themselves as kings from their position as Viceroys, after the death of their master Alexander the Great. Ernest Hersfeld observes in connection with Kushano-Sasanian coins, that the helmet surmounted by an animal's head such as that of a lion, a horse, an eagle etc., is the exclusive emblem of the members of the royal family next to the throne.24

The practice of wearing the elephant's scalp observed in common may therefore be considered as establishing a strong link between the Pahlavas and the Pallavas. This headgear has not so far been found among other Hindu rulers of India. Why then should the Pallavas alone adopt it? The early Pallavas are not celebrated in Tamil literature, they are not classed among the Tamil speaking people and they are also not known to have had any matrimonial connection with the Tamil kings. Their culture was alien to the land of their settlement. The evidence now adduced is thus valuable as emphasising this point and indicating their original habitat beyond the borders of India. This evidence may be said to gain in importance when considered with other circumstances such as the similarity of the name Pallava to the form Pahlava25, the reference to the rule of the Pahlava governor named Suviśāka in Ānarta (i.e., the district round the modern Dvāraka) and Surāshţra 26, the tradition of marriage alliance with the Nagas common to both the Indo-Scythians and the Pallavas, the reference made by Ptolemy the Geographer to the Parthian princes as constantly changing their abode by driving each other

^{22.} The Rāj yābhishīka ceremony, as laid down in the Sāstras, required the presence of the chief queen. Cf. Harsha of Kanouj; it is stated that he was not married when he succeeded to the throne and that his coronation was postponed on this account (I.H.Q., Vol. XII, p. 142).

^{23.} Dr. Jayaswal has tried to show that the minimum age for coronation of a king must be 25-years and he cites instances of the coronations of Asoka and Kharavela who had to pass a considerable period after the demise of their predecessors before they could ascend the throne (*Hindu Polity*, p. 52; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XII, p. 142).

^{24.} Memoir of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 38, p. 21.

^{25.} History of Indian Literature: Weber, p. 188, note 201.

^{26.} Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 41.

out and the possibility of tracing the different stages of the Pahlav a migration through Kathiawad, Mālwa, United Provinces²⁷, Dhahakada, and finally to Kānchi on the east coast. By the time the Pahlavas settled down at Kānchi they were so Hinduised and merged into the society of their new home that they came to be regarded as Kshatriyas²⁸ belonging to the Bhāradwājagōtra, observing Aśvamēdha and other rituals of the Hindus. The new link now furnished thus strengthens the statement made by Venkayya that 'the Pallavas of Kānchipuram must have come originally from Persia, though the interval of time which must have elapsed since they left Persia must be several centuries'²⁹.

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^{27.} Dr. Fleet finds in the Pahladpur inscription of Sisupala a possible reference to the Pallavas of Northern India: Gupta Ins. Fleet, p. 250.

^{28.} In the Harivanisa and the Vishnupurana, the Pahlavas are classed as Kshatriyas.

^{29.} Arche Sur. Rep. for 1906-7, p. 219.

The "Inaugural Meeting" of the Divine Faith of Akbar

BY

R. KRISHNAMURTHI, M.A.,

BIKANER.

One of the most interesting and disputed topics of Akbar's reign is regarding the Divine Faith. We know tantalizingly little about the Din-i-Ilahi. Its very origin is obscure; it cannot definitely be traced to a definite date or initiative on the part of Akbar.

There is the mention of a general council of ministers, provincial governors and other prominent people in 1582 to which has been traced the formal inauguration of the faith. Bartoli, on the authority of his missionary brethren¹, writes, "Akbar after his return from Kabul² feeling himself freed from the great terror due to fears concerning the fidelity of his vassals................ That was to make himself the founder and head of a new religion, compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the Qoran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose from the Gospel of Christ."

"In order to do that he summoned a General Council, and invited to it all the masters of learning and the mititary commandants of the cities round about excluding only Father Rudolf, whom it was vain to expect to be other than hostile to his sacrilegious purpose,—a fact of which more than enough proof had been given already."

"When he had all assembled in front of him, he spoke in a spirit of astute and knavish policy, saying:—"For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other." That is to say, he referred to the discord between the many kinds of (religious) laws observed in the Mughal territory; some being not only different from, but hostile to others; whence it came about that there are as many factions as there are religions."

^{· 1.} Bartoli does not specify his authority for the statement.

^{2.} Akbar returned to Fathpur Sikri on 1-12-1581; Akbarnama, III. p. 548c.

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""We ought therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both "one" and "all"; with the great advantage of not losing that is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people and security to the empire. Now let those who are present express their considered opinion; because he would not move until they had spoken."

"Thus he spake; and the men of note, especially the commandants, who had no God other than the king, and no law other than his will, all with one voice replied, "Yes, inasmuch as he who was nearer to heaven, both by reason of his office and by reason of his lofty intellect, should prescribe for the whole empire, Gods, ceremonies, sacrifices, mysteries, rules, solemuities, and whatever else was required to constitute one perfect and universal religion."

The business being thus closed, the king sent one of the Shaikhs, a most distinguished old man³, to proclaim in all quarters, that in a short time, the religious law to be professed throughout the Mughal empire would be sent from the court; that they should make themselves ready to take it for the best and accept it with reverence, whatever it might be."

There is no confirmation of such a council meeting either by Abul Fazl or Badaoni, though Smith identifies this meeting with another of about 1582 convened for "renovating the religion of the empire." It is highly improbable that the two could have been identical. If the one referred to by Bartoli was for the purpose of acquiring the sanction of the nobles for the inauguration, it is strange that Akbar should therein ask Raja Bhagwan Das his opinion of a creed which had not been formulated.

Badaoni states that at a council held for the renovating of the religion of the empire in 990 A. H. (1582) Raja Bhagwan Das said: "I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmans have each a bad religion, but only tell us what the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe. His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Raja. But the alteration of the dicisions of our glorious faith was continued." Smith himself later admits that a similar ancecdote of Badaoni regarding Raja Man Singh shows clearly that four or five years after the so-called

^{3.} No doubt Abul Fazl's father, St. Mubarak—Bartoli, pp. 75-7, vide Smith's Akbar, p. 212n.

^{4.} Smith's Akbar, p. 211 ff.

^{5.} Badaûni (Lowe) II, p. 323.

"INAUGURAL MEETING" OF THE DIVINE FAITH OF AKBAR 19

promulgation of the new religion, it was still vague and undefined and shrouded in mysterious obscurity.

A mention is made by Abul Fazl of a glorious celebration of the New Year from 11th March 1582. The festival lasting for 18 days seems to have been of particular splendour and attended by the various grandees of the capital as well as of the provinces. There was "inward as well as outward splendour" and "the Jewel of theology was displayed." It was announced in a great assembly (probably of the first day) that "every one will do some special thing and make the adornment of felicity." Akbar addressed the assembly thus: "Lordship (Khudawindi) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity and service is appropriate to the man-born. What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of mastery (Sahibi) and to make slaves of the sons of men? Very many slaves were forthwith freed by orders of Akbar and they were thereafter given the name of chelas.

On being invited to give expression to their individual suggestions, those assembled made several which pertained to the mundane administration and not to matters religious or spiritual. The opening speech of Akbar's was only meant to disabuse the minds of people of notions that he was trying to be a Prophet or leader of men.

Thus the only authority for the so-called meeting of promulgation is Bartoli and Smith committed a mistake in identifying the meeting mentioned by him and that referred to by Badaoni. If the religion was inaugurated and tentatively defined in that meeting. Bhagwan Das would not have requested Akbar to define the faith. According to Bartoli himself the meeting did not inaugurate the faith in the sense of even tentatively defining its principles but only got the seal of approval of the nobles to the idea of a synthetic creed for the evolving of which Akbar was given full and complete authority.

^{6.} Badaoni's account is as follows: "His Majesty brought up the subject of "Discipleship," and proceeded to test Man Singh. He said without ceremony: 'If discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have already carried my life in my hand; what need is there of proof? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to faith, I certainly am a Hindu If you order me to do so, I will become a Musalman, but I do not know of the existence of any other religion than these two.' At this point the matter stopped, and the emperor did not question him any further." The above incident, according to Badaoni, happened about Dec. 1, 1587, when Akbar shared "a cup of friendship" with the Khan Khanan and Man Singh."—Smith's Akbar, p. 213.

^{7.} Akbarnama, III, p. 559.

^{8.} Haig also calls this the meeting of inauguration.

While it is likely that during the eighteen days of festivity in 1582, the subject of religion was broached by Akbar, there is no particular assembly mentioned by either of the leading contemporary historians or by the Jesuit Fathers to which could be traced the birth of the new religion. Monserrate on the eve of his departure in 1582 (later than the Nauroz of that year) only suspected that Akbar was intending to found a new religion with matter taken from all existing systems. 10

Smith and other scholars have failed to notice that Monserrate does make a mention of a meeting in 1582 with which we can safely identify the one mentioned by Bartoli. The latter, of course, gives a highly imaginative version of what is stated by Monserrate to have happened in the assembly. But it is almost certain that Bartoli has based his version on Monserrate and grossly distorted facts. According to the latter authority, in the year 1582, on the eve of his departure from the court, at a meeting to which Akbar had invited "all the nobles, the religious leaders both of Hindus and Musalmans and the Christian priests, he asked questions on various points on religions. At the end of the meeting the king addressed the gathering and said, "I perceive that there are various customs and beliefs of various religious paths. teachings of the Hindus, the Musalmans, the Jazdavi (Parsis), the Jews and the Christians are all different. But the followers of each religion regard the institutions of their own religion as better than those of any other. Not only so, but they strive to convert the rest to their own way of belief. If these refuse to be converted, they not only despise them but also regard them for this very reason as their enemies. And this causes me to feel many serious doubts and scruples. Wherefore I desire that on appointed days the books of all the religious laws be brought forward and that the Doctors meet together and hold discussions, so that I may hear them and that each one may determine which is the truest and mightiest religion."11

The conclusions that would emerge out of all the above facts are:

(1) A meeting was called by Akbar in 1582 of nobles and learned men of faiths, not excluding Monserrate (the exclusion of Rudolf Acquaviva seems to be an assumption of Bartoli). in

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^{9.} Monserrate refers however to a religious discussion where the Fathers brought out the inconsistencies detected by them in the Qoran.—Commentary, p. 179. He mentions another meeting, referred to in the present article.

^{10.} Monserrate's Commentary, p. 182. This is on the basis of Akbar's speech of that year quoted below. In fairness to him it must be pointed out that he only wanted "each one to determine" his own religion.

^{11. -16}id, p. 183.

"INAUGURAL MEETING" OF THE DIVINE FAITH OF AKBAR 21

This is in all likelihood the one referred to by Abul Fazi,
Monserrate and Bartoli.

- (2) This meeting was not intended to and did not actually inaugurate the Divine Faith.
- (3) So far as we know there was no formal inauguration of the faith at any time.
 - (4) It is certain it was not in any sense promulgated, if promulgated it ever was, as early as 1582.12

^{12.} Though important elements of the Divine Faith are in evidence even before 1582, in 1581, Ali Dost Barbegi was admitted by Akbar into 'Discipleship' while he was encamped on the Indus on his way to Kabul and the shast was administered to the candidate (Akbarnama III, p. 518). Similarly the institution of the Four Degrees, which has been made a part of the faith by certain scholars, existed at least some time prior to 1582. The Din-i-Ilahi was in fact no faith or religion. It was a band of discipleship composed of those who were anxious to be guided by Akbar. In this sense it existed at least as early as 1579 but it was in such a nebulous stage that no notice was taken of it even by Monserrate. It continued thus for a considerable time as proved by Man Singh's reply to Akbar referred to above and Pinheiro's vague and halting statement (1595) that "in the opinion of many" he (Akbar) already has numerous followers (Din Jarric, Payne, p. 68.)

As early as 1579, the emperor made an attempt to convert Qutbuddin Khan and Shahbaz Khan and several others (to discipleship?). But they objected strongly. (Badaoni, Blochmann, p. 188). Obviously the Din-i-ilahi was at no time a crystarlized faith with definite and settled theories, dogmas and ritual but was a vague indefinite embryo which was gradually taking colour and shape with the passage of time and according to the growth of Akbar's own mind.

The Last Phase of Mir Jumla's Relations with the Europeans (1658-63).

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(Based mainly on English Factory Records)

BY

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, PATNA COLLEGE.

§ 1. THE JUNK EPISODE

The agreement of April, 1658, drawn up between the English and the representatives of Mir Jumla at Madras, did not finally dispose of the question of the latter's junk, which had been seized by the former during the agency of Greenhill. This incident does not seem to have been at all considered therein. Even had there been any provision in it for the restoration of the junk, so Sir William Foster considers probable, it could hardly have been fulfilled due to certain complications. Neither Greenhill nor Chamber could deliver the vessel, as they had sold it on credit to Edward Winter, who, after repairing and rechristening it the St. George, was using it in his trading activities and for his private purposes. But the Surat authorities, apprehensive of the evil effects of the protracted incident, probably due to the growing importance of Mir Jumla in the Mughal State, urged on the Madras factors (27th November, 1658) to demand of Winter the price of the junk, payment of which had long fallen overdue.

The situation was, indeed, an awkward one for the Fort St. George factors, though it was admittedly the outcome of their ill-advised policy of reprisal and their private greed as well as differences. Unless satisfaction was given to Mir Jumla, the Company's trade at Masulipatam, and elsewhere, stood in danger of being hindered and even stopped. But, leaving aside Mir Jumla's attitude, the Coast factors themselves were embroiled in

^{1.} My articles on Mir Jumla and the English (1655-58) J.B.O.R.S., December 1940 and March, 1941.

^{2.} Foster, English Factories in India (henceforth abbreviated FEF.), 1655-60 pp. 98, 186.

³ For a sum of money (not the true value as reported). See Memorandum (written after \$66) in Love I, p. 185.

Winter used it as yacht and went with his wife to see his aged and sick mother in-law at Madraspatam. See Love I, p. 185n.

^{5.} FEF., 1655-60, pp. 98, 184, 186.

certain complexities which made it difficult for them to provide for this satisfaction. In the first place, Winter was resentful at his exclusion from the New Stock's services and at the threatened intervention with his trade.7 He had spent a lot 'in repairing and refitting' the junk and was not expected to surrender it without compensation. In the second place, neither Greenhill nor Chamber was prepared to make good the loss out of his own pocket.8 Thirdly, neither the United Joint Stock nor the New General Stock could be expected to pay the compensation money from its own cash. On getting news of the junk incident and the resultant troubles,9 the Committees of the United Joint Stock had scathingly condemned the action of the Agent and factors at Fort St. George (31st December, 1657). They considered the seizure of the junk, made in expectation of treasure and on "the bare supposition" that Mir Jumla would be worsted, as utterly unadvised, and observed that they could have lived in peace by remaining neutral. They also felt that the factors might have suffered greater losses than already suffered (viz., the loss of a large quantity of calicoes). Moreover, the Committees urged on the factors the necessity of careful scrutiny of the accounts, so that the former might not be charged more than really belonged to their account. 10

^{6.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 187.

^{7.} lbid, pp. 266-72.

^{8.} Ibid, pp. 186-7.

^{9.} Madras lefters 10th Nov., 1656 and 28th January, 1657.

^{10.} The principal landmarks in the history of the E.I.C.'s trade 1600-1660 were as follows: (i) Separate voyages 1600-1612. (ii) The First and Second Joint Stocks (1613-27). (iii) The interlude of the Three Separate Persian Voyages (1628-31). (iv) The Third Joint Stock (1631-C. 1642). (v) Confusion of Joint Stocks and Particular Voyages (1641-1757). (vi) The Permanent Joint Stock (1657-60). (See W.W. Hunter, History of British India, II, pp. 177-179n). Early in 1655 the trade of the E.I.C. was carried on by two distinct stocks-viz., the Fourth General Stock (which was regarded as the E.I.C. proper) and the United Joint Stock, formed in 1650 by the Union of the Company and the Assada Merchants. The term of five years of the United Stock had expired, and it was holding on till the formation of a new Stock. Meanwhile there had begun a period of practically open trade. Naturally the London E.I C. had to struggle for their charter and privileges against the Merchant Adventurers. After some time, as the disadvantages of open trade were manifest, the Council of State ultimately decided that the E.I. trade should be carried on in a United Joint Stock, exclusively of all others. This decision was confirmed by the Protector, who rejected the arguments of the Merchant Adventurers for an open trade to the East Indies. By Cromwell's Charter (Oct. 19, 1657), the E.I.C. was re-established, on the lines of the charter of Elizabeth and James I and with some new privileges. The Rump of Courteen's Association was united with the E.I.C. and the different stocks of the Company were united into a 'New General Stock.' See Hunter, op. cit. pp. 115-119; and pp. 140-141 (for effects); Court Minutes 1655-59, pp. iv, and xvii for its terms; Bruce, Annals I, 502, 508, 516, 517, 528-9; FEF., 1655-60, p. 146; Camb. Hist. India, V, pp. 94-95; Ilbert, Historical Introduction, Govt. of India, PP. 14-16.

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Nor was it possible in any way to make the New General Stock responsible for what had been done in 1656, and the views of its Committees were also no favourable (13th Sept., 1658), After referring to the hindrances and disturbances to trade in different parts of India, due to the civil war among Shahjahan's sons, the Committees expressed the hope that Mir Jumla's party would raise the siege (of Madras)11 'and leave the English factors at liberty and in greater security to manage their affairs. They also laid down the future conduct of the factors by exhorting them to behave themselves in such "inoffensive" ways that "no just cause" might be given to any party to trouble them or inflict such losses on the Company as were caused by their "unadvised 'seizure" of the Nawab's junk. They disclaimed all responsibility in this broil which "was occasioned by some particular differences" between the Nawab and the factors "about some jewels which were pawned" by him to the latter and their seizure of his elephants. Hence they maintained that it was "just reasonable" that whatever damage the Company sustained ought to be made good by the factors, the Company "having noe quarrell nor pretence upon the Nabob," and desiring "love and peace with all princes and governours." In short the factors were advised to follow a policy of neutrality in the future.12 Thus in the beginning the attitude of the Company was to criticize the seizure of the junk, to disclaim all responsibility in it, to see that no undue financial burden fell on them and to warn the factors of the consequences of interfering in local political disputes in future.

This stern attitude of the home authorities added to the anxieties of the Madras factors, already caused by a 'fresh development' at Masulipatam, the news of which had Aurangzeb's firman for resreached them towards the end of December, 1658.13 On the toration of the junk to Mir grant of a firman by Emperor Aurangzeb for the recovery

of Mir Jumla's vessel, the latter's Masulipatam agent took immediate steps to effect it. Mir Muhammad Hossain Tapa Tapa14, the agent or broker of Mir Jumla's son, Muhammad Amin, came to Masulipatam with the imperial firman and demanded the restoration of the junk, first from Winter and then, on his refusal, from the Masulipatam factors 15. He

Jumla.

^{11.} JBORS., Dec. 1940, March, 1941.

^{12.} FEF., 1655-60, pp. 263-265.

^{13. 22}nd December. FEF., 1655-600, p. 263.

^{14.} According to Bernier, Tapa Tapa "virtually acted as master of the ports of Masulipatam, so great was the influence of Muhammad Amin (Constable, 195). FEF. 1655-60, p. 187.

^{15.} Mir Jumla was also "willing by appointing a treaty to his vikele in Metchlepatam concerning his vessell and to end differences..." Memorandum, Love I.

also pressed for the release of the (Persian) Kazi, who, being left by Mir Jumla at Sarlashkar or the general or the head of his troops in the Karnatak, together with, as report went, a large portion of Mir Jumla's riches, had probably been captured by the English during either of the sieges of Madras. This was coupled with threats of reprisals on the Company and their factors. The latter even apprehended that the Mayflower (a freighted ship of the Company), the weighing of freight goods of which had been stopped, would not be permitted to sail. Moreover the Company was to be held accountable for any abusive or extravagant act of any Englishman. 16 In view of these details, it is difficult to accept the statement of the Memorandum 17 that the question of recovering the junk could not be taken up, on behalf of Mir Jumla, till his appointment as governor of Bihar and Bengal.

Placed between the two horns of a dilemma-Mir Jumla's renewed. demand and the stern rebuke of the Committees in England, Agent Chamber, the successor of Greenhill, was at his wit's end. Chamber's He seemed to have endeavoured to shift the responsibility dilemma. on to the shoulders of Winter by formally ordering him to surrender the junk to Mir Jumla's representative at Masulipatam. But the Memorandum makes a case against Agent Chamber. According to it Chamber and Winter were great friends, and when the Surat authorities sent instructions to Agent Chamber, 'a pretence and juggle was contrived' between them.18 That this account, though slightly overdrawn, is not altogether untrue is apparent from the subsequent events. Winter returned the junk, but, immediately recaptured it,19 relying apparently on a letter of 22nd July, 1657, in which Greenhill and Chamber had authorised him, if molested, to seize any of the Nawab's vessels.20

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An additional element of complexity was introduced into the junk episode by Aurangzeb's despatch of Mir Jumla to Bengal to conduct the campaign against Prince Shuja and his appointment as Governor of Bihar. Though the English factors were mortally afraid of Mir Jumla, their attitude

^{16.} FEF., op. cit. 17. Love I, pp. 183-85.

^{18.} Chamber, the Memorandum states, did nothing, in spite of "all the frequent and full advices" to see that Winter's conduct and "open trading" did in no way jeopardise the Company's interests, and in spite of "full directions from Surat" about settlement. Chamber, "as was his custome," neglected to observe them, and even allowed Winter to depart without giving satisfaction, although he had power to imprison him and seize his (and Greenhill's) goods. Chamber had also neglected to settle the matter, in spite of frequent suggestions of Trevisa. Hence Chamber was held responsible for the losses of the Company and the detention of its goods in the Bay. Love I, p. 185.

^{19.} Trevisa to Bengal, 8 July, 1659. Memorandom, Love I, p. 185; FEF.; 1655-60, pp. 264-5.

^{20.} Winter to Madras, 15 Aug., 1659; Foster, op. cit.

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towards the settlement of the junk episode throughout was characterised by a sense of opportunism, and drift, and pulsated with the changing fortunes, and preoccupations of Mir Jumla and the shifting course of the war of succession in Bengal. Moreover, while the Bengal factors²¹ regarded themselves as free from any responsibility for the actions of the Coromandel Coast factors, Mir Jumla fastened the responsibility on the E.I. Company as a whole, and held that the Bengal factors could not claim immunity from the effects of the junk incident. At the same time Mir Jumla used it as a lever in getting help from the English during the War of Succession.

When Mir Jumla was appointed Governor of Bihar, Chamberlain, the English factor at Patna, 22 visited him twice, but found him very resentful over the entire junk episode. The English factors in Bihar Mir Jumla in apprehended that Mir Jumla would retaliate by stopping -Bihar. their trade and considered that purchase of saltpetre was out of the question for the time being.23 At the second²⁴ interview with Mir Jumla on 21st February, 1659, the day of departure of Sultan Muhammad and Mir Jumla for Monghyr, Chamberlain offered the latter a present worth Rs. 600, and solicited his dustuck or true licence. The latter spurned at the offer, saying that he would accept nothing as gift from the English, whom he described as "no better then pyratts (pirates) and robbers", before receiving full satisfaction for the loss of his ships and goods seized at the coast. At the same time he affirmed that he had done Chamberlain a great favour in that he had not seized25 the effects of the English in Patna and imprisoned them all. He even expressed surprise how the English dared appear before him, in view of their recent behaviour towards him. Chamberlain tried to make Mir Jumla believe that the Bengal factors were "perticuler (i.e. private) people and divided from them of the

^{21.} A despatch of 27th Feb., 1658, gives the names of factors as follows:—George Gawton, Chief Agent at Hugli; second not mentioned. Mathis Halstead, William Ragdale and Thomas Davies as other members of the Council; Hopkins, Agent at Balasore, Kenn at Cassimbazaar, Chamberlain at Patna. Job Charnock was appointed fourth at Cassimbazaar. Later Jonathan Trevisa was appointed to fill the vacant post of second at Hugli. He became Agent at Hugli in September, 1658. See Hedges III, p. 189; Danvers, Bengal, its Chiefs, Agents and Governors (1888), p. 8; In Wilson, E.A.E.B. I, p. 33.

^{22.} Chamberlair reached Patna on 11th February, 1659. On hearing from him, the Balasore factors reported, on 14th March, that Sultan Muhammad and Mir Jumla reached Patna two days after Shah Shuja had left it. The Balasore-Madras correspondence reflects Mir Jumla's anger against the English.

^{23.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 280; See my article "Transport of Saltpetre in India in 17th century,", JBORS., June 1939.

^{24.} As we learn from Balasore letter of 21st March, FEF., p. 280.

^{25.} This is not a mere boast of Mir Jumla. Cf. The letter of the Committees of the Union Join CStock (31st Dec., 1657), ante.

coast", and that there was no reason why they would suffer for the fault of others. But all these pleadings were in vain, Mir Jumla "persisting still" that the English "were all one Company, or leastwise English, who would of them be paid wheresover he found them". Thus Mir Jumla was determined not to allow the English to carry any goods from Patna before he was satisfied, and one of his earliest acts, after accepting charge of Bihar administration, was to stop the English from procuring saltpetre. 28

But, saltpetre was so important an article of trade of the E.I.C. that at last Chamberlain was obliged to promise that the junk would be returned by the factors on the East Coast to Mir Jumla's local agents; or that some satisfaction would otherwise be given; and that this arrangement should be confirmed from the Coast within 4½ months from that date. Chamberlain also exhorted the Balasore factors to urge on the Agent at Madras to take necessary action for fulfilment of the agreement.²⁷ He at last succeeded, through the mediation of 'friends', in obtaining Mir Jumla's licence to trade in Patna.²⁸

The success of the imperial troops under Sultan Muhammad and Mir Jumla, and the evacuation of Monghyr by Shah Shuja (6th March, 1659), 29 made it urgently necessary for the English to pacify Mir Jumla. So the Balasore factors again exhorted Chamber for quick settlement of the junk affair and for forwarding "authentique papers signed by the Meirjumbelas servants there (to that effect) which is his desire for his satisfaction." That is to say, Mir Jumla agreed to believe that the incident had been finally settled on receipt of papers certified by his agents.

On reaching Suti, 30 Mir Jumla summoned the Dutch factors from Kasimbazaar to his camp to get their help in the provision of artillery. 31 He expected 32 that the English factors there would voluntarily wait on him. But the latter, 33 far

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^{26.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 264.

^{27.} Ibid, p. 250.

^{28.} Balasore letter of 15th December, 1658; FEF., 1655-60, p. 281-n.

^{29.} Sarkar, Aurangseb, I & II, p. 569. Letter of 12th April, FEF., 1655-60, pp.281.-2.

^{30.} Suti on the west bank of the Bhagirathi is 28 miles south-east of Rajmahal and about 35 miles from Kasimbazaar. Sarkar, Aurangseb, I & II, p. 583. Datta, Alivardi and his Times, p. 30.

^{31.} After his occupation of Rajmahal (13th April, 1659), Mir Jumla had collected a few boats and many more at Suti. But Shuja's battery of a large guns on the opposite side caused great damage to Mir Jumla's men and animals. (Sarkar op. cit., pp. 581-3). This explains his anxiety to get into touch with the English.

^{32.} Probably as Mir Jumla was their late suzerain or from their recent deferential attitude in Bihar.

^{33.} Owing to the uncertainty of the issue of the war, Mir Jumla's third coup (3rd May) failed. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 584-6.

from expressing any anxiety to meet him, decided 'to make no move' unless forced. At this Mir Jumla sent orders to Kasimbazaar that 'their (of the English) doores should be closed up' and that no one should carry on trade operations with them before they interviewed him. The English, however, soon took care to avert the closing up of their factory by the offer of a gift to the Nawab; and Ken, the Chief of the Kasimbazaar factory, proceeded to Mir Jumla at Sati³⁴ and had two interviews with him.³⁵

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At the first interview (10th or 11th May) Mir Jumla refused to accept the customary nazar in gold, offered by Ken, as his claims were still unsatisfied. On being questioned, Mir Jumla demanded Two interviews 30,000 pagodas for his ship and its provisions and claims of Ken. about freight for three voyages made by the English on it,36 and 30,000 pagodas as interest. At a second interview (14th or 15th May),37 he demanded 40,000 rupees in all, and the return of the junk. To enable the English to communicate with Madras authorities, Mir Jumla agreed to wait for two months for the payment of the sum. But Ken was requested to give a written pledge of payment, otherwise Mir Jumla threatened to stop all trade and seize the saltpetre of the English in partial satisfaction. As Ken pleaded that he could do nothing without the assent of Hugli and Balasore factors, Mir Jumla allowed him 18 or 20 days' time for an answer from them.

Hence, returning on 17th May, Ken communicated the upshot of his interviews to the Hugli authorities (18th May) by saying that Mir Jumla had refused to allow the English to trade or give his dustuck, pending satisfaction. Ken and his colleague Sheldon informed the Balasore factors also of these details, and, by sending 4 messengers, 38 urgently sought their advice regarding future action, so that all troubles might be ended and the factors might not suffer.

Mir Jumla expected another visit from the English and so permitted Ken to go to Kasimbazaar for discussing matters there and arriving at a speedy settlement with him. On May 23 Matthias Halstead reached Kasimbazaar from Hugli, together with a letter to Mir Jumla, written by a local official containing intercessions for the English. Thereupon Mir Jumla partially conceded to the demands of the English.³⁹

^{34.} Balasore to Madras (18th May, 1659). FEF., pp. 286-7.

^{35.} Balasore letter (5th June), Ibid.

^{36.} An instance of the English using Mir Jumla's ships for their trade.

^{37.} Four days after the first interview. 38. FEF., p. 197.

^{39.} Ken to Davies, 26th May. Ibid, p. 287. With a view to get their help in provision of artificry in his fight against Shuja.

The Balasore factors expressed that they would approve of whatever settlement Ken might make with Mir Jumla by paying the maximum sum of Rs. 25,000.40 Probably the Hugli factors also pledged their support

Interview of Halstead and Ken.

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Probably the Hugli factors also pledged their support through Halstead. On, 2nd June Halstead started for Sutitogether with Ken to continue negotiations with Mir Jumla. At their first interview, 41 after showing due obeisance, they set down on the carpet about. 6 yards distant from him,

very near Muhammad Sharif (Mahomet Chariffe, "our late Governour"). They informed him^{4,2} that according to his order letters had been sent to sound the advice of factors regarding the matter. The latter in turn had, by six separate conveyances apprised the coast factors of the possible troubles resulting from delay in their sending information about the present situation and future programme. Hence they pleaded that without an answer from the Coast they could not finally settle it. Subsequently^{4,3} Mir Jumla agreed to offer his dustuck, if they would give a written note to the effect that the English would satisfy all damages^{4,4} within about a month, irrespective of the arrival of the letters or ships of Trevisa, the English Agent. But as they could not give this undertaking they remained as before.^{4,5}

About this time the Director of the Dutch, Matthews van den Broecke, was proceeding from Hugli to Mir Jumla's head-quarters. It was rumoured

Journey of the Dutch Director to Mir Jumla's camp.

that the latter had offered the government of Hugli to the Dutch, who had lent him 2 lakhs of rupees. 46 The Director told Sheldon, the English factor, that the former had agreed to render all possible assistance to Mir Jumla and ordered that all their 'great guns' should be put on the sloops for

guarding the river.⁴⁷ Hence it was natural for Halstead to apprehend that the arrival of the Dutch Director would be prejudicial to the cause of the English, particularly as the Diwan himself entertained similar fears from the Dutch, who were not their friends, in case the English did not settle the matter with Mir Jumla, and informed them accordingly.⁴³

^{40.} Sheldon to Davies, 4th June; FEF., p. 287. 41. Halstead's letter of 4th June.

^{42.} This is an instance of the duplicity of the English factors.

^{43.} Letter of Halstead and Ken, 8th June, Ibid, p. 288.

^{44.} Ships lading of rice, freight of three voyages and the ship itself.

^{. 45.} They did not know the total sum; but the next time the weather permitted him to set out, they would demand it and know the utmost (if he would tell them) which as yet he had concealed.

^{46.} Halstead's letter of 3rd June.

^{47.} Sheldon's letter of 5th July. It states that Matthews was with him on 4th.

^{48.} Halstead and Ken's letter. They promised to write later about future events or of Mir Jumla's removal to the neighbourhood of 'Muxidevad'.

It is very probable, however, that no settlement was arrived at before the return of Ken to Kasimbazaar (June 14), as the flight of Sultan Muhammad to Shuja's camp (8th June) diverted Mir Jumla's attention away from the European factors.

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In the beginning of September, Ken was at 'Muxmabazaar'so where he had apparently been summoned by Mir Jumla, and it was expected that he would be detained there till the arrival from Balasore of Trevisa, for whom he was anxiously waiting. However, either on the ground that Trevisa was coming to Hugli or on some other pretext, Ken got permission to visit Hugli; but subsequently he was summoned back to the Nawab's camp, the governor of Hugli had been ordered that all supplies of fire, water or victuals should be stopped to the English unless he was sent up. 51 Ken feared a long detention unless the Nawab was satisfied and paid at least Rs. 1,00,000.52

Notwithstanding these worries of Ken and the urgent appeals from Hugli, Agent Trevisa⁵³ was staying on at Balasore. Insecurity of travel, and lack of suitable presents for Mir Jumla, might have something to do with this delay, but the principal reason seemed to have been the uncertainty of the issue of the war between Shah Shuja and Mir Jumla, which made him hesitate to part with any money. In fact his policy was one of 'wait and see', to obtain the maximum result at a minimum cost. His duplicity is doubly clear from the fact that he wanted to pacify Mir Jumla by forwarding to him a letter from President Andrews, containing a promise of satisfaction regarding the junk, and another from the Nawab's Masulipatam agent, and by instructing the despatch of a letter in Persian, in the name of Trevisa, expressing his eagerness for an interview.⁵⁴

However, Mir Jumla was not the person to be appeased by these letters of vague promises. He had waited long. He had shown due civility and consideration to the factors. His patience had reached its limits, and he would be satisfied with nothing but "immediate payment".

^{49.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 288. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I & II, p. 586.

^{50.} Was it Masumabazar (Murshidabad)? See Sarkar, op. cit., p. 589. From the letter of Ken (8th September) it appears that his condition at Kasimbazaar was very pitiable, being worse than even that of 'a fidler'. Foster thinks that Maxumabazaar was a part of Maksudabadi is not the city (called by Tavernier Madesou-bazarki) FEF., 1658-60, p. 291.

^{51.} Balasore letter (of 28th October,) Ibid, p. 292n.

^{52.} Ken to Hugli (22nd September). 53. Letter of 26th September.

Suzat authorifies wrote to the court of Directors on 5th Nov. 1657: "It was equally dangerous to solicit or to accept of pretection, it being impossible to foresee who might, ultimately, he the Mogul." Bruce I, p. 534.

He ordered the Governor of Balasore to send up Trevisa to Hugli, and to levy a duty of 4%55 on all English exports, besides anchorage duties on their ships. He was in a fix. He could not Adverse effects defy Mir Jumla's order. He could not side openly on the Company. with him till the war had taken a decisive turn against Shuja, the Prince of Bengal. So he informed the English Agent that for the present he would not collect the duties but only keep an account "in the Kings books", and that this would be struck off in case of settlement with Mir Jumla. Trevisa also could not but obey him. Before leaving Balasore, Trevisa sent a strong remonstrance (28th Oct.) to the Madras Agent about the possible mischiefs accruing from the delay in satisfying Mir Jumla. The saltpetre trade had been stopped. Besides, it was feared that unless the Nawab was pacified, the English were likely to lose all their privileges. 56 Indeed it appeared from a general letter to the Company (23rd November 1659), written by Ken and signed by Matthias Halstead, Ken and other Hugli factors, that English trade was almost at a standstill. There was little or no sale for their English goods, especially broadcloth, while the articles of that year's investment were purchased with money "borrowed at interest upon pawnes of pieces of eight", as the banians feared to lend money owing to the former threats of Mir Jumla to seize the Company's goods without getting satisfaction for his vessel. Thus the Bengal factors had to face "extraordinary troubles" and incur "great expenses" in procuring goods of that year; while the risk of having an embargo laid on their shipment was ever present. The factors, uncertain of the permanency of Bengal trade, held that these troubles and difficulties were all the more regrettable, because Bengal's trade was "the rising trade in India", and that the full advantages of it could be secured only by "a conclusion of this unhappy, troublesome and chargeable business" with Mir Jumla, 57 owing to which the position of the factors was "worse than that of any Hollander, Moore or Gentue (Hindu)".58

Meanwhile, hearing of the stoppage of the saltpetre trade of the English at Patna by Mir Jumla, the President and Council of Surat Reaction in had ordered the authorities at Madras (3rd June 1659), that full and immediate restitution of the junk should be made, and informed them that Mir Jumla had been advised about these directions. Winter expressed to the authorities in Madras

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^{55. 5%} according to a subsequent letter. FEF., 1655-60, p. 297. "though most of the goods (nay, all wee buy aboute Balasore) hath paid custome by the natives aforehand". Ibid

^{56.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 294.

^{57.} Ibid, pp. 295-296. Here is a significant reference to the importance of Bengal's trade in the commerce of India then. See Sarkar Aurangseb V, pp. 313-4. Bruce I, p. 549.

^{58.} Later to Company (middle of December).

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(12th July) his willingness to restore the junk to Johnson the chief factor. at Masulipatam, if he was compensated for his expenses incurred for her. But Johnson refused to interfere in the matter without authority from Chamber, as he firmly held that it did not concern the E.I.C.'s existing stock. The Masulipatam factors wrote to Surat on 15th June that though the Nawab's Agents were insistent in their demand of the junk, they denied any responsibility for the seizure of the junk as it did not belong "to this Company's account and (was) utterly disowned by them ". They added that Winter justified his title to the junk by a bill of sale in his possession, signed by Greenhill and Chamber. On 17th June they reminded Chamber that he had not sent them any positive order to demand or receive the junk from Winter or to recover from him the 1,500 old pagodas which he had promised to pay for her. Chamber still tried to put the blame on Winter stating 59 that he had undertaken at the time of purchasing the junk to secure the exemption of the Company from all possible damages. But Winter hotly denied this. About compensating Mir Jumla. he (Chamber) held that it would encourage him to advance fresh demands, for he would never be contented.

The matter still dragged on, and at last the Surat Council peremptorily ordered Fort St. George (12th October, 1659) (i) to restore the junk, (ii) to recover from Greenhill's estate as much as Surat Council's possible of the money to be paid to the Nawab, (iii) to peremptory order to Fort St. refund to Winter the price of the junk, and (iv) to forcibly George. take the junk if he refused to surrender her. These conditions, however, could not be fulfilled, as Winter had sent the junk on a voyage eastwards, and no attempt was made to adjust matters in other in a defiant mood, probably as the Surat respects. Chamber was authorities had hinted at holding him personally responsible. Early in November, the Madras authorities advised their colleagues in Bengal to know the maximum demands of the Nawab, as a necessary preliminary to the final settlement.

But soon the Madras factors, relying on rumours of military disasters of
Mir Jumla, boldly advised the Bengal factors to warn
Reprisal suggested by Madras
to Bengal factors. vindicate" themselves, if his actions prejudiced the interests of the Company. But those rumours were false, and
to the Bengal factors, "acutely conscious of the power of the offended
Nawab, such advice, tendered from the security of Fort St, George, must

Cesp. in Persia) were subordinated to Surat, and the factories in the Coromandel coast and in Bengal to Fort St. George, as the Agencies at Cassimbazaar, Balasore and Pains to the Hugh factory. Bruce I, p. 532.

have seemed a bitter mockery"60. On December 1, Trevisa and Ken left Hugli⁶¹, for the Nawab's camp to negotiate with him for the junk. But Mir Jumla was too busy with war plans to attend to the question, because Shah Shujah had, at the end of the rainy season, taken the field, to crush the enemy before the arrival of his reinforcements.

Early in January, 1660, Winter went on board the Marigold to Madras, and settled with the Agent there about his own dues as Winter comes to terms with the Madras Agent. Thereupon he was permitted to continue his voyage to England in the same ship, paying for his passage 2nd the freight of his goods. He had already, it seems, promised the Masulipatam factors that the Nawab's junk should be surrendered to them on her return to that ports.

The Surat authorities strongly disapproved (25th February 1660) of this arrangementes, on the ground that the Masulipatam Suret's disfactors should not have relied on 'a bare promise' of approval. Winter, who was known to be untruthful, in such an important matter, affecting the welfare of the Bay factors and the privileges of the The Masulipatam factors were also held responsible for the absence of the vessel there, and for all those troubles and disputes through which the Company and its factors were passing. They were criticised for not having seized the vessel and other articles of Winter and other interlopers, according to instructions. Hence they were now ordered to seize the junk on its arrival and deliver it up, together with the belongings of Winter on it, and take compensation from him for such expenses caused there by his detaining and employing the junk. They were also asked to furnish a true account of events for information of the Company.

The Surat authorities tried to bring home to the Masulipatam factors their mistake and responsibility for the losses, by drawing their attention to

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^{60.} FEF., 1653-70, pp. 263-70. It is indeed surprising that the Surat Council, though better informed about Bengal affairs than Fort St. George, "acquiesced in the shelving of the question", and expressed their inability to direct the Madras authorities (20th December) about further negotiations with Mir. Jumla without hearing from Bengal Roster thinks that the "fear of a double settlement" with Mir Jumla in Bengal as well as the Coast factors partly accounted for "this suspension of action." (Ibid).

^{61.} Balasore letter despatched on 26th December, 1659. FEF., p. 298. See letter of Trevisa to Bantam 28th Nov., 1659 and 24th Feb., 1660. Ibid, p. 390. (i) "Being in great power (he) has troubled the affairs of the Bay, to the dishonour of our nation and losse of our honourable employees; we having been detained in his army and our factory common to the will of every roguing officer.". (Trevisa's reasons). (See Aurangnamah (Sarkar Ms) for Shuja's plans

^{62.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 273. It is difficult to agree with Sir William Foster that the long dispute over the junk ended now so far as the factors in India were concerned, for it dragged on for several years without any final settlement.

^{63.} Including the purchase from him of his Winter Rose, Ibid, p. 389.

^{64.} FEF., p. 389.

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Agent Trevisa's letter of 26th December, 1659, which spoke of the losses in Bengal, caused by "Winter's action" and of Mir Jumla's "discourteous" treatment. To this the Surat Council replied (24th February, 1660) that Winter had promised to restore the junk and tried to console Trevisa by admitting that they were "very sensible of the troubles" of the Bengal factors, that "the courts of these princes affoardes nothing else" and that remedy was not in their hands. They regarded Mir Jumla's demands of the lading of the junk as unreasonable. They had petitioned to Aurangzeb for protection against them and wanted to send a representative to the Court to discuss matters. They urged Trevisa to come to a "reasonable" agreement with Mir Jumla.

The anxiety of the English factors to arrive at an agreement with Mir Jumla was due partly to military and partly to commercial factors. On the one hand, the tide of victory was gradually rising in Mir Jumla's favoures and it was no longer considered expedient to drag the matter on any further. On the other hand the English were feeling the pinch of Mir Jumla's embargo on the trade of the Company, particularly the export of that extremely valuable article, saltpetres.

After staying with Mir Jumla for more than a month, during which there were several fights between the imperialists and Shah Shuja, Trevisa came to an agreement with the Nawab⁷⁰ on the following terms:⁷¹ (i) the junk was to be returned to Mir Jumla together with all articles seized by the English, (ii) the matter was to be referred to the arbitration.

^{65.} FEF., 1655-60, p. 389.

^{66. &}quot;What the event of warre is, Providence only produceth". Ibid.

^{67.} By it they meant (i) the return of the vessel, without paying for the lading, (ii) offer of a present, somewhat better than usually given to persons of Mir Jumla's status or on similar terms, which would not be prejudicial to the Company, so that it need not have to "pay for the folly of another":

^{68.} Mir Jumla's campaign against Shah Shuja was conducted vigorously towards success. Early in January, 1660, Shuja was driven eastwards. Prince Muhammad returned (February 8). Mir Jumla occupied Malda (March 6) and his fording of the Mahananda was decisive. Shuja fled to Tanda and thence to Dacca, and at last resolved to seek refuge in Arakan. (FEF., 1655-60, p. 388). On February 24, 1660, Trevisa wrote that Aurangzeb imprisoned Shahjahan and Shuja was "likely to be beaten out of his countrey". (Ibid, p. 390-391).

^{69.} The War of Succession, and the dispute with Mir Jumla, hindered the transport of saltpetre from Patna; and the small quantity sent had to be reserved for kintlege that year and business was almost suspended, every day being almost a "hollyday (holiday)." The Company would resent such a state of affairs (Ibid). The Surat Council hoped (24 Feb., 1660) that with the removal of the army, the transport of saltpetre from Patna to Hugfi would be possible (Ibid).

^{70.} Surat to Fort St. George, 27th February, 1660; FEF., p. 390.

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of the Nawab's Masulipatam Agent, "Taptap" and the company's factors, Mr. Wm. a Court and Mr. Wm. Jersip (Jearsay) for final settlement within four months. Trevisa feared that the English would not get freedom of trade till Mir Jumla had received satisfaction for all his demands. But, thanks to the reasonableness of Mir Jumla, he granted Trevisa his dustuck, or parwana, (7 Jumada II. A.H. 1070-9th Feb. 1660. O.S.) confirming the former privileges, enjoyed by the English according to the grants of Shahjahan and Shah Shuja⁷².

The Surat authorities73 did not approve of the panel of arbitrators and ordered the Madras factors to have one of them replaced by Johnson, the chief at Masulipatam. The demands made on behalf of the Nawab exceeded 4 20,000 pagodas and included the repudiation of his debts 6 to the Company amounting to 32,000 pagodas. Hence the negotiations at Masulipatam were protracted and the Surat authorities expressed their dissatisfaction with them?6. They resolved that if Mir Jumla would be satisfied with the mere return of the ship (repaired and made fashionable at great cost), it would be restored; and he, in return, would waive all other demands or disputes, give the English a full discharge and allow them to trade peacefully without affronts or abuses. Mir Jumla, too, was dissatisfied with the result of the conference at Masulipatam and about the middle of year 1660 he stopped English trade at Kasimbazaar and in the Bay, and commanded the Bengal Agent to see him. In obedience, to this command the Agent sent Mr. Kenne (Ken?). The uncertainty of the issue, however, made the Surat authorities apprehensive and they suggested to their colleagues at Madras that they should furnish the Bengal factors with "a little money extraordinary", so that the transport of the collected stock of 1,200 tons of saltpetre in Patna, Kasimbazaar and other places might be possible, in spite of the rumours of war between Mir Jumla and the 'flying prince', Shuja.77 In August 1660 Trevisa went up from Hugli to Dacca and

^{72.} Trevisa to Bantam, 24th February, 1660. Ibid, pp. 390-1, copy of the parwana from Mir Jumla, Ibid, p. 416. [(Jonathan Trevisa, the English Agent, has represented that the goods of the English Company are by imperial farman free from all duties. He is therefore ordered that, in obedience to that command, all officials in Bengal and Orissa shall refrain from demanding anything from the English on this account. See post p.....)
William a Court was a factor at several places like Viravasaram, Masuligatam, and Madras. William Gearsey was a factor at Masulipatam, FEF., op. cit, pp. 104, 182, 205, 391.]

^{73.} Surat to Madras, 10th May, 1660. FEF., p. 391.

^{74.} Masulipatam to Bantam, 19th May, Ibid.

^{75.} Possibly arising from customs and freight charges.

^{76.} To Trevisa (21st June, 1660).

^{77.} Trevies to Surat (4th July 1660 and 16th August, 1660). Undated P. S. to a letter from Surat to Madras (29 Sept. 1660).

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was employed in Mir Jumla's service. 7,8 The Surat Council hoped 79 that Mir Jumla would not press his claims, otherwise the factors would have to withdraw from Bengal to Surat. The Madras factors (11th January, 1661) in reviewing the events of 1660, informed the Company that Trevisa had reported that "their business is like to runn well with the Nabob", and that 15,000 mds. of saltpetre were awaiting shipment in Bengal. 80

We have seen before that the Committees of the United General Stock and the New Stock took strong objection to the seizure of Attitude of the the junk. Indeed, the anxiety of the Company to satisfy Company. the Nawab was clearly noticeable in the various letters of instructions which they wrote to the factors in India.

- (i) In referring to the seizure of Mir Jumla's junk and the resulting troubles in Bengal, the Company wrote (12th Sept., 1660): "Wee hope Mr. Trevisa hath composed the difference; which wee expect the estate of Mr. Greenhill and Mr. Chambers shall make good unto him (the Nawab), being it was acted by them without our order or direction and never owned by us, nor divers of our factors there when the seizure was made, but objected against, and the said Mr. Greenhill etc., entreated to make a surrender of the jounck back to the Nabob, which hee would not consent unto. Wee observe what estate of Mr. Greehnills you have secured, and hope that the business will bee so composed that you will have sufficient to give a reasonable satisfaction to the Nabob 31.
- (ii) The Company expected, as we find in their letter to Bengal, (14th Sept., 1600) that the differences with Mir Jumla had been adjusted 82.
- (iii) The Company's letter to Madras (6th February, 1661) runs thus: "We shall further implore you that you would certify us how you have proceeded about getting the Nabob's junke from Keddah, and what effects is there found of Mr. Winters; for there be them that will now

^{78.} Dagh Register (1661), p. 240, in FEF., 1655-60, p. 410. The Dutch records did not mention the reasons of Trevisa's visit; but it seems clear that Trevisa went to Dacca, in order to help Mir Jumla against Shah Shuja.

^{79.} This was a reply (3rd Nov., 1660) to an undated letter of Trevisa mentioning an impending visit to Mir Jumla. FEF., pp. 393-4.

^{80.} Henry All-worth, who was alone at Patna, wrote to Trevisa on 12th July, 1660, promising to dispatch about 15,000 mds. of saltpetre to Hugli, shortly, and desiring the Agent to send Mir Jumla's dastak as soon as possible, as he had none there. He also noted that the Dutch had about 25 or 26,000 mds. of saltpetre in 9 pattellas (= a large flat bottomed boat used on the Ganges) at Pun Pun (= 8 miles south of Patna on the river Pun Pun) and they would start soon with their dastaks. Ibid, pp. 408-9.

^{81.} EEF., 1661-4, p. 42.

seeme to taske Mr. Thomas Chamber to be partaker of that action, which was singly done by Agent Henry Greenhill, who had provoakement enough from the Nabobs ministers in these parts, as you have often heard. The matters was done by the deceaseds absolute comaund, without the least consultaction or advice taken with said Chamber. Wee have had in the Companies stocke of Agent Greenhills ever since his deceasemore then 8,000 pagodas, which is worth twice as much as his juncke though "twere never returned" 83.

Thus the Company' intended to hold Chamber spartly responsible for the seizure of Mir Jumla's junk and carnestly entreated the President and Council at Madras to settle the difference with Mir Jumla satisfactorily.

- (iv) The Committees wrote to Madras *5 (31st August, 1661): "Wee have received a great complaynt from the Bay of the demaunds made by the Nabob from our *6 factors about a pretended jounck, wherein this stock, nor any member of it, is in the least concerned; but if that pretence bee at weell grounded, it concernes you our Agent, Mr. Thomas Chamber, to cleare it, whose are the only person surviving in India whose are lyable to any demand about it. Its easy for you, our Agent, to say the Nabobs demand is unreasonable; but that will not free us from trouble and clamour and therefore wee require that, one way or other, you see to cleare the businesse; for wee must aquainte you that what ever prejudice wee have or may susteyne by it, wee shall expect reparation from you."
- (v) The Company's letter, dated 3rd February, 1662, advised the Madras factors that in case the dispute with Mir Jumla was not settled, Chamber (or his nominee) should accompany Blake to Bengal and satisfy the Nawab's demands out of his own estate 87.

On 22nd August Chamber 88 was informed of these directions. Since there was no sign of the arrival of Winter, it was decided at a consultation (27th August) that Blake should proceed at once to Bengal, accompanied by

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^{83.} FEF., 1661-4, pp. 48-49. 84. Ibid.

^{85.} In reply to Madras letter of 28th January 1661. FEF., 1661-64, p. 157. Chamber, having there full control of Bengal factories, was also asked to advise the Bengal factors that they should not write "obscure passages 'but give "punctuall and full advices of all passages and in such Language as may been understood": "They tell us all is subject to Greate Kinge and all at peace in the Bay, but say not whoe the Greate Kinge is, nor on what terms the peace is concluded; as if because they know these things, it necessarily follows that wee must alsoe, though at soe greate a distance".

^{86.} This shows that the responsibility for the Junk incident was of the Company, as Mir Jumla held.

^{87.} FEF., 1661-4, p. 164.

^{88.} Chamber was asked to vacate Fort St. George by Company's letter (7th Feb., 1662) and Blake to take charge till arrival of Winter. Ibid, p. 162.

Chamber (or his representative) to settle the Nawab's claim, which according to the latest account, involved an expenditure of over 7,00088

It is generally known that the English factors had, in the prosecution of their trade, to suffer much from the opposition and oppression of local officials, unrestrained by the central government. Gradually the English learnt that they must protect themselves by force, and according to Wilson it was Sir Edward Winter (apptd. Agent at Fort St. George, Feb. 1661-2) who first advocated a policy of retaliation 90. From a study of the English factory records, however, it appears that the aggressive policy of reprisal wasadvocated by President Andrews of Surat in 1660, some time before Sir Edward Winter-if not still earlier, in case the peaceful remedy of making representation at the Imperial Court proved unavailing. Thus as regards Mir Jumla's junk affair, the Surat Council tried to console Trevisa (24th February, 1660) by admitting that they were "very sensible of the troubles" of the Bengal factors, and that "the courts of these princes affoardes nothings elce" and that remedy was not in their hands. They also observed that if Mir Jumla's influence over Aurangzeb was so great as to embolden him to continue his oppressions on the Bengal factors and inflict losses on the Company, only on the ground of the junk episode, in spite of their petition and representation to the Emperor through a suitable person, then the Bengal factors should leave Hugli, and also, if compelled, leave the inland regions of Bengal. They further advised the latter that they should act to the advantage of the Company, "first, by seizing on their (Mughal) shipping, spoiling both those that goe to sea and in harbour"; which would oblige them to conclude peace as "the poore weavers, being such multitudes, without trade at sea, cannot live "91. The Surat Council resented Mir Jumla's denunciation of the English as pirates and wished that they had been empowered by the Company "to teach such unmannerly persons better". They might have given an answer, but preferred to be patient, while remembering it as a principal "affront" and endeavouring to seek remedy. In case Mir Jumla did not agree to a reasonable settlement, the Surat Council planned to "suddenly advise the Kinge, and so take hold of the opportunity" (in uncertainties of war) to assist the Bengal factors 9 2.

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^{89.} Ibid, pp. 166-7. The damages alleged to have been sustained by the misdoings of Chamber were estimated at 4,39,000; and his crimes included private trading, overrating of goods, seizure of Mir Jumla's junk and unauthorised purchase of vessels, and mosopolising of rice. (Company's letter, 20th February, 1662); FEF., op. cit., p. 170.

[.] Wilson, E.A.E,B. I, 34,37. Bruce II, p. 109.

^{91.} This shows the extent and magnitude of Bengal's cotton trade. .

^{92.} FEF., 1655-60, pp. 389-90.

The same tone of exasperation is reflected in the Surat-Bengal correspondence in June 1660. If Mir Jumla did not agree to the mere return of the junk and molested the Bengal factors or abused them, they were advised by the Surat authorities to be ready to leave the country, -as to be forewarned to be forearmed,-so that the English might "proceed against the Moores in another manner of language". If the Mughals seized the Company's estate, the factors, were advised to endeavour to leave the country, even at the risk of losing all, for they were to recover it soon 33. About a week later 9.4, Andrews and his colleagues advised the factors in Bengal of their intention of making representations at court; and, as they feared that Mir Jumla would deceive the Rengal factors and would not be satisfied except with what the English could not give, they asked the latter to make a full statement of their grievances, so that they might give effect to their "intended purpose of using force" for pressing their right. Amonth after, when Andrews received the news of stoppage of English trade in the Bay 95, he was still contemplating the use of force for obtaining redress of grievances. But, as negotiations were pending at court, which might lead to a favourable settlement, he urged Trevisa (29 Aug., 1660) to proceed cautiously. Moreover, as the entire stock of saltpetre was to be carefully brought down from Patna, it was deemed advisable to placate Mir Jumla with a handsome present and with promises of restoring the ship 96. Again, if English ships arrived at Hugli, as expected, Mir Jumla might moderate his attitude in the hope of getting their help in stopping Shah Shuja.97 The Bengal factors were advised to be lavish in making promises but careful in not fulfilling them. To quote Andrew's own words:"....there be many wayes to escape such a promise fairly, for hee will bee certaintly out of your way, and if hee flyes to sea, excuses are enough. Wee can say no more then this; you must piscash, and piece the foxes skinn to the lyon. And if you find, when your business is done (i.e. the saltpeeter etc. goods downe), that he shall persist in his unreasonable demaunds and not be content with what wee have rehersed, you must follow what formerly advised. Call down your factors; keeps yourselves together, ready to be out of danger; to that purpose keepe a sloope by you to be ready on all occasions and well-victualled. This is all wee can advise at the present. For the loss of the trade, wee must redeeme hereafter as wee can; for if

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^{93.} Letter of 21st June. Ibid, pp. 391-2.

^{. 94.} Letter of 28th June. Ibid, p. 392.

^{95. 26}th August.

^{96. &}quot;You may also give him good words to cause a hope from him of the read; but give no promise of things you nere meane nor there is no reason to performe."

^{97.} Mir Jumla pressed both the Dutch and the English to lend him vessels to stop Shuja's escape. Dagh Register, 1661, pp. 6, 43; FEF., op. oit., n.

this Governour stays here, wee are not to stay, and without doubt must break also". ** These instructions remind one of the Machiavellian policy of playing the fox and the lion, and indicate a policy of expediency and gaining time.

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The Surat Council authorised the Masulipatam factors to seize Winter's house there and also "any estate of his" found on board the Nawab's junk, and the latter carried out these instructions in spite of protests of Winter's agent. President Andrews, too, formed a design to despatch a ship to Queda in order to seize the St. George and restore it to Mir Jumla. Chamber wanted to keep the design 'very private' (setret) and had advised Johnson to promise Tappa Tap, Mir Jumla's Masulipatam agent, that satisfaction should be given. Chamber wrote to Masulipatam that it was the earnest desire of the President and Council that the value of the junk should be paid either to the Nawab or his agent at Masulipatam and that Johnson should be ordered to end the long dispute between him and the Company, and to deliver the ship to Tappa Tap on its arrival. But Chamber struck a note of caution by suggesting that the matter be settled in such a way as to leave no loophole for further demands in future. 100

Speaking of the fate of Mir Jumla's junk, the Madras factors wrote to their colleagues in Bengal (12th May, 1662) that Winter's St. George, which should already have been delivered to Mir Jumla's Masulipatam agent, had been lying at Quedda. During its voyage therefrom to Malacca, it met with a fierce storm near the Andamans or Nicobar Islands: "Wherewith shee was prest soe much that she spent all her standing masts, but met a shift with some jury ones to get into Malacca". It was known from her pilot Mr. Cooper, that she was "laid up and utterly unfitt" to proceed further unless she was refitted at a cost which would be greater than its original price. Hence, as the junk could not be restored, the Madras Council decided at a general consultation that, for the sake of preserving the Nawab's friendship, he might either take the Anne, with all her ammunition and stores, or a newly built ship of the Bengal factors. The latter were, however, warned. "But this you must not seeme (to know?) that · wee doe anyway condiscend to, soe that it may come to his knowledge; for you know the Nabob is five times more indebted to us, by his accompt;... But you did much grafifie him when you told him the takeing of the junke

^{98.} FEF., 1655-60, pp. 392-93.

^{99.} Reply of Surat Council (Oct. 1, 1660): Copy sent to Madras along with letter of 29th September. FEF., 1655-60, p. 393.

^{10.} Chamber's letter of 24th May, 1661 to Surat. FEF., 1661-4, pp. 40-1. (Purchase of a versel; Freedent thanked for borrowing—interest at 9%).

was without the Companies order and none of their business: for which the Company, and their servants may in time have cause to thancke you "101.

The Madras factors also advised their colleagues at Masulipatam to inform Alle Beague (Ali Beg), the successor of Tappe Tap, Mir Jumla's agent at Masulipatam, how the George "spent all her masts" about the Nicobar islands and was laid up in Malacca, being past recovery to be delivered to him. It was hoped that as he possessed some influence with the Nawab, he might be instrumental in inducing the Nawab to moderate his demands (May, 1662) 102.

• § 2. MIR JUMLA'S COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN BENGAL.

Besides the dispute regarding the junk, the Bengal factors were also involved in another over the question of their exemption from customs and their payment of anchorage duties. In 1658, the Governor of Hugli, on the ground that the imprisonment of Shahjahan (June, 1658) and assumption of power by Aurangzeb made all Imperial grants null and void, had insisted on an annual payment of Rs. 3,000 from the English in lieu of customs. Next year the governor of Balasore began to make exorbitant charges for anchorage.

The Surat authorities (June 28, 1660) enquired of the Bengal factors

(i) whether exemption from payment of customs was

Question of customs and anchorage dues.

granted by Shahjahan ("former King") or (ii) it was a matter of courtesy of the Governor, (iii) how long the duties had not been paid. They were determined not to pay any anchorage duties, as (i) none was demanded in any port in Mughal empire, (ii) or anywhere else in the world where the English traded and they regarded it as 'unworthy custome'. They also observed the Bengal factors that though payment of anchorage duties might have been usual in the period of 'open trade', the E.I.C. stood in a different footing. 103

In another letter, too, the Surat Council expressed its firm resolve not to pay anchorage duties on the ground that they had not paid it in any other port, 104

At last in 1661, the agent at Hugli lost patience at the "oppressions" of Mir Jumla and seized a country junk in the river Ganges as security for

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^{101.} FEF., 1661-4, pp. 148-49.

^{102.} Ibid, p. 151. Foster equates Alle Beague with Ali Beg.

^{103.} Surat to Bengal (28th June, 1660). FEF., pp. 391-2. Sarkar, Aurangzeb I. Ch. 7; V. Ch. LX. for discussion of the claim of exemption of the English. For open trade f. n. see ante.....

^{104.} See letter of 3rd Nov. 1660. For farmans of Shah Jahan and Shuja. See FEF.,
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recovery of debts. Mir Jumla was greatly incensed. He demanded immediate reparation of the offence, and threatened to destroy the outagencies, to seize the factory at Hugli and expel the English from the country. Alarmed at the danger, the agent wrote to Madras for instructions and was directed to restore the boat, and to apologise to Mir Jumla. Trevisa accordingly submitted and was forgiven, but the viceroy continued to exact the annual payment of Rs. 3,000/-105. The Surat Council disapproved of the payment of customary annual present in lieu of customs, which Trevisa was compelled to make: "You doe very ill" they wrote, "to continue the ill custome begunn by interloopers, of soe greate presents to petty governours on 3,000 rupees as much as wee give to the Kinge"105. Fortunately for the English, Mir Jumla's attention was soon drawn to much more serious matters. Rebellions had taken place in Koch Bihar and Assam, and Mir Jumla had to conduct a great expedition into those distant provinces to reduce them to submission 107.

Every year Mir Jumla sued to utilise the services of the English in his trade in gumlack without paying any freight or customs duties in Persia. The Madras factors held that this not Mir Jumla not paying customs only went a long way to squaring Mir Jumla's claims as to the English. regards the junk, but even made him indebted to the They wrote to their colleagues in Bengal in connection with the fate of the junk (12th May, 1662): "But this you must not seeme (to know?) that wee doe any way condiscend to, soe that it may come to his knowledge; for you know the Nabob is five times more indebted to us, by his accompt; besides, he doth yearely make use (of us?), as this last yeare ' with 25 tonns of gumlacke, whereof hee payes noe freight, nor custome in Presia"108. Again they asked the Masulipatam factors to inform Mir Jumla's local agent of this 109.

Mir Jumla having more cash in hand than he could conveniently employ,' lent a part of it to the Eeglish factors, on conditions to Trevisa.

tion that he would be repaid in goods 110. Trevisa borrowed money from him. But President Andrews of Surat

^{105.} Bruce I, pp. 560-61. (Slightly different account): Stewart, pp. 180, 181.
106. FEF., 1655-60, p. 394. [f.n. 1 in p. 27. *]

In 1662-3, Sir Edward Winter sent an agent to Hooghly to settle the country junk episode and instructed him to fix branches of the Co.'s trade at Balasore and Cassimbazaar and to provide taffaties, raw Silk and Saltpetre for investment for Europe. Bruce II, pp. 130-1.

the stopping of saltpetre boats by Mir Jumla, and oppression elsewhere interfered with trade of the English. Hedges, III, p. 198].

^{108.} FEF., 1661-4, p. 149. 109. Ibid, 151, on the James and Henry. 110. FEF., 1661-64, p. 61n.

strongly condemned this "indiscreet" borrowing of Trevisa from Mir Jumla in a private letter dated 15th May, 1661, especially as the junk incident was still pending, and urged him to be ready to repay him on demand'. Apparently these loans were utilised for procuring goods (for the company), as we find the Madras factors issuing instructions (14th August, 1661) as to the goods for the season's shipping and expressing a hope that many had already been procured with the help of the Nawab's capital of 76,000 rupees¹¹². On 26th September, 1661, President Andrews positively exhorted Trevisa to repay the sum to Mir Jumla "without disputing or pretences" and to clear the amount and not to "undertake such an unthankfull and trespassing part of service" in future. He further informéd Trevisa; "His (Mir Jumla's) ship wee shall endeavour to recover, and hope in March next to give you certaine advice of our proceedings therein" 113.

But Trevisa seems to have persisted in taking loans from Mir Jumla. For this he was sharply reprimanded by Madras authorities (12th May, 1662); "There will bee but onely this obstacle in the way, of your receiving the 100,000 rupees of the Nabob; which hee will say you received the proffits in the behalfe of your expences in that journey; and when hee shall bee accompted withall, hee will not believe that one tenth part is expended that is brought to accompt. It seemes Mr. Andrewes did justify your receiving the money; but, in case of your mortality, of whom would the Nabob have demanded the money?"114. President Andrews (3rd June, 1662) also again urged Trevisa to repay Mir Jumla¹¹⁵. Blake sailed from Madras on the Matthew and Thomas on March 4, 1663, accompanied by Trevisa, who had to settle his private account with the Nawab¹¹⁶. This suggests that Trevisa, besides procuring goods for the company, also carried on private trade, with capital borrowed from Mir Jumla¹¹⁷.

But Trevisa lacked the means to meet his private debt to the late Mir Jumla (deceased) of Rs. 9,700, and the Madras Council, advised by Blake, apprehended that the Company would be forced to pay the amount 118.

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^{111.} Ibid, p. 61.

^{112.} Ibid, p. 62.

^{113.} Ibid, p. 68.

^{114.} Ibid, p. 149.

^{115.} Ibid, p. 153. From the general letter of Company, dated 10th January, 1662, it is clear that Trevisa having borrowed Rs. 1,25,000 on several occasions, had not cleared his account with Mir Jumla. Ibid, p. 183. Winter and Council at Madras wrote (2nd April, 1663) to Surat that Trevisa's accounts with Mir Jumla might be cleared before he went home. Ibid, p. 269.

^{116.} Ibid, p. 287.

^{117.} In 1657-58, private trade of Co.'s servants was prohibited to prevent its irregulaarities. Increased salaries were allowed to all officers, high or low, and they had to sign
"security bonds or covenants." Bruce I, p. 532.

^{118.} Madras to Company (10th December 1663). Ibid, p. 292.

As a matter of fact the Kasimbazaar factors, Sheldon and Powell, were forced, apparently under authority of Shaista Khan, to pay a sum of 5,672 rupees towards clearing up the late Nawab's claims against Trevisa. 119 The Company then hoped (16th December, 1663) that the trouble with Mir Jumla had been composed and that Trevisa's accounts had been cleared. 120

Almost since his arrival in Bengal, Mir Jumla endevavoured to set up his own monopoly of goods in Bengal. About 1660 he Mir Jumla's offered to supply the English factors every year as much of saltpetre as they would decide upon to take. About the reasons for establishing this monopoly the Madras factors held that probably he wanted to monopolise it for his personal profit, but it is plausible to hold that besides personal considerations he also did it for carrying on wars in which he was then engaged. They informed the Company: "Wee are advised that the merchants in Pattana owes for 6,000 maunds Bengall, which will make 30,000 baggs; but how the debt of petre will bee now gott in, wee cannot at present give you an accompt." 121

In 1660-61, Mirza Lutfullah Beg, the Diwan of Patna, attempted to monopolise the sale of saltpetre for the benefit of the imperial revenues. He forced the dealers, in spite of their contracts with the Dutch, to deliver their saltpetre to him. The Dutch Director at Hugli, Matheus Van den Brock, complained to Mir Jumla and the English, that these actions were secretly instigated by the English factor at Patna, Chamberlain, and his broker, Ganga Ram, who had promised to purchase saltpetre from the Diwan. Trevisa, the English Agent, disclaimed these allegations and agreed with the Dutch Director not to deal with the Diwan but to purchase it, as before, directly from the dealers, Moreover, as Mir Jumla sent a parwana to Lutfullah, forbidding him to hinder the Dutch, who had assisted the Governor in his operations against Bahadur Khan of Hijili, from trading freely in saltpetre, it was expected that the Anglo-Dutch dispute would be settled. But afterwards, Chamberlain was accused of trying to buy secretly from the Diwan (who had scraped together) about 10,000 mds. of poor quality), in violation of Trevisa's agreement 122.

^{119. (}Letter of 23rd June, 1664). Ibid, p. 397. 120. Ibid.

^{121. &}quot;The Nabob (or Mier Jumlah) doth indeavour to ingresse all commodities in Bengall (whereof wee hinted something to you two years agou)".

Madras to Company (29th January, 1662). FEF., 1661-64, p. 67. Buying of saltpatre in and about Masulipatam also prohibited.—Ibid.

^{122.} Batavia Dagh Register, 1661 (Hugli letter, 29th January, Bengal letter 10th October) in FEF., 1661-64, pp. 69-71. See my article on Saltpetre radustry of India (17th century) in I. H. Q. December, 1938.

MIR JUMLA'S RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEANS

§ 3. MIR JUMIA USES EUROPEANS AND THEIR SHIPS IN HIS WARS.

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From Dutch records 123 it is clear that Mir Jumla took the help of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English in his military campaigns, viz., in the conquest of Hijili, in Cooch Behar and Assam.

In August, 1660, Trevisa went from Hugli to Dacca (probably to help Mir Jumla against Shuja) in a small vessel manned by 6 or 7 English sailors and they were detained by Mir Jumla and employed in his service 124.

Badorchan (Bahadur Khan), the rightful heir of Hijili, i,e., the district along the coast from the Rupnarayan to the Subarnarekha, having escaped from the prison into which Shah Shuja had thrown him, had restored his authority over that territory. On this, Mir Jumla (now dignified with the title of Khan Khanan) pressed the Dutch, Portuguese and English to lend hira vessels for the reconquest of the district; but the enterprise had been stayed by the arrival of Nasiri Khan, Khan Dauran, as Governor of Orissa 12 . Later on, Mir Jumla induced the Emperor to assign the Hijili district to Bengal, requisitioned an English sloop and a Dutch galliot, and made preparations to subdue Bahadur Khan. He also put pressure on the Dutch to send a vessel to Arakan in pursuit of Shah Shuja 126. The Dutch dispatched a vessel to Hijili to assist Mir Jumla in his operations against Bahadur Khan 127. Hijili was conquered, thanks to the assistance rendered by the Dutch. The rebel leader, Kamal Khan, brother of Bahadur Khan, was killed and Bahadur was captured 128. On 6th May, Bahadur Khan, with 11 companions, was brought a prisoner to Dacca, 129.

A letter of the Dutch factors of 10th October, 1661 refers to a report that Mir Jumla had been ordered by the Emperor to attack 'Hassou'

^{123.} Letters of Dutch factors in Bengal summarised in Batavia Dagh Register, 1661. (pp. 6, 43, 75, 238, 387) in FEF., 1661-64, pp. 68-70.

^{124.} Dagh Register (1661), p. 240 in FEF., 1655-60, p. 410.

^{125.} Letter of November, 1660. FEF., pp. 68-69. Apparently this district formerly belonged to Orissa. Valentyn (Oud en Nieuw Indicen, Vol. 5, p. 158) says that Shah Shuja took it from that province and annexed it to Bengal. FEF., 1061-64, p. 469n. FEF., 1655-60. p. 409n. Sarkar, Aurangzeb II, p. 45.

^{126.} Letter of December 28, 1660. Ibid, p. 69. 'The King of Arakan had sent an ambassador to Mir Jumla with a letter couched in imperious terms demanding the restoration of certain districts belonging to him which had been occupied by imperial troops. Mir Jumla dismissed the envoy with a courteous answer and a small present.' FEF., 1661-4, p. 69. Serious disturbances in Orissa. See Ibid.

^{127.} Letter of 29th January, 1661. FEF., 1661-4, pp. 69-70.

^{128.} Letter of 7th March, 1661. Ibid, p. 70. The disturbed state of the country and the small amount of the business done by the English led Trevisa to abolish the factory at Balazore. FEF., op. cit., p. 70 and n. 129. Letter of 10th October, 1661. Ibid.

[probably Hajo i.e. Cooch Behar], and that in his absence 'Akalaschan' (Mukhlis Khan?) would act as his deputy in Bengal 130. Mir Jumla started at the beginning of November (Nov. 1) 1661 and reached the capital of Hajo on 19th December. In the naval flotilla (of at least 323 boats) accompanying the Nawab, there were several Portuguese, English (probably including Durson and his companions) and Dutch sailors 131.

Mir Jumla utilised the services of both the Dutch and the English for constructing war-ships. From Dutch records 132 we know that a galliot which the Dutch had built at Hugli for the Nawab was about to be sent up to him at Dacca, manned by six or seven English runaways, under the command of 'Mr. Dortson' 133. This galliot reached Dacca about the end of May, 1661. Its English crew had shown a mutinous spirit, and Durson, in trying to enforce discipline, had been wounded in four places 134. At Dacca a man named Mr. Pits (William Pitt) resided with five English sailors. "He lived at the ship's timber wharf, where he was superintending the building of a galliot, though not entertained by the Nawab for this purpose. He was also peddling broadcloth and other goods, in a way that was bringing discredit on the English. He had no admittance to the Nawab and no influence of any sort" 135.

Mir Jumla also employed an Englishman, Thomas Pratt by name, in building boats and making ammunition for river fighting 136.

§ 4. EFFECT OF MIR JUMLA'S DEATH.

Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca on 31st March, 1663 137. Charnock and Aldworth at Patna, in their letter to Surat dated 27th March, seconded the request made from Madras 138 that a copy of 'the Great Kings Phirmaund' should be transmitted

^{130.} FEF., 1661-4, p. 70.

^{131.} Ibid, n. Sarkar III, pp. 157-8. For account of campaign see Block, J.A.S.B. XLI, Pt. I (p. 64). Most of the naval officers and sailors were Portuguese or halfbreeds with some English and Dutch sailors too. Sarkar, op. cit., and n.

^{132.} Letter of 7th March 1661. FEF., 1661-4, p. 70.

^{133.} Foster identifies him with Captain John Durson. See FEF., 1655-60, p. 193.

^{134.} Letter of October 10, 1661. FEF., 1661-4, p. 70.

^{135.} _ lbid, p. 71 and n.

^{136.} Blake at Hugli found it necessary to have some one at the seat of government to represent English interests, and to this end he continued an arrangement, made by Trevisa, at some undetermined date, with Thomas Pratt. In an undated document (F. R. Hugli I, p. 10) (printed in Ind. Ant. 1908), probably of October or November 1663, Pratt demanded Rs. 180 for salary and servants wages; and apparently his demands were met. See Manucci, Storia II, pp. 87 and 102; and the Travels of Richard Bell (Ind. Ant. 1908). FEF., 1661-4, pp. 294 and n. and p. 393.

^{137.} Sarkar, Aurangzeb III, Ch. xxxi. The English (Letter of Blake and Bridge at Balacore to Surat, 28 April, 1663) and the Dutch Records (Bat. Dag. Reg. 1663, p. 424) give the date as April 1; FEF., 1661-67, pp. 78n. and 289.

^{138.} FE7., 1661-4, p. 185.

MIR JUMLA'S RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEANS

to them. They observed that a few days ago letters had come through the dakchauki from Dacca to the local Nawab, Daud Khan, en route to the Emperor, intimating the death of Mir Jumla, and that his parwaha, by which the E.I.C.'s affairs were decided both here and in Bengal formerly, would now cease to operate. Hence they feared that without immediately procuring Aurangzeb's firman (which the Dutch had already secured) they would not be allowed to carry on the Company's affairs "without excessive trouble" and the payment of customs, "every petty governor already taking occasion to demand it of us" 139.

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at f) As the Surat Presidency did not obtain any general firman of Aurangzeb, the Bengal factors were constrained to content themselves with securing from the Diwan, Ray Bhagwati Das, an order that the late Nawab's parwana "must be carried out in the same way as before" 140.

Blake and Bridges at Balasore 141 also were greatly concerned at the possibility of obstruction to their trade after the death of Mir Jumla. observed that the Governors "in these parts", on account of the "long absence and distance" of the Nawab (Kahn Khanan), had been "so insolent illimitable in their extortions" that they had "very much impaired the trade here". They expected a remedy of it if the Khan Khanan had lived; as they always found him a friend to "the English, whom they would sorely miss in these parts". But by his death they expected "rather an augmentation than diminution of obstructions in the Companies businesse". They had already written to Charnock to advise the Surat authorities "how consequentiall it would be" if the latter had remitted a copy of Aurangzeb's farman to Patna ("which was allwayes immediately under His Majestie") so that the transport of saltpetre might not be obstructed. Now they wanted the Surat authorities to send the orignal firman (if not required by them), for being shown to the governors so as to facilitate the Company's business; "for, this great subject Caun Caun being extinct, this countrey will be immediately under Orang Shaw, and then wee must expect no businesse to be done without it." The Dutch had already secured the King's farman a few months before the death of Mir Jumla, and their business was proceeding very "cleverly". The Balasque factors further wrote that if the original farman could be spared, they would return it after showing it to the governors and taking its copies; and if not, they requested the Surat authorities to send 3 or 4 copies, attested by the Kazi,

^{139.} lhid, p. 288. On the subject of exactions of local officers see Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb. The above details show that such exactions which became regular in the latter part of Auranzeb's reign, had begun so early.

^{140.} FEF., 1661-64, p. 288; 1655-60, p. 416

^{141.} Letter to Surat 28th April, nothing their intention to start for Hugh within

to Patna as early as possible. As they could not be "too solicitous to cleare our masters eastates from damage", they suggested that the Surat authorities might, order their "Resident at the imperial court, if any, to remonstrate about complaints of Bengal factors, as if they were made by Surat authorities 142.

The death of Mir Jumla, whose parwana had protected the English traders against all claims for customs duties, naturally raised the question of the legality of their right to this exemption, especially as the old farman of Shah Jahan, on which they based their claim had not been confirmed by Aurangzeb. For some time past, the Bengal factors had been expecting that the general farman to be obtained by the Surat authorities from Aurangzeb would include a grant of exemption from customs dues in Bengal, and would also free the English from the customary annual present of Rs. 3,000. Accordingly, its payment for 1653 was deferred for three months, at the end of which period the Governor of Hugli tried to enforce payment, and Robert Elwes, in charge of the local factory was imprisoned in the Durbar' until he guaranteed payment within 5 days. Accordingly at a consultation held on February 4, 1664, it was resolved by Blake, Bridges and Elwes to discharge the liability immediately 143

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^{142.} FEF., 1661-64, pp. 288-289. From Bruce's Annals (II, pp. 146-147) we know that the death of Mir Jumla and the uncertainty as to his successor, "left the grants to the Company, at Fort St. George, in a precarious situation." This would imply that the Co's privileges there continued to depend on Mir Jumla's attitude, even after he had left the Carnatic; and that it remained under his government till his death. At the same time Sir Edward Winter followed the policy of reprisal to convince the "Native Powers." that "the English were as powerful at sea, as they, with their armies, were on ahore."

^{143,} FEE, 1551-64, pp. 393-4. See pp. 394-5.

The East India Company's policy towards the Sikhs (1764-1808)

BY

P. N. BHALLA, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

From the year 1764 until the establishment of the British rule, the upper Doab was in a hopeless state of defence. Complete anarchy prevailed in this region. The weakness of the political authority at Delhi and the centrifugal tendencies, which were its inevitable consequences, exposed the people to the ravages of the Jats, the Rohillas and the Sikhs. One of the most prominent feature of the history of the Doab during this period was the constant raids or incursions which the Sikhs led practically every year when the crops were cut and the Ganges and the Jumna were fordable. By 1764 they had become the master of the Cis-Sutlej region and were free to undertake these plundering expeditions. The fertility of the Doab, the sandy and the unproductive nature of their own country, the political and the military weakness of the Delhi Government and above all their instincts for plunder prompted the Sikhs to attack the territories across the Jumna. They did not pursue any well-laid out policy. They never aimed at permanent conquest of the territories they overran. As a matter of fact their mutual jealousies and rivalries incapacitated them from accomplishing any such thing. They simply aimed at plundering and naturally these raids caused considerable havoc. They laid waste the country. They plundered and burnt the villages, carried off the cattle together with the inhabitantsmen, women and children, and extorted contribution in money and grain. All trade came to a stand-still. Important cities and towns were completely deserted.

The question arises: were the political authorities at Delhi and near about merely idle spectators? Najaf Khan, the last great minister of the Delhi Government, Mahadji Sindhia, the Mir Bakshi of the Empire, and his successor, Daulat Rao Sindhia, were all in turn faced with the problem of overcoming the menace of the Sikhs and defending the imperial territories. Both force and diplomacy were employed but with no practical success. No greater proof of the military decline and impotency of the Delhi Government is needed. The Sikhs repeated their incursions every year. The main cause of their success lay in superior cavalry, the rapidity with which they marched and the guerilla tactics they followed. The imperial and the Maratha forces found themselves almost helpless.

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The activities of the Sikhs were not confined or restricted to the Upper Doab alone. Their success emboldened them and whetted their appetite for . plunder. - More often than not they forded the river Ganges and penetrated into the dominions of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and Rohilkhand. This exposure of the Vazir's Western frontier to the incursions of the Sikhs alarmed the Company's Government. In 1764 the English force defeated Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab Vazir, at Buxar and he was forced to enter into treaty relations with the Company. In 1773 Warren Hastings signed a new treaty with the Nawab Vazir. The Company undertook to defend the Vazir's territories and promised to protect them from internal disturbances and external aggression. The cardinal feature of Warren Hastings' foreign policy henceforward was the maintenance of Oudh as a buffer state so as to save the Company's territories from the attacks of other powers. The Company's Government naturally began to view with alarm the success of the Sikhs and the chaotic state of affairs on the west of the Ganges still further increased their concern.

The English Government did not want to fish in troubled waters. A number of times they were approached by the Mughuls, the Sikhs and the Maratha sardars. The Mughal authorities at Delhi sought their aid in repelling the Sikh attacks and restoring peace and order in the Doab. When the Maratha sway in Shah Alam II's Court was fully established, they too tried to win over English friendship and secure their help in order to put up a joint front against the Sikhs and check their plundering expeditions. The Sikh sardars of Cis-Sutlej region also approached them. But the English Government followed the policy of "masterly-inactivity." They were against a definite alliance with any party and refused to commit themselves. On the other hand they made every effort to keep up friendly relations with both the powers. This policy of friendly intercourse was supplemented by defensive measures on the frontier of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh's territories. A close watch was kept on the fords of the Ganges in the dry season. The English troops were stationed at Fatehgarh, Daranagar and Anupshahar. These stations continued to be important military posts until the annexation of the Upper Doab by the English. The help and co-operation of the zamindars on the Nawab Vazir's frontier was also sought to repel Sikh attacks. The Company's Government Strictly adhered to this defensive policy, and no suggestion regarding offensive measures was ever entertained throughout this period. The Nawab Vazir of Oudh often impressed upon the Company the desirability of undertaking offensive against the Sikhs, but the suggestion was always vetoed.

Was this policy a success? It was certainly successful in the sense that it saved the Company from undertaking costly operations. The

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mutual jealousies and rivalries of the native powers prepared the ground for subjection to the British rule. The English however did not succeed in saving the Nawab Vazir's dominions from the Sikh ravages. The Sikh forces often crossed the Ganges during the dry months and made their incursions into the Vazir's territories. Their movements were always very rapid and they avoided every chance of coming in conflict with the English forces. Having plundered the country they disappeared as quickly as they appeared. Their chief advantage lay in superior cavalry. They had the best cavalry in Hindustan. The English and the Nawab Vazir did not have good cavalry and were thus prevented from pursuing the Sikhs or giving them a hot chase. On the other hand the superiority of the English forces lay in their artillery. The Sikhs had no artillery and hardly understood its use. This saved the places they overran from complete subjection.

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In 1776 Warren Hastings' mind was troubled by a general rumour that the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Robillas had formed a league with the object of attacking the dominions of the Nawab Vazir. He therefore decided to win over the friendship of Najaf Khan, the Regent of Delhi and form an alliance with him before the season for action set in. The Board agreed to renew his pension and promised to pay the arrears. Accordingly Major Hannay, who was personally known to Najaf Khan and was wellinformed of the political state of affairs, was deputed to the Delhi Court. He was asked to negotiate a defensive alliance. In return for the renewal of pension, Najaf Khan was to help the Company in repelling the hostile designs of the Marathas and the Sikhs. No promise of help was to be given to him and Hannay was particularly instructed to guard Najaf Khan against his entertaining any expectation of actual aid from the Company's forces. Thus it appears that the English wanted a purely defensive alliance to their own advantage. In its letter to the Court of Directors the Board wrote, "By the whole tenor of the instructions to Major Hannay You will perceive that our views in this appointment are purely defensive and that Major Hannay is positively forbidden to listen to any propositions of a contrary tendency."1 Major Hannay was also asked to work for the restoration of friendly relations between the Nawab Vazir's Court and Najaf Khan by pursuading the latter not to give refuge to Mirza Sadat Alia Khan2, the brother of the Nawab. Above all he was instructed to transmit to the Company from time to time "the most exact information of the natural strength, and forces, and revenues and the characteristics

^{1.} Secret letter to Court, dated 12th Septr. 1776.

^{2.} Mirza Saadat Ali Khan was on unfriendly terms with his brother, Asaf-na-daula, the Nawab-Vazir. He had taken refuge in the Court of Najaf Khan.

connections and designs of the princes and countries in the neighbourhood of Najaf Khan." The Board ordered Hannay not to cross the boundaries of the Company's dominions, until Najaf Khan agreed to disband his European forces and particularly to dismiss from his service the assassin Samru. The compliance with these two requisitions was to be the preliminary and indispensable condition to any treaty which might be concluded.

Major Hannay reached Chunargarh. From there he wrote letters to Najaf Khan impressing upon him the necessity of dismissing Samru, But Najaf Khan, who needed Samru's services in the campaign against the Jats, was not prepared to comply with the request of the English. Major Hannay exceeded his instructions and in February 1777 he decided to proceed to Lucknow. He crossed the boundaries of the Company's dominions without the previous permission of the Board and thus disregarded their instructions. The excuse he put forward was that he proceeded on the advice of Middleton, the British Resident at Lucknow. In his letter to the Board, dated the 10th Feb. 1777, Hannay explained reasons for leaving Chunar. That place was far removed from the channel of intelligence and was at a great distance from Najaf Khan's army. On the other hand Lucknow was nearer Delhi; and by staying there it would be very easy for him to negotiate with Najaf Khan. Moreover he hoped to utilize the services of Mirza Khalil who was a confidant of Najaf Khan and stood high in his favour.

Major Hannay stayed at Lucknow till November, 1777. Nothing tangible resulted from the negotiations. General Clavering a member of the Governor-General's Council, objected to his continuance. He pointed out that there was no longer any danger of attack to the Nawab-Vazir's dominions. Moreover Najaf Khan was not prepared to agree to the preliminary conditions laid down by the Board. So General Clavering held that it was futile on Major Hannay's part to continue to stay at Lucknow. He went so far as to remark that "if nothing more, however, is meant than to procure a lucrative commission for Major Hannay, I should imagine that other means might be devised for that purpose.....".6 Major Hannay himself despaired of accomplishing the object of his mission and decided to return to Calcutta.

^{3.} Instructions to Hannay, Secret Dept.; Proceedings 29th Aug. 1776; No. 2.

^{4.} Samru was a German adventurer. He took part in the Patna massacre of Oct. 1763 and put 51 Englishmen and 100 others to death.

^{5.} See letter from Hannay, dated 10th Feb. 1277. Secret Deptt.; Proceedings 14, Apl 1777; No. 3.

⁶ General Clavering's Minute. Secret Deptt.; Proceedings 30 Oct. 1776; No. 3.

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Thus we find that the attempt of the English to come to an understanding with Najaf Khan, with the object of securing his help to guard Nawab Vazir's western frontier, came to an end. The negotiations were bound to fail because the Company wanted to get his help without promising him military aid in time of need. Moreover the preliminary conditions were such as Najaf Khan could never accept.

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In April 1782 Mirza Najaf Khan died. He was the last great minister. With his death departed the solidarity of the Mughul Government. Henceforward Delhi became the scene of perennial revolution. The Sikhs took advantage of this lack of competent political authority and the frequent political changes and renewed their depredations with added zeal and vigour. Moreover the country was in the girp of famine. The years 1781 and 1782 were marked by scarcity of rain resulting in drought, the full effects of which were to be felt in the following year. Thus because of the weakness of the Delhi Government and the prevailing of the famine conditions, the Sikhs attacked the neighbourhood of Delhi and the Doab. They penetrated as far as Rohilkhand and the Nawab Vazir's territories.

The Company's Government was alarmed. Besides taking defensive measures to save the Oudh frontier from the ravages of the Sikhs, Warren Hastings also thought it prudent to depute a British Agent to Delhi. He hoped that the presence of the British Agent at the Court of Delhi might help to deter the Sikhs from molesting the Nawab Vazir's territories. Accordingly Major James Browne was sent to Delhi in August 1782. In one of his letters to Abdul Ahad Khan, Browne asserted that "he has been deputed to the Presence in order to negotiate all these affairs i.e. Sikh disturbances," He met Mirza Shafi, the Regent of the Empire, at Agrain Feb. 1783 and stayed there till Novr. 1783 when he moved to Delhi.

Browne's presence at Agra gave rise to certain apprehensions in the minds of the Sikh sardars. They thought that the Mughuls and the English might co-operate against them and attack their possessions. In order to safeguard themselves against this contingency, the Sikh sardars decided to open friendly negotiations with Major Browne. Kai Singh, Kurram Singh, Jassa Singh, Baghel Singh and Meharban Singh waste letters to James Browne with the object of seeking English alliance. Lakhpat Rai, the Sikh vakil at Delhi, sought interview with him. Browne

^{7.} Browne's letter to Abdul Ahad, dated 5th Apl. 1783. Calender of Persian Correspondence; Vol. vii, p. 99.

^{8.} See Browne's letter to Warren Hastings, dt. 4th Aug. 1783. Browne's correspondence; pp. 385-90.

wrote to him that he would be glad to see him when he reached Delhi and would send an envoy or a confidential person to visit the courts of various. Sikh sardars. He also expressed his great concern over the practice of the Sikhs to ravage the imperial as well as the Nawab Vazir of Oudh's territories.

The Sikh inroad of the year 1783-84 was very formidable. Browne was at that time in Delhi. In the beginning of 1784 he received a letter from the Sikh sardar, Kalyan Singh. He impressed upon the vakil of the latter the desirability and the prudence of giving up their plundering raids and harassing the Delhi Government. He had been regularly sending news to the Governor-General regarding the activities of the Sikhs but received no definite instructions. He became impatient and in his letter, dated the 13th Feb. 1784, he complained "as during above twelve months I have not been made happy by the smallest intensions of your pleasure on any subject whatever, I am ignorant of the part you mean to take in matters respecting the Sikhs....."

During the months of January-February, 1785, the Sikhs ravaged the Doab and Rohilkhand. Mahadji Sindhia who had become the regent of the Empire in December 1784, decided to come to an understanding with the Sikhs. He opened friendly negotiations with them with the object of winning their friendship and securing their co-operation. It was certainly a very wise move on his part. In January, 1785 Ambaji Ingle was appointed faujdar of the territories west of Delhi. He was asked to open negotiations with them. Negotiations were started in February and resulted in a provisional treaty between Ambaji Ingle and the Sikh sardars on the 31st March 1785.10 The sardars were to give up their claims to Rakhi and Ambaji Ingle in turn agreed to use his influence with Mahadji Sindhia to compensate them. Their armies were to co-operate and in return for it the Sikhs were to receive one-third of the conquests made by the combined forces either on the western or the eastern side of the Jumna. Ambaji Ingle and the Sikh Sardar Dalcha Singh decided to go to Sindhia's camp at Mathura. They reached there on 9th April. Peace negotiations were continued, resulting in a definite treaty, signed on 10th May, 1785.11 The Sikhs were to furnish 5,000 horses. They were to receive a jagir of 10 lakhs of rupees, that of 71 lakhs in the neighbourhoud of Delhi and the remaining jagir of 21 lakhs from the country of the sircar. 12 In case their

^{9.} Browne's letter to Warren Hastings, dated 13th Feb. 1784. Browne's Correspondence, p. 448.

^{10.} See C.P.C., Vol. vii, p. 68.

^{11.} See C.P.C., Vol vii, p. 74. Also Sarkar ; Mahadji Sindhia ; Letter No. 15-A.

^{12.} Namely the four parganahs-Gohana, Kharkhoda, Tosham and Maham,

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forces were utilised before they were put in possession of the jagir, then they would receive a payment of half a rupee per horseman. The Sikh also agreed to give up levying Rakhi in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The legal implication of this agreement was that the Sikh sardars became the Mansabdars of the Mughul Empire and were taken into imperial service.

The Maratha-Sikh negotiations gave rise to a good deal of alarm and uneasiness in the minds of the English and the Nawab Vazir. The latter thought the Sikh were receiving encouragement from Sindhia in their attack on his territories.13 Immediately when the Maratha-Sikh negotiations were begun, Anderson, the British Resident with Sindhia, directed his munshi to see the Maratha chief.14 Sindhia assured him that the alliance would not be directed against the Nawab Vazir. On the 31st March the provisional treaty was concluded. Its terms were kept secret. The apprehensions of the Nawab Vazir that the Treaty was directed against him increased.15 On 13th April, Anderson waited on Sindhia. They discussed the terms of the Treaty.16 Sindhia assured him that his object in attaching himself with the Sikhs was only twofold. Firstly with their help he hoped to establish his influence in the territory west of Delhi. Secondly he hoped to utilize their forces in the reduction of Jaipur and Marwar Rajas, who had withheld the payment of tribute. But these assurances did not allay the fears of the Nawab Vazir or that of the English. Or 10th May a definite agreement was concluded which still further increased their apprehensions and they directed their efforts to secure its nullification.

The Sikhs do not seem to have been sincerely attached to the Marathas. They were playing a double game. While they were carrying on negotiations with Mahadji they sounded the English as well. During the months of April and May, 1785, they attempted to form an alliance with the English. Early in April they sent their vakil to see Colonel Sir John Cumming, who was in charge of the Company's detachment at Anupshahar, in this connection. In May they wrote letters to him. Their agent also saw Major William Palmer, British Resident at Lucknow. On 9th May a Sikh vakil saw Anderson's munshi in the garb of a trader and impressed upon him the

^{13.} See letter from Resident at Vazir's Court to Governor-General, dated 13th Feb. 1785. Secret Deptt., Proceedings, 8th March, 1785; pp. 584-85.

^{14.} See letter from Anderson, 10th Feb. 1785. Secret Deptt., Proceedings 1st March 1785; No. 1.

^{15.} See letter from Anderson, 11th Apl. 1785. Secret Deptt., Proceedings 26th Apl. 1785, p. 1316.

^{16.} See letter from Resident with Sindhia to the Governor-General, dated 1785. Secret Deptt., Proceedings, 3rd May 1785, pp. 9-12.

^{17.} See letter from Cumming, 11th Apl. 1785, Secret Deptt., Proceedings, 26th Apl. 1785, p. 1322.

fact that his master, Dalcha Singh, as well as the other Sikh sardars were anxious to establish friendly relations with the English. 18 All these overtures were turned down and their efforts resulted in nothing. The Company's Government never favoured the idea of definite alliance with the Sikhs and did not go beyond giving assurances of friendship to them provided they abstained from attacking the Nawab Vazir's territories. The English thought that it was better not to ally with any one of the contending parties because otherwise they would be drawn into the complications of the Doab politics. They considered it more prudent to strengthen their defences and remain on friendly terms with all the powers beyond the Ganges.

In July, 1786, the Governor-General Macpherson decided to send a British agent to the Sikh courts with the object of cultivating their friendship and preventing them from undertaking devastating raids into the Nawab Vazir's territories. George Forster was employed on this secret mission because he had travelled in the territories of the Sikh and was well acquainted with them. He was asked to gather political information about the country. He was also told not to enter into specific engagements with the Sikh chiefs without the previous sanction or consent of the Government. Lord Cornwallis wrote to George Forster to the same effect. In his letter, dated the 29th December, 1786 he impressed the view "I have no objection to cultivating that sort of intercourse with the Sikhs, which embraces no objects of a direct political tendency and no other end but the maintenance of good neighbourhood." 19

George Forster stayed at Lucknow and Fatahgarh from July, 1786 to August, 1787. He sent his agent into the country of the Sikhs. He received letters from some of the Sikh chiefs containing warm profession of their amicable dispositions towards the English Government. As the relations of the Sikhs with the Marathas were becoming strained they expressed a desire to form a definite alliance with the English. But the Company refused to depart from its original policy.

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In January 1791 the Sikhs attacked the Nawab Vazir's territories and Carried away Col. Stuart, the Commanding Officer at Anupshahar, with the object of getting a handsome ransom from the Company's authorities. The Sikh sardar Bhanga Singh kept him imprisoned in the fort of Thanesar. 30

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D. Secret Deptt., Proceedings, 31st Jan. 1787, p. 721.

^{18.} See letter from Anderson, 10th May, 1785, Secret Deptt., Proceedings, 26th May, 1785, pp. 274-76.

^{20.} See Stuart's letter to Breadley, dated 3rd Feb. 1791. Pol. Depit., Proceedings, 2nd March, 1791.

The Nawab Vazir suggested strong military operations against the Sikhs with the object of securing the release of Col. Stuart. This suggestion was not approved of because the despatch of the Compny's troops into the Doab would irritate or give offence both to the Sikhs and the Marathas.21 The Governor-General wrote to the Resident at Lucknow that "it would be improper at any time, and most specially at the present juncture, to undertake distant and uncertain military operations in resentment of slight injuries or in order to prevent such predatory incursions as those of the Sikhs... "22 Efforts were made to secure Col. Stuart's release through negotiations. The services of Fyzullah Khan and Jafar Khan, two local chiefs in charge of some of the ghats on the Ganges, were utilised for that purpose.23 Letters were also written by the Nawab Vazir and the Resident at Lucknow to the Sikh sardars.

The negotiations resulted in nothing. The Sikhs demanded a heavy ransom of 60,000 rupees. But the Company showed no inclination for ransoming Col. Stuart. It was Begam Samru who secured Col. Stuart's release by paying a sum of 15,000 rupees to Bhanga Singh and to other Sikhs who were instrumental in this business.24 Later on the money was paid to her by the Company. Col. Stuart was released on 24th Oct. 1797.

The above mentioned incident clearly brings out the fact that the English strictly adhered to the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Doab. An English officer had been carried away but no forces were sent to secure his release or pursue the Sikhs.

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Throughout the last decade of the eighteenth century the Sikh sardars repeated their incursions into the Doab. This resulted in considerable destruction and devastations. The people found themselves helpless and were forced to take refuge in mud forts which were inaccessible to cavalry. In the meantime the minds of the British statesmen began to be troubled by the possibility of a foreign invasion on India through the North-West Frontier. There was a strong rumour early in the year 1800 that Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, was meditating an attack on India. So Lord Wellesley decided to despatch an envoy to the Labore court with the

^{21.} See letter from Resident at Lucknow, dated 8th Jan. 1791. Pol. Deptt., Proceedings, 17th Jan. 1791; No. 4.

^{22.} Letter to Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th Jan. 1791. Political Consultation, 21st Jan. 1791, No. 2. Copies of Letters from Governor-General to the Resident at Lucknow.

^{23.} See Pol. Deptt., Proceedings, 21st Jan. 1791, No. 4.

^{24.} See Began Samru's letter to Resident with Sindhia. Pol. Deptt., Proceedings, 18th Apl. 1792, No. 15. . . 8

object²⁵ of counteracting the designs of Zaman Shah by preventing Ranjit Singh from joining him. The British envoy, Mir Yusuf Ali, visited the courts of the various Sikh sardars during the year 1800–1801. His mission was a complete failure and nothing tangible resulted from the negotiations. The Cis-Sutlej chiefs were anxious for a defensive alliance. They wanted English help against George Thomas, who had attacked their country. But Mir Yusuf Ali was forbidden to enter into any definite treaty, the object of his mission being simply to win over the friendship of the Sikhs. In the meantime the possibility of an immediate danger from Zaman Shah was removed and Mir Yusuf Ali was recalled early in March 1801.²⁶

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On 11th Septr. 1803 the battle of Delhi was fought. The Marathas were defeated by the English forces. Shah Alam passed under the protection of the Company. The Doab was annexed and the Company's territories were extended to the Jumna. Some of the Cis-Sutlej sardars also tendered their allegiance to the English.

In December 1804 the British Resident at Delhi put forward the suggestion that the whole country to the bank of the Sutlej be annexed to the Company's deminions in order to secure the Doab from Sikh attacks. He wrote to the following effect to the Governor-General: "I feel persuaded that Your Excellency might annex the whole country to the banks of the Sutlej to the dominions of His Majesty and thereby keep up such a force as would effectually secure the Doab from future irruptions. "27 But suggestion was not approved of by Lord this Wellesley.28 He did not favour the idea of annexing the territories of the Cis-Sutlej chiefs and establishing direct control over them. He was against entering into any treaty engagements with the Sikh sardars. On the other hand he recommended that perfect neutrality be maintained and a large force be stationed on the North-West Frontier of the Company. This force was to remain, in war or peace, in constant readiness, to prevent encroachments.

But the irruptions did not cease. The lawless activities of the Sikhs certinued till 1806. The year 1805 was particularly marked by a serious

^{25.} See Instructions to Mir Yusuf Ali, Secret Deptt., Proc., 16th Oct. 1800, No. 5.

^{26.} See letter from Resident with Daulat Rao Sindhia. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. IX, No. 246.

^{27.} Letter from Resident at Delhi, Secret Deptt., Proc., 31st Jan. 1805, No. 230.

^{28.} See Lord Wellesley's letter to Resident at Delhi, dated 13th Jan. 1805. Secret Deptt. Proc., 31st Jan. 1805, No. 243.

irruption into the Upper Doab.²⁹ It resulted in wanton destruction. About 4,000 to 6,000 villages were burnt. Crops to the value of 50,000 rupees were destroyed. The raid caused an immense amount of misery which cannot be reduced to statistics.

Ranjit Singh at this time was fast rising to power. He was extending his sway over the whole of the Punjab. The Cis-Sutlej Sikhs became apprehensive and sought British profection. In March 1808 some of the Sikh sardars waited on the British Resident at Delhi. But they failed to obtain positive assurances and had to go disappointed.

But soon Lord Minto realised the necessity of modifying this policy. The British statesmen, both in England and India, were troubled by the designs of Napoleon. The fear of the French attack through the North-West Frontier began to loom large before them. It was decided to take the Cis-Sutlej sardars under the protection of the Company and come to an agreement with Ranjit Singh. Metcalfe was sent on a mission to Ranjit Singh's Court and concluded the Treaty of Amritsar in April 1809. In May, 1809 the Cis-Sutlej States were taken under the protection of the Company.

^{29.} See Calcutta Review 1875, Vol. lxi, Article by G.R.C. Williams

British Policy towards the Arabian Tribes on the shores of the Persian Gulf (1864-1868)

BY

DHARM PAL, M. A.

British Policy:—British policy towards Persian Gulf tribes was governed mainly by trade interests. To put down piracy, to maintain peace among the Arab tribes by a judicious support of the weak but friendly Muscat State against the powerful Wahabees was the keynote of the British policy. When Lt. Colonel Lewis Pelly was appointed Political Resident of the Persian Gulf territories in November, 1862, the Government of Bombay summarised its estimate of its interests in the following paragraph, thus evincing a desire to curtail rather than to extend its influence:—

- "It appears to His Excellency the Governor in Council that British interests on the Persian shores of the Gulf will be amply represented by the appointment of a Political Resident at Bushire with consular powers in lieu of a Resident and Assistant Resident. The reduction of the Indian Naval Establishments in the Gulf will relieve the Political Officer stationed at Bushire of most part of his duties as a disbursing officef, and the post of the Treasurer to the Residency can be abolished, the Accountant being entrusted with the reduced duties in addition to his own." 1 Col. Pelly however represented to the government of Bombay that British influence should be extended in the Persian Gulf territories for the following reasons:—
- (i) British trade with the Persian Gulf territories, which in 1846 was represented in the gross by somewhat under half a million sterling, had expanded to upwards of five millions. The cotton crisis in Bombay stimulated the export of cotton in Persia, which suddenly increased a hundred-fold. A flourishing opium trade developed through Batavia with China.
- (ii) Russia had been pushing on telegraph lines from the northward, and other European speculations had been contemplated or executed.3
- (iii) The Resident's duties had increased considerably; he had to protect British interests not only on the Persian shores of the Gulf but also on the Arab coast. The abolition of the Assistant Residentship had therefore not been a step in the right direction.

^{1.} Pol A Rrogs; July 1866; No. 107. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.

(iv) The reduction of the Indian Navy had considerably weakened the influence of the Resident as it gave him no option other than to persuade by moral and individual power 1,500 miles of predatory tribes who had previously been coerced at will.⁵

This was the drift of Col. Pelly's argument; in short he was in favour of a mere aggressive policy to extend and consolidate British interests in the Persian Gulf. He had the powerful support of Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay. Sir John Lawrence was however not in favour of this policy. He was a powerful exponent of the Indus Frontier and did not want that the Government of India should fritter away its energies in unnecessary and unprofitable interference in the internal affairs of either Afghanistan or the territories on the shore of the Persian Gulf. This clash of rival policies led sometimes even to unpleasant relations between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India.

The Wahabees: The first problem with which Lord Lawrence had to deal was the increasing influence of the Wahabees in Arabia which threatened the extinction of the weak Muscat State, an ally of the British Government. The Wahabees had considerably increased their power in Central Arabia during the latter part of the eighteenth century.6 But in 1818 the Wahabee Capital was taken by assault by the Egyptian forces under Mohammad Ali. For a time Mohammad Ali almost destroyed the political influence of the Wahabees in Northern and Western Arabia.7 But the Wahabees soon regained their former influence and power under the able leadership of Toorkee Bin Saaood.8 Wahabeeism from 1824 entered on a fresh career of aggressive expansion. In 1831 the Imam of Muscat acknowledged Toorkee's supremacy by paying an annual tribute. Thus the whole of the Arabia coast from Ras-ool-Hud to Koweit (with the exception of Aboothabee) became tributary to the Wahabees.10 In 1839 the political power of the Wahabees again received several severe Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt occupied their Capital and Nejd became an appanage of Egypt11. Lord Palmarston however curbed the ambitious designs of Ibrahim Pasha and in May 1840 the Egyptians evacuated Nejd12. Wahabee influence and power was soon restored by its able leader Feysul. The Wahabees soon became an aggressive power in Arabia13. Sir John Lawrence's Government was therefore called upon to formulate its policy towards the Wahabees.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Minute by Sir B. Frere dated 9th October 1865; Pol A. Progs; November 1865; No. 35.

^{7.} Sketch of the Wahabee Kingdom of Nejd; Pol A. Progs; March 1866; Nos. 73 and 74.

^{8.} Ibid. 9. Ibid. 10. Ibid. 11. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 23. bid.

Struggle for power between the Wahabees and the Sultan of Muscat: In the contest for power between the Wahabees and the Sultan of Muscat, the Government of India had at first followed a policy of strict neutrality but had later on slightly modified it in favour of the Imam of Muscat. Thus when Muscat was invaded in 1834 by the Wahabee forces, the Government of India defined its policy of neutrality thus :-"Our concern is only with the maritime commerce of the Gulf and so long as that is not molested it matters not to us whether one power or another holds dominion on its shores."14 But when in 1845 Oman was again invaded by the Wahabee forces, the Government of India slightly modified its previous policy of strict neutrality. It declared that interference would be necessary if it appeared to be the purpose of the Wahabee Chief to encroach upon the possessions of their ally, the Imam of Muscat, or if the · result of these proceedings are found detrimental to British relations with the maritime Arabs and their measures for the suppression of piracy.15 British intervention was successful in ending the dispute-the Muscat Government agreed to pay to Feysul, the Wahabee Chief, an annual tribute of 5,000 crowns. 16 In 1852 Oman was again invaded by the Wahabee forces and again British intervention proved effective. The Muscat Government agreed to pay to the Wahabee Ameer an annual tribute of 12,000 crowns.17

Sir John Lawrence's Government wanted to avoid unnecessary entanglements in the affairs of the Persian Gulf territories. Therefore when on 3rd December 1864 the Political Agent, Muscat, reported to the Bombay Government that differences had arisen between the Wahabees and the Imam of Muscat, the Bombay Government instructed Col. Pelly to let the Imam of Muscat "clearly understand that the British Government has no intention of interfering in the differences between the powers on the shores of the Persian Gulf by aiding one party to coerce the other."18 But soon the differences between these two rival powers widened and there was considerable danger of the peace of the Persian Gulf being disturbed. The Governor of a frontier hill fortress Rostack threw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Muscat and declared fealty to the Wahabee Ameer.19 The Wahabee Ameer threatened invasion of Muscat in case the Sultan did not increase the rate of annual tribute.20 The Beni-boo-ali, the powerful tribe of Jaalam transferred its allegiance from Muscat to the Wahabee Ameer. The Jenubah Abdul Aziz Wahabee took up his quarters with this tribe.21

^{14.} Ibid. 15. Ibid. 16. Ibid. 17. Ibid.

^{18.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 14th February 1865; Pol A. Progs; June 1865; No. 129.

Progs; June 1865; No. 130.

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tribe, who resided at Soor, became discontented with Muscat and invited Abdool Aziz.22 Abdool Aziz captured the castle of Soor after two days' resistance. The entire wealth of the bazaar, nine-tenths of which fay in the hands of British Indian subjects fell into the possession of the besiegers. The British Indian subjects were permitted to leave Soor. They complained that they had been plundered of property to the value of 27,700 dollars,23 Events were moving fast towards a crisis. In case war broke out between the Sultan of Muscat and the Wahabees, what was to be the attitude of the British Government? Col. Pelly was in favour of supporting the Sultan of Muscat against the aggressive policy of the Wahabees. "In the abstract, I believe the true policy of Government in relation to all disputes among tribes in these regions to be, to let those tribes fight it out on shore and for Government to limit itself to keeping the peace at sea. "24 But there were certain reasons which necessitated British interference on behalf of Muscat. Firstly about four years ago Government imposed on itself the task of arbitrating the internal dissensions of the Muscat State, and by their arbitrament divided that state into two separate Sultanates, thereby essentially weakening it as well by land as by sea. Secondly the Muscat State lying wholly on the sea-board seems to be a description of the state which suits British policy. Thirdly Government have increasing telegraphic interest in Muscat territory, and if the Muscat Sultanate fall, that portion of these territories in which those interests lie would become subject to Persian interference.26 Would it be prejudicial to British interests if the Wahabees were to extend and consolidate their power in Arabia and bring Muscat under their control? Col. Pelly admitted that "so far as the general welfare of Arabia is concerned, its consolidation into one state would have advantages, would tend to civilize the interior by bringing it into habitual and direct communication with the sea-board, and would enable a maritime power to influence the interior by means of its dominating over that Government's sea ports. As regards the Ameer himself, it would be difficult to find an Oriental more capable of ruling and consolidating Arabia than the present Ameer Feysul.26 He however added that the increase of Wahabee power would be prejudicial to the British interests for the following reasons:-

Firstly a costly experience has shown us that a Wahabee ruler on the sea-shore is likely to be synonymous with general piracy at sea. Secondly our general policy is to maintain the status quo. Thirdly our treaty-engagements with Muscat bind us to do what may be convenient to uphold that state which has so long been friendly to us and which suits our policy. Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay shared the

^{22.} Ibid. 23. Ibid. 24. Ibid. 25. Ibid. 26. Ibid. 27. Ibid.

opinion of Col. Pelly. In his Minute dated 9th October 1865 he expressed his opinion that although he would not by any means lead the Sultan of Muscat to lean on British aid in repelling Wahabee attacks, he would assure him of every reasonable support, in any well-directed efforts he might make to re-establish his authority. Thus he would aid him with munitions and if necessary with money and with the presence of men-ofwar.28 The Government of India, however adopted a very cautious attitude and explained its policy thus:-" Should it be thought necessary His Excellency the Governor-General in Council will be prepared to assist the Imam of Muscat with arms and munitions of war to a moderate extent. But His Excellency in Council fully concurs in the views contained in the Minute of His Excellency the Governor and considers, that it behoves the Chief himself to make proper exertions and to take · effective measures to organize the means of resistance against the Wahabees. The Imam must not entertain the expectation that the Government of India is prepared to fight his battles for him.29 In the meantime hostilities had broken out between the Sultan of Muscat and the Wahabees. The Sultan proceeded by land to crush the rebellion of Soor. 30 Abdool Aziz retired and Soor was thus retaken. Col. Pelly facilitated the Sultan's march on Berimee, a strategical point of great importance by threatening the hostile tribes and by encouraging the friendly tribes to help the Sultan.31 Her Majesty's Government decided to aid the Sultan on the sea-board with the presence of a ship-of-war.32 And soon an event happened which provided a good excuse to Col. Pelly to use the ship-ofwar Highflyer against the Wahabees. Some Indian merchants were. plundered and murdered at the port of Sohar.33 This Wahabee inroad on the port of Sohar was made in complicity with the Jenubahs.34 Lest Col. Pelly might use this opportunity for carrying out his favourite "forward policy", the Government of India struck a note of caution in its

^{28.} Minute by Sir B. Frere dated 9th October 1865; Pol A Progs; November 1865; No. 35.

^{29.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 8th November 1865; Pol A Progs; November 1865; No. 36.

^{30.} Letter from Political Agent, Muscat to Bombay Government dated 8th November 1865; Pol A Progs; December 1865; No. 23.

^{• 31.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 16th January 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No. 176.

^{32.} Letter of Col. Pelly to Captain Pasley of Highflyer dated 5th January 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No 176.

^{33.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 5th January 1866; Pol A Progs, March 1866; No. 175.

^{34.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 16th January 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1865; No. 176.

instructions to that officer that it would be inexpedient to press the Wahabee Ameer for conpensation for any losses which British subjects might have incurred.35 But before these instructions were received Col. Pelly had already despatched an ultimatum to the Wahabae Ameer and also to the Jenubah demanding apology and compensation of 27.700 dollars and threatening to destroy their ports if these demands were not acceded to within 17 days.36 No reply was received and therefore operations were commenced against the Wahabee ports on the coast. Several Wahabee war buggalows and the Tower of Bay Bulip, commanding one entrance to the harbour of Kateef, were destroyed and the Fort of Demaum was plied with shot, shell and rockets to an extent which must have made a considerable impression on the garrison.37 The Government of India took strong objection to these proceedings of Col. Pelly and inquired what authority he had for commencing operations against the Wahabee ports.38 Col. Pelly's proceedings were criticised thus: - "The Government of India considers that Col. Pelly did not allow a sufficient time for a reply to be received from Reid before ordering hostilities against Kateef and that the period granted for the satisfaction of his demand before bombarding Sohar was still more inadequate, also that the terms he required were in both instances more than the circumstances of the case at each place required. "39 Col. Pelly replied that the ultimatum was necessary, affording indeed time for a reply but taking care also that no unnecessary delay should take place, lest Her Majesty's ship of war should sail away in obedience to orders from the Commodore and leave his letter an idle threat.40 He added "Arab tribes are not to be judged of by the wild inhabitants of British India and if you are compelled to threaten them, you cannot threaten in vain without loss of reputation and subsequent ill effects.41 The Government of India did not consider the explanation a satisfactory one and commented on Col. Pelly's proceedings thus :- "The Governor-General in Council still thinks that it would have been more

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^{35.} Letter from the Government of India to Bombay Government dated 24th January 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No. 69.

^{36.} Letter from Political Resident, Persian Gulf to the Ameer of Nejd dated 6th Jan. 1866 and letter to Jenubah tribe dated 16th Jan. 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No. 176.

^{37.} Letter from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 27th Feb. 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No. 180.

^{38.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 14th March 1866; Pol A Progs; March 1866; No. 188.

^{39.} Ibid.

^{40.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 25th March 1800; Pol A Progs; May 1866, No. 202.

^{41.} Ibid.

judicious to have addressed the Wahabee Chief in less peremptory terms and to have given him more time to make good the losses which it is alleged, the Hindoo merchants had sustained. Indeed the Government of India go further and consider that such a demand should not have been made at all without the express authority of the Governor-General in Council or at any rate of the Government of Bombay. 42 . No reply was received regarding the enquiry as to by what authority Col. Pelly had commenced hostilities against the Wahabees. Therefore the Government of India made the following comments :- " If from the silence of the Government of Bombay on this point the Government of India is to understand that Lt. Col. Pelly had a 'carte blanche' to act to the best of his judgment it is not improbable that the Governor-General in Council would from the first have been disposed to make somewhat greater allowances for the difficulties of that officer's position. But in that case I am to point out that the Government of Bombay owed it to the Government of India not to have invested any officer with such extraordinary powers until the previous consent of the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council had been explicitly obtained."43

The Bombay Government took up the cudgels on behalf of Col. Pelly. "Col. Pelly had no authority from this Government greater than or different from that which he and his predecessors, always possessed during the present generation."44 Col. Pelly had reported to the Government that the Wahabees must be coerced to prevent the old state of anarchy reviving. With the full knowledge and consent both of the Government of India and of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, coercive means were placed. at the Resident's disposal in the shape of a vessel of war, with a limitation only prohibiting operations on land.45 The Bombay Government approved and sanctioned Col. Pelly's proceedings. 46 "Col. Pelly is not to blame because he was never warned that he was expected to act differently from the manner in which his predecessors would have acted, or would have been bound to act, under similar circumstances. The blame I am to state, must rest entirely on this Government, not for giving the Resident a 'carte blanche' to act to the best of his judgment for this Government gave no such 'carte blanche', nor for making war on a power with which the British Government are at peace, for the Wahabees and all the littoral Arabs were well aware that any act of unprovoked hostility against an unoffending neighbour was an act of hostility against the power which was charged with

^{42.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 23rd May 1866; Pol A Progs; May 1866; No. 203.

⁴³ Ibid,

^{44.} Letter from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 8th August 1866; Pol A Progs; September 1866; No. 109.

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the responsibility for preserving the peace of those seas, but for not informing Col. Pelly that the traditional duty of preserving the peace of the Gulf and restraining all who threatened to infringe it was no longer incumbent on him, and that the force at his command, was to be used only for purposes of display and was not to be actively employed. "47 The Indian Government however, did not modify the condemnatory view taken of Col. Pelly's proceedings 48. This episode shows to what extent relations between the Bombay Government and the Government of India were liable to be strained due to a clash of rival policies. As a result of Col. Pelly's proceedings, the Wahabee troops retired from the Muscat territory and the Wahabee Ameer sent envoys to apologise for injuries done to British subjects and gave written assurances not again to molest Muscat, the British ally 49.

Murder of Sultan of Muscat.-In Feb. 1866 Syud Thoweynee was murdered by his son and successor Syud Salim 80. Envoys were shortly afterwards sent by Syud Salim to Bombay 51. The Bombay Government proposed that Syud Salim ahould not be recognised de facto ruler of Muscat and the relations of cordial friendship and alliance which had subsisted for so many years between the Sultans of Muscat and the British Government should be discontinued 52. The Government of India however took up a different attitude and expressed its opinion that it was necessary to retain official relations with the de facto Government of Muscat. It was possible that Synd Salim might consolidate his power and therefore the British Government would have no option but to recognize him as Sultan. · Therefore the British Government should avoid imputing to Syud Salim either directly or indirectly any share in the atrocious crime. Of course friendly relations with the ruler of Muscat were to be suspended 53. Syud Salim was able to consolidate his position and in September 1866 he was recognised by the British Government as ruler of Muscat 54.

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^{47.} Ibid.

^{48.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 24th November 1866; Pol A Progs; November 1866; No. 29.

^{49.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 13th September 1866; Pol A Progs; November 1866; No. 28.

Progs; April 1866; No. 51.

^{51.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 11th April 1866; Pol A Progs; April 1866; No. 45.

^{52.} Letter from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 4th April 1866; Pol A Progs; April 1866; No. 37.

^{53.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 11th Apr. 1866; Pol A Proge; April 1866; No. 45.

^{54.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 13th September 1866; Pol A Progs; November 1866; No. 28.

Syud Toorkee's invasion of Muscat.—Syud Toorkee had quarrelled with his brother Synd Thoweynee who was then Sultan of Muscat, but after sometime had been reconciled to him 55. When Syud Thoweynee was murdered, Synd Toorkee was imprisoned in Sohar fort by Synd Salim but was released by Col. Pelly 56. Toorkee resided with Col. Pelly for some months 57. On 17th September 1866 Toorkee arrived at Muscat in a buggalow with some followers and made an entry into the port of Muscat by the connivance of Belooch troops in charge of the fort 58. Syud Salim requested the Bombay Government to take action against him for violating the maritime peace 59. Col. Pelly was instructed to afford no countenance or assistance to Toorkee and to make no further pecuniary allowance to him 60. Toorkee had risked his attack on Muscat on the supposition that the British Government following the course they adopted in 1857-60 would interfere and mediate between him and the Sultan 61. Finding however that the British Government did not aid or countenance him, he came to terms with the Sultan of Muscat and sought shelter with the Beni Yas tribe of the Pirate Coast 62. Toorkee however did not give up the struggle. He asked Col. Pelly's permission to attack Muscat by sea in alliance with the Chiefs of Debay and Aboothaby 63. Col. Pelly was instructed to tell Toorkee that the British Government forbids his making an attack on Muscat and that if he persists in his intentions and again violates the maritime peace, the British Government will treat him as an enemy 64. In view of the recognised position which the British Government held as arbiters of peace on the waters of the Persian Gulf, Col. Pelly

^{55.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 5th April 1866; Pol A Progs; May 1866; No. 68.

^{56.} Ibid.

^{57.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 3rd October 1866; Pol A Progs; November 1866; No. 90.

^{58.} Ibid. .

^{59.} Letter from Syud Salim to the Governor of Pombay dated 18th September 1866: Pol A Progs; October 1866; No. 162.

^{60.} Letter from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 16th October 1866; Pol A Progs; October 1866; No. 163.

^{61.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 29th October 1866; Pol A. Progs; December 1865; No. 43.

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^{63.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 14th November 1866; Pol A Progs; December 1866; No. 76.

^{64.} Service message from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 18th December 1866; Pol A Progs; December 1866; No. 77.

^{65.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 15th January 1867; Pol A Progs; January 1867; No. 121.

was instructed to take measures for giving the Chief of Debay and the Sheikhs of the Coast generally to understand that the British Government had recognised Syud Salim as Sultan of Omam, that it had therefore viewed Syud Toorkee's attempt on Muscat, made in violation of the maritime peace, with marked displeasure, and that it expected every chief to refrain from lending countenance or aid of any kind to Syud Toorkee in any future attack on Muscat expecially by sea *65*. Toorkee's reply to this remonstrance was as follows. "I do not go to Muscat by sea; I go by land, the same as my father *65*". The Sultan of Muscat asked the help of the Government of India by the presence of two men-of-war as he expected Muscat to be invested by Toorkee with considerable force *67*. The Government of India approved the Bombay Governor's suggestion to restrain Toorkee by threat of bombardment and non-recognition *68*. The line of conduct which Col. Pelly observed in regard to the struggle between Syud Salim and Syud Toorkee was as folllows:—

1st-In no way to commit British Government on shore.

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2nd- To wholly discountenance Syud Toorkee in his endeavours to disturb the Muscat State.

3rd—To positively forbid Syud Toorkee putting to sea, and in the event of his being found at sea, to capture and send him to Bombay.

4th—To countenance the recognized Sultan of Muscat, maintaining for him the peace at sea; but giving him at the same time clearly to understand that the arrangements of 1834 exempted the British Government from any liability to afford him active aid by land, where he must make his own arrangements and fight his own battles.

5th—To inform the independent Arab Chiefs along the littoral that Government will hold them responsible for any assistance they may give to Syud Toorkee.

6th—To caution all Chiefs, of whatever party, that Government expects from them fair treatment towards British subjects residing in their territories and will hold them responsible for any injury done to these subjects 69. Toorkee made a vigorous attempt to capture Sohar on 1st June 1867 but after

^{66.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 2nd January 1867; Pol.A Progs; January 1867; No. 211.

^{67.} Service message from Bombay Governor to Viceroy dated 14th August 1867 Pol A Progs; August 1877; No. 72.

^{68.} Service message from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 16th August 1867; Pol A Progs; August 1867; No. 73.

^{69.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 22nd June 1867; Pol A Progs; September 1867; No. 13.

a partial occupation of the place for two days, he was driven off70. But soon Toorkee collected a large force and made preparations for investing Muscat and Mettra71. The tribes were asked not to assist Toorke but no reply was received ? Captain Atkinson, acting Political Agent, Muscat was of opinion that "it is universally believed in Omam that although we have forbidden Syud Toorkee to make any attempt on Muscat; our attitude in the present quarrel is one strictly neutral73. He therefore added " with all due deference for the orders of Government, I must say that this policy will before long lead to grave complications, as it must end either in the complete dismemberment of this State, or in the thorough supremacy of the Wahabee power74." The Government of India explained its policy at length thus :-- "Captain Atkinson appears to be labouring under some misapprehension in regarding the policy of the British Government as a neutral one. This it is not, on the contrary, it has been distinctly favourable to the present Sultan. The Government of India has recognized him, countenanced him, and given him considerable moral and some material support. Syud Toorke and his adherents, on the other hand, have been informed that the British Government will treat them as enemies if they make any attempt by sea against Muscat or its Sultan. His Excellency in Council thinks it would be inconvenient and impolite to do much more. British Government cannot undertake to maintain Sultan Salim in power. If he cannot, or will not fight for himself, he must take the consequences. The sooner he is made to understand that his fate is in his own hands, the better, for so long as he can look to the British Government for support, he will have little inducement to exert himself75." The Government of India advanced to Sultan Salim, in anticipation of the receipt of the Zanzibar tribute, a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,00076. "With regard to Syud Toorkee; that Chief must already know that as long as Sultan Salim can maintain his power, the British-Government will give all due countenance and support to the present Government of Muscat, and will help it to resist Syud Toorkee's attacks. It would be impolitic for the Government of India to pledge itself further 77." Toorkee captured Muttra and held the principal fort commanding the pass into Muscat town 78. Commodore Heath came in

^{70.} Letter from Political Agent, Muscat to Col. Pelly dated 9th June 1867; Pol A. Progs; September 1867; No. 13.

[.] Progs; September 1867; No. 15.

^{72.} Ibid. 73. Ibid. 74. Ibid.

^{75.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 4th September 1867; Pol. A Progs; September 1867; No. 16.

Pol A Proze: Nevember 1867; No. 3.

Octavia and took up a commanding position off Muttra⁷⁹. Col. Pelly communicated the following message to Toorkee, "Territory in Muscat you cannot have consistent with peace, but an honourable pension may yet be yours⁸⁰." Toorkee was thus compelled to agree to the terms by which the Sultan was to pay him 600 dollars per mensem on the condition that he resided in British territory without molestation to the Muscat territory. The deed of Agreement was signed on 10th September 1861⁸¹.

Violation of maritime peace :- The British Government was specially concerned with maintaining the maritime peace of the Persian Gulf. In 1853 a Treaty of perpetual peace had been concluded with the maritime Arab Chiefs which provided that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities at sea between the subjects of the subscribing parties; that in the event of aggressions on any one by sea, the injured tribe should not, retaliate, but refer the matter to the British authorities in the Persian Gulf; and that the British Government should watch over the peace of the Gulf and ensure at all times the due observance of the Treaty 8.2. A serious breach of the peace at sea occurred in the Persian Gulf under the guidance of the chiefs of Bahrein and Aboothabee in October 186783. A large number of armed men of these chiefs were sent in boats to attack and plunder Guttare . In putting to sea with a large force to attack Guttar these chiefs openly and on a large scale broke the maritime truce to which they were subscribers 85. Col. Pelly wrote to the Bombay Government to take notice of these breaches of the peacess. The Indian Government desired that the Bombay Government should despatch an armed vessel in the Gulf of greater strength than the gun boat Hugh Rose then at the disposal of the Bushire Agency 87. Col. Pelly was permitted to blockade Aboothabee, provided he found himself possessed of means sufficient for the purpose38. In expectation of the early arrival of the force promised by the Bombay Government, Col. Pelly issued the threat sanctioned by the

^{79.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 10th September 1867; Pol A Progs; November 1867; No. 4.

^{80.} Ibid.

^{81.} Ibid.

^{82.} Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VII, page 47.

^{83.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 7th December 1867; Pol A Progs; February 1868; No. 138.

^{84.} Ibid.

^{85.} Ibid.

^{86.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 21st December 1867; Pol A Progs; February 1868; No. 138.

^{87.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 7th February 1868; Pol A Proga; February 1868; No. 139.

^{88.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 14th June 1868; Pol A Progs; June 1868; No. 96.

Government of India to the effect that unless the offending chiefs made reparation they would be called to accounts9. The only vessel sent to: reinforce Col. Pelly was the Sinde and she put to sea without shot for her guns. Consequently the threat could not be enforced . This created an impression that the British Government was powerless to punish breaches of maritime peace. The Guttar tribes finding that they get no redress, took the law into their own hands and retafiated on Bahrein in June 1868. A sea fight ensued, in which some 600 crafts were destroyed and upwards of 1,000 lives lost 91. Her Majesty's ship Vigilent arrived in Bombay harbour and was sent to the Persian Gulf. 92 Thus reinforced Col. Pelly soon compelled the chiefs to submit to him. The Aboothabee Chief signed an Agreement on 16th September 1868 not to commit any breach of the maritime peace and to pay a fine of 25,000 dollars 98. Sheik Mahomed Bin Sanee, the principal chief of Guttar signed an Agreement on 12th September 1868, by which he bound himself not to put to sea with hostile intentions, to have no connection with Mahomed Bin Khuleefa (the chief of Bahrein who had fled away) and to refer any difference of opinion with the chief of Bahrein to the arbitration of the British Resident 94. Certain British Indian subjects residing at Bahrein had been plundered when the tribes of Guttar attacked Bahrein. The Chief paid a fine of 18,000 Krans. 96 Mahomed Bin Khuleela, chief of Bahrein fled to the El Kutur coast, and an agreement was signed by his brother Ali Bin Khuleefa and the principal persons in Bahrein by which they declared Mahomed Bin Khuleefa to have forfeited by his fanatical outrages all claim to the chiefship of Bahrein, and Ali Bin Khuleefa bound himself to pay a fine of one lakh of dollars 96. Under these conditions he was permitted to continue in power, but the fort of Mohrang was destroyed and the war craft belonging to Mahomed Bin Khuleefa were burnt97.

Dispute regarding Bundar Abbas:—Col. Pelly was called upon to deal with another matter which threatened the peace of the Persian Gulf namely the dispute between Muscat and Persia regarding the lease of Bundar

93. Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 25th September 1868; Pol A Frogs; October 1868, No. 276.

94. Ibid. 96. Ibid. 97. Ibid. 97. Ibid.

^{89.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 7th February 1868; Pol A Progs; February 1868; No. 139.

^{90.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 23rd July 1868; 26l. A Progs; August 1868; No. 18.

^{91.} Telegram from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 14th June 1868; Pol A Progs; August 1868; No. 11.

^{92.} Despatch from Government of India to Sir Stafford Northcote dated 1st August 1868; Pol A Progs; August 1868; No. 20.

Abbas. In 1855 the Persian Government leased Bundar Abbas for 20 years to the ruler of Muscat Syud Saeed and his sons or (as the Persian word 'aulad' may better be translated) descendants 3. Complications began after the death of Syud Thoweynee and on the accession of Syad Salim, grandson of Syud, Saeed to the throne of Muscats. The Persian Governor of Fars brought forward the agreement that Synd Salim, as grandson of Syud Saeed, could not continue to hold under a lease granted only to Syud Saeed and his sons100. The lease of Bundar Abbas was renewed at an enhanced rate of 20,000 instead of 16,000 tomans in favour of its former Arab Governor Shaikh Saeed, a relation of the Muscat family, but as a direct dependant of Persia and not in his capacity as representative of Muscat¹⁰¹. The Persian Government being informed of Syud Salim's determination to blockade Bundar Abbas in consequence of their refusal to renew the lease of that port, claimed the mediation of the Government of India 102. The Government of India sent the following instructions to Col. Pelly. "His Excellency in Council is of opinion that the present dispute should be adjusted with reference rather to what is equitable and right than to mere terms arranged in 1855. His Excellency in Council considers it highly desirable, both in the interests of the trade of the Persian Gulf and on other grounds, that the lease to Muscat should be renewed, and that the Resident in the Persian Gulf should mediate between the contending parties on the terms that the Sultan of Muscat should hold Bundar Abbas on a reasonable payment. Under no circumstances can His Excellency in Council countenance a resort to hostilities by either party and should the Sultan of Muscat commit aggressions on any of the Persian ports, the Resident should insist on the cessation of hostilities, pending a settlement of the dispute by mediation, for which the British Government have already tendered their good offices." 103 Persian Government desired to assume the direct management of Bundar Abbas, a nephew of the Prince Governor of Fars being made Governor of Bundar Abbas. 104 Syud Salim made preparations for a naval demonstration along the Bundar Abbas coast.105 Col. Pelly however met the Prince Governor of Fars and endeavoured to mediate between the two parties. 106 But negotiations were not conducted smoothly. Col. Pelly

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^{98.} Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India dated 22nd June 1868; Pol A Progs; June 1861; No. 151.

^{99.} Ibid. 100. Ibid. 101. Ibid. 102. Ibid.

^{103.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 19th June 1868; Pol A Progs; June 1868; No. 150.

^{104.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 9th May 1868; Pol A Progs; June 1868; No. 149.

^{105.} Ibid.

^{106.} Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India dated 22ad June 1868; Pol A Progs; June 1868; No 151.

sent a telegram to the Bombay Government to the effect that the Persian Government had openly declined British mediation, that the Muscat Agent would endeavour to open negotiations direct, but that there appeared small chance of success. 107

In the event of failure, Col. Pelly urged that no further restriction should be placed on the action of the Sultan of Muscat. A naval demonstration would, Col. Pelly thought, at once bring Persia to terms. 108 Bombay Government expressed their concurrence with Col. Pelly's view that Muscat should no longer be prevented from enforcing her claim by blockade and added that there would be the less objection to this course, inasmuch as efficient British vessels of war would be soon present in the Gulf. 109 This policy would have resulted in a serious disturbance of the · peace of the Persian Gulf. Fortunately the Government of India firmly adhered to a policy of peace and telegraphed the following instructions to Col. Pelly:-" Under no circumstances will the Viceroy allow the Imam to resort to warlike operations. It is our interest to keep the peace between the two parties and endeavour to bring them to terms."110 The Government of India desired that negotiations should be attempted through Her Majesty's Minister at Tehran. 111 The strong attitude of the Government of India has its desired effect and Col. Pelly successfully arranged the terms of the lease of Bundar Abbas to Muscat for 30,000 tomans for 8 years.112

Struggle for power between Syud Salim and Azan Bin Ghias:—In September 1868 Azan Bin Ghias, the Chief of Rostack rose in rebellion against Syud Salim, took the town of Burkah and threatened to march on the capital. Captain G. A. Atkinson, acting Political Agent, Muscat thought that the influence of Syud Salim was on the wane and suggested to the Bombay Government to take up the cause of Syud Toorkee. The Bombay Government instructed Capt. Atkinson that he was not to be

^{107.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 25th July 1868; Pol A Progs; August 1868; No. 25.

^{108.} Ibid. 109. Ibid.

^{110.} Telegram from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 26th July 1868; Pol. A Progs; August 1868; No. 26.

^{111.} Ibid.

^{112.} Telegram from Col. Pelly to Government of India dated 28th July 1868; Pol A Progs; August 1868; No. 29 and telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 5th August 1868; Pol A Progs; August 1868; No. 97.

^{213.} Letter from Col. Pelly to Bombay Government dated 26th September 1868; Pol A Props; October 1868; No. 366.

^{114.} Letter from Acting Political Agent, Muscat to Bombay Government dated 22nd September 1868; Pol A Progs; October 1868; No. 373.

precipitate in recognising the deposition of the Sultan, that he was not to use force in his behalf and that in case of an election Government would prefer Syud Toorkee. 115 Lord Lawrence directed that Syud Toorkee should not be allowed to return to Muscat, as they were morally bound to give Syud Salim sufficient time to regain his power, 116 On the 6th October 1868 Col. Pelly reported to the Bombay Government that the rebels had seized Burkah. Muttra and Muscat itself and solicited instructions as to whether, in the event of the Sultan failing to regain his capital, he was to aid him by force or whether the tribes were to be permitted to elect their own head.117 On 15th October 1868 Col. Pelly reported that the chiefs of Azan's party had proclaimed him Imam.118 Azan was soon able to consolidate his power.119 At this turn of events, the Government of India instructed the Bombay Government not to interfere in any way but to watch the progress of events.120 Syud Salim however did not give up the struggle and collected a large force for recovering his dominions. 121 Col. Pelly solicited instructions concerning embarkation of Arab tribes. 122 The Bombay Government regarded the increasing influence and power of Azan as highly unfavourable to British interests and wanted to help Synd Salim by permitting embarkation of Arab tribes favourable to Syud Salim. 123 But since Syud Salim had shown his incapacity for leadership and had lost Muscat, the Government of India decided not to favour him and so instructed the Bombay Government that Syud Salim should not be allowed to return to Muscat with any force or to attempt naval operations.124 The Government of India was of opinion that the best and truest policy to adopt would be to refuse either Syud Salim or Syud Toorkee permission to attempt to enter Muscat

^{115.} Letter from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 9th October 1868; Pol A Progs; October 1868; No. 368.

^{116.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 5th December 1868; Pol A Progs; December 1868; No. 215.

^{117.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 6th October 1868; Pol A Progs; October 1868; No. 363.

^{118.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 15th October 1868; Pol A Progs; October 1868; No. 371.

^{119.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 19th November 1868; Pol A Progs; December 1868; No. 96.

^{120.} Telegram from Government of India to Bombay Government duted 24th November 1868; Pol A Progs; December 1868; No. 97.

^{121.} Telegram from Bombay Government to Government of India dated 5th December 1868; Pol A Progs; December 1868; No. 215.

^{122.} Ibid. 123. Ibid.

^{124.} Telegram from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 9th December 1868; Pol A Progs; December 1868; No. 216.

by force from the sea-board.125 If Syud Salim could not maintain his position when in his own capital; with the resources of Muscat at his commande he was not very likely to recover his possessions when he had once been ejected and had lost all his advantages of position and power.126 Government of India explained its inability to help Syud Salim in the following significant words. "The main considerations which have influenced. His Excellency in Council in coming to this determination are that, as guardian of the public peace in those waters, the Government of India is bound to interfere in the cause of order and security against confusion and violence. It may often be prudent and politic not to interfere in disputes between rival claimants to power when dissensions break out between such claimants actually resident in the country or city which is the seat of dominion. But His Excellency in Council thinks that we are fully justified, by our supremacy and position in regard to affairs in the Persian Gulf, in not quietly permitting a forcible attempt at re-entry on the part of a Ruler, who has already been forcibly ejected by an opponent aided by the people over whom the rule was exercised."127 Similar considerations of policy actuated the Government of India to forbid Syud Toorkee's advance on Muscat. "It is on the paramount necessity of preventing deliberate attacks by any party out of power, which may result in confusion and disorder, that the Government of India is inclined to base its right to interfere."128 If however a large and influential portion of the chiefs and people signify their fixed intention either of recalling Syud Salim, or of inviting Syud Toorkee to take up power, the Government of India would be disposed readily to acquiesce in such a wish and to allow the person so selected or invited by public opinion to return to Muscat and to resume or enjoy supreme authority in that state. 129 But until this desire be clearly manifested by the people, the Government of India would employ force in order to prevent either Syud Salim or Syud Toorkee from making any warlike attempt to effect their respective objects from the sea-board. 130 Thus the policy of the Government of India aimed at preventing confusion and bloodshed in the Persian Gulf and appointing a popular ruler in Muscat.

^{125.} Letter from Government of India to Bombay Government dated 11th December 1868; Bol A Progs; December 1868; No. 217.

^{•126.} Ibid.

²⁹ lbid.

The purpose of Tipu Sultan's embassy to Constantinople

BY

Dr. I. H. QURESHI, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab),

University Professor of History, Delhi.

It is widely known that Tipū Sultan sent an embassy to the Sublime Porte. The objects which the Sultān had in his view and the reasons of his correspondence with the court of Constantinople are not so well known. When the mission reached Basrah, the English agents wrote, "we have not been able to learn for a certainty the objects of their mission, but we have reasons to believe that the embassy to the Porte is for the purpose of obtaining firmaunds (sic) to establish factories in the Turkish dominions.....". Regarding the proposed visit of Tipū's agents to France and England, the same letter suggests that the aim was "probably to engage the alliance of those powers against the Mahrattas and to prevail upon them not to join the Mahrattas against Tippoo." 2

It is true that Tipu had the intention of establishing trade relations with Turkey, but this object could be only secondary because Tipu did not persist in this attempt. Besides a man of his acumen could not be ignorant of the fact that it was useless to establish factories in Turkey without merchant ships and effective naval power to guard them. Nor could he have ignored the certainty of an impending conflict with the British who enjoyed supremacy in Indian and Turkish waters. Similarly the idea of Tipu's desire for an alliance with the French and the English against the Marathas is far fetched, because he was more desirous of winning Maratha friendship against the English. Tipu knew instinctively that the English were his natural enemies. Therefore, he consistently desired an alliance with the French whom he considered to be his willing allies against the English. But he was not so afraid of the Marathas as to send his representatives all the way to France and England to secure kelp. He defeated the Marathas badly in 1787, but he gave them generous terms because he did not want them to join forces with the British in the impending war. The embassy naturally kept its real purpose secret and did not disclose it until it was necessary. Therefore, it is not proper to repose much confidence in the Basrah report so far as the purpose of the embassy is concerned. Those writers who have taken their clue from such documents have

^{1.} Sec. Con., 3, 5th January, 1787, Firmaunds is a corruption of farmane.

^{7.} Ibid.

failed to understand the real object of Tīpu's mission to Constantinople. The significance of the embassy becomes quite clear if we take into consideration the political condition of South India.

Haidar 'Ali Khan, the founder of the might of Myzore, had, by his foresight and ability as well as judicious use of his great military capacity, become the most formidable power of South India. The British, who were not so indifferent to the possibilities of establishing their power in India as is generally made out by some historians, considered Haidar 'Alī to be the greatest obstacle in the achievement of their ambition.3 This is borne out by the fact that Sir Eyre Coote, on hearing the news of Haidar 'Ali's death could not help writing "on the many beneficial effects which may be expected to arise to our general interests in India by the important news of · Hyder Ally's death-it opens to us the fairest prospect of securing to the Mother country the permanent and undisturbed possession of these Eastern dominions."4 Haidar 'Ali, also, was not unaware of the intentions of the British, nor of their methods of acquiring territory. In a letter to Muhammad Iftikhār Khān, he wrote that "the English first try to secure a footing in other territories by cutward professions of friendship and then gradually they bring them under their full sway."5 In the same letter he says that the English have always been his inveterate enemy.6 This animosity was natural betweent two powers which had the ambition of extending their dominions in the same area.

At the time of Haidar 'Ali's death, his enemies fondly believed that his newly built power would cease to be a dominant factor in South Indian politics. The natural anxiety at the death of a military commander and ruler like Haidar 'Ali was exaggerated by British informants. For instance, Murād 'Ali, an 'amaldar, wrote to Major General Stuart: "The companions of the Naik are gone off to Tippoo to say, 'collect your scattered forces at Colar and despatch a person with a letter of peace to the heads of the English army and if the Nawāb Wālājāh desires anything as a recompence for the destruction of his kingdom, settle matters by agreement and live contented in your kingdom'? It is possible that some weak hearts advised Tipū to reek terms, but the army seems to have unbounded confidence in him. Fath Muhammad, a British sepoy, who had been able to visit the Mysore comp, reported that "he could perceive that the army in general had the highest opinion of Tippoo's humanity and abilities to command

^{3. &}quot;The value of the prize for which they (the English) were competing was even then perfectly known"—Sir Alfred Lyall: The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion India, p. 19. (1919 Ed.)

^{4.} Cons., 18th January, 1783.

them and were highly confident that they would succeed while he remained at their head."7

This confidence reposed by the army in the capacity of Tipu was justified by later events, which very soon showed that he was a worthy successor of his father and could fulfil the role of an ambitious ruler. Thus the fears which his father's success had aroused in the minds of the neighbouring chiefs and of the English were far from allayed when Tipu came to the throne and maintained the tradition of his father.

What were these fears? It was the open ambition of Haidar 'Ali as well as Tipu to be the overlord of all the area south of the river Kistna.3 This brought them into conflict with the Nawab Walajah, the ruler of Arcot. The Carnatic was contiguous to Mysore and its weakness offered a great temptation to the rising power of Mysore. There was nothing in the conditions of eighteenth century India to damp these ambitions. anarchy brought about by the rise of the Marathas and the weakening of the Mughul Empire had made it possible for new dynasties to establish and extend their power. Public opinion considered it natural in princes to seek aggrandisement at the expense of their neighbours. The Nawab Wālājāh wrote to Lord Cornwallis, "There is a great difference between the politics of Europe and of this country. The princes of India consider conquest as the means of increasing their prosperity, of securing an inheritance to their children and of delivering in (sic) their name to prosperity. They don't regard wealth and they never choose to enter into any alliance from which there are no expectations of gaining an increase in territory."9

It should, however, be remembered that Haidar 'Ali turned hostile to the Nawab of Carnatic only by force of circumstances. In spite of Haidar 'Ali's desire to make friends with the English, they had seen profit in entering into an alliance with the Nizām which was directed against the ruler of Mysore. Then the Madras government brought on itself his wrath by failing to honour its pledge to help him against his enemies. The Nawāb of Arcot had had slight differences with Haidar 'Ali before, which need not have resulted in deep rooted enmity. It was the hope of the Bombay government that the differences between the rulers of Mysore and Carnatic could be smoothed out". But the hostility of the British and their failure to abide by their word ruled out any possibility of a reconciliation between Haidar 'Ali and Nawāb Wālājāh. It was as the ally and the protege of the English that the Nawāb of Carnatic suffered. Wālājāh, however,

^{7.} Intelligence received 18th December, 1782.

^{8.} Sec. Con., 9, 12 Nov., 1787, Intelligence received from Malharjee at Hyderabad, 21 September, 1887.

^{9,} Sec. Con. 17; 2nd October, 1787.

never realized that Haidar 'Ali's hostility was directed mainly against his protectors and he became more determined in his harted for the ruler of Myeore. Haidar 'Alī and Tipū were both men of deep acumen and possessed a sound political instinct; they soon came to foresee that if the Indian powers did not unite against the British, the whole of South India would pass into British hands. It did not require a prophet to see that the power which was the protector of Carnatic as well as Haidarābād was on its way to the overlordship of South India. English diplomacy was, however, too strong for them. Whenever they attempted to induce the Marathas and the Nizām to join hands with Mysore, they failed in securing sincere co-operation of the two powers against the English. The ruler of Carnatic was not of sufficient importance, because he was entirely dependent on the English.

The relations of the rulers of Mysore with their Muslim neighbours were further complicated by legal cobwebs. The legal position originally had been that the Nizam was the viceroy of the Deccan. The Nawab of the Carnatic was the governor of the area further south, but subordinate to the Nizam. Clive's treaty of Allahabad with Shah 'Alam changed the position slightly in favour of the Nawab of Carnatic. He secured the title of Walajah and his traditional dependence on the Nizam came to an end.10 Thus the Nizam as well as the Walajah both had excellent legal titles to their dominions. They were in their territories, the representatives of the Mughul Emperor, still regarded as the legal sovereign. The Marathas had their sanads: the English had secured grants for the areas directly under their administration. The Hindu family of Mysore were the tributaries of . the Empire and thus nominally under the Nizam. The Rajah of Travancore was a tributary of the Carnatic.11 Where did the new House Mysore come into this picture?

In the beginning Haidar 'Alī was content to be a servant of the Rajah of Mysore who had a legal title to his dominions. Haidar 'Alī extended his personal territory, but he kept on the fiction of being subordinate to the Rajah. 12 But this position was precarious and legally full of danger. As late as 1779, in a letter to Basalat Jang Nizām 'Alī Khān refers to Haidar 'Alī as a mere Zamindar. 13 In 1768 the Nizām had ceded the diwani of Mysore to the English, it was only Haidar 'Alī's valour which saved him

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^{10.} Cambridge History of India. Vol. V, pp. 275, 276.

^{11.} Sec. Con. 7, 12th Nov., 1787.

^{12.} For a full discussion of this question, vide Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, January, 1942, Pt. II, pp. 301-303 (Haider Ali, His relations with the Crown by Mr. D. S. Achuta Rau)

^{13.} O. R. 112 Persian Records—letter from Nawab Nizam 'Ali Khan to Nawab Basalat Jeng.

TIPU SULTAN'S EMBASSY TO CONSTANTINOPLE

from destruction and enabled him to dictate terms at Madras. In January 1782 Nizām 'Ali Khān again entered into agreement with Mr. Holland, the British resident at Haiderabad to invade Baidar 'Ali's dominions and to The Nizam felt justified, in planning partition his territories.14 the destruction of Haider Ali because he considered him to be a mere usurper with no right to his territories. Tipu ended this fiction of his dependence on the Hindu Rajah of Mysore which made his legal title even weaker. According to the legal ideas of the day every Indian ruler had to acknowledge the supremacy of the House of Timur. This in itself would be quite acceptable to Tipu, but, as matters stood, he could get recognition only as a subordinate either of the Wālājāh or the Nizām. Both of these princes had shown inveterate hostility to his interests and planned his destruction. Besides, both the Nizām and the Wālājāh were dependent on the English who were by no means friendly to Tipu. Haidar 'Ali had once been appointed the Governor of Sara, a district of the Nizam's dominions, by the Emperor. Therefore, the Nizam was never tired of repeating that Tipu was his servant, though there was little reality in the claim.15 Tipu had never been under the control of the Nizam; he was a prince of greater authority and power; the Nizām, however, harped on his legal authority. Legal subordination to Muslim courts which were jealous of the power and glory of the Haidar 'Ali and Tipu and which were under the influence of the English was fraught with danger. It was possible for the English to use this position in their own interests by carefully playing on the jealousy and cupidity of the Nawab Walajah and the Nizam. If the Nizam chose to invade Mysore, or if Tipu found it necessary to fight the Nizam, Tipu could be branded as a rebel against legally constituted authority.

It may be argued that rebellion against legal authority was not considered such a crime in the eighteenth century, but this would be a superficial view to take. The Mughul Emperor had been a roi faincant for some time when the East India Company, the Marathas and other powerful princes of India sought sanction for their power by securing grants from Delhi. Great was the hold on the public mind of legal propriety. The Muslims, in particular, who were, by no means, a negligible factor in the political life of the Empire, had great respect for legal forms, because their personal and religious law was inseparable from the political legal theory of those days. The law still regarded the Mughul Emperor as the political and religious head of the Muslims in India; hence rebellion against him or his deputies was a sin. This aspect could easily be emphasized by interested parties and Tipu's Muslim soldiery was not immune from the effects of such propaganda. Tipu could foresee that he had to engage in a desperate

^{14.} O. R. 9 Persian Records.

^{15.} Sec. Cons. 10, 12th Nov., 1787, letter from the Nizam to Mons. Consign,

struggle against the British for his very existence. In this struggle the Nizām and the Wālājāh were likely to be used by the British to cripple Tipue resources and fighting capacity. Could he afford to be branded as a rebel against legal authority and put a terrible strain on the loyalty of his Muslim soldiery?

The obvious remedy was to get sanction from the Mughul court for his position as one of the princes of the Empire. The Mughul court, however, was not favourably inclined. In 1783, he, in conjunction with the French, made every attempt to get the grant of Arcot transferred to himself, but he was unsuccessful because of British influence at Delhi. Col. Demonte was sent to Delhi18. In the beginning Shah 'Alam seemed to be favourably inclined towards the French.17 Some other nobles supported Demonte and Tipu, but ultimately the British representative, Major Browne was able to defeat the supporters of the French. 18 Nawab Majd-u'd-dawlah, the na'ib wazir, was the chief minister at Delhi at that time, because the nominal wazir, was the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.19 Majd-u'd-dawlah was a great supporter and friend of the English and swore that he could not betray their interests "while he was alive".20 The result was that Tipu failed to get even the customary khilat which was a mark of ordinary courtesy, much less a grant for Arcot.21 This happened when the French made a real attempt to influence not only Delhi but also the Marathas, giving it out that the King of France had decided to turn the English out of India and when the Emperor Shah ' Alam was also not too pleased with them. 22 If Tipu failed at that time, what hopes could he have of securing any recognition when the English power seemed to be supreme and English influence unchallenged at Delhi.23 Besides, any move by him to secure a status independent of the Nizam would be opposed both by the Nizam and the Wālājāh. It was a hopeless position for any ruler, much more for an ambitious and spirited prince like Tipu.

The only way out of these difficulties seemed to be a declaration of independence. If his independence could gain recognition, at least the legal difficulties would vanish. For this purpose he had to attain the status of a prince, because it must be remembered that Haidar 'Ali Khān never claimed to be anything more than a dalvoy of his Hindu sovereign, the Rajah of Mysore. Tipu forced by circumstances and the need to defend his position and patrimony, decided to dethrone the rajah. This step was also necessary because the Hindu family had continuously been intriguing

^{16.} O. R. 86, 88 (Persian records).

^{17.} O. R. 88. - 18. O. R. 93;

^{19.} O. R. 84.

^{20.} O. R. 84.

^{21.} O. R. 92.

^{22.} O. R. 86.

^{23.} Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Volume VII, p 8-

against Haidar Ali as well as Tipu. Having secured his position at home, he; tired of the continuous intrigues of the Nizam and the Walajah, decided to proclaim himself an independent monarch. Basalat Jang had procured for Haidar 'Ali the government of the subah of Sara and the Mughul Government had sent him the usual insignia of office along with a number of presents. But this position was of definite subordination to the Nizam. and Tipu had tried in vain to get a grant of an area which was independent of the Nizam's control. Hence there was no way out for Tipu except that of proclaiming his independence of the Mughul government. Tipu's future diplomacy seems to have been directed towards gaining recognition for his newly adopted title of an independent monarch. After his successful war against the Marathas and the Nizām (1784-87) he demand that the two powers should recognize Tipu as an independent monarch.24 The importance of this demand can be gauged from the fact that he was not fully successful in his attempt. They however, promised to address him in all future correspondence as Tipu Sultan and not as Fath Ali Khan, as the Nizām had insisted on calling him up to this time.25

The recognition he was not able to secure in India he tried to secure abroad. He corresponded with Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan and Karim Khan Zhand of Iran. Both of these rulers addressed him as a brother monarch.26 He was also in correspondence with France to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the French who were his obvious allies against the English and also to gain international status. Similarly he corresponded with Salim, the Sultan of Turkey with a similar end in view. . He gained this object because the Sultan of Turkey addressed him as a independent monarch.27 On account of the Britisn influence at Constantinople and the rapid progress of French arms in Egypt, the Turkish Sultans were not very eager to encourage Tipu in his attempt to fight the British. Indeed the British succeeded in persuading the Tarkish court to write to Tipu to forsake the friendship of the French and to ally himself with the English, a request which Tipu could not accept. But Tipu did succeed in gaining recognition for his independence in spite of British machinations at Constantinopole. The British news reporter writes, "Golanin Alley Beg died in that country and another man returned having accomplished his means (sic) and he also procured from the Sultan the title-of king and permission to hold (sic) a mint and to have the Khutba read in his

^{24.} Sec. Con. 23rd May, 1787, No. 9.

^{25.} Letter from Mir Muhammad Husain, received 21st June, 1787, No. 42.

^{26.} Zaman Shah's letter to Tipu Sultan and Tipu Sultan's letter to Karim Khan Zhand included in various histories of the period also in Tarikh-i-Saltanat-i-Khudadad, pp. 554-558.

^{27.} Salim's detters to Tipu Sultan included in Fitz Patrich and in Tarikh-i-Saltanat, i-Khudadad.

name.28 This caused a great stir in the political circles of India and efforts were made to prove that Tipu's claim was baseless. The British recognized that the recognition of Tipu's independence was a source of great danger. It was felt that "people will begin to consider his usurped title of king as derival from an authority held respectable among Mohamedans." 20

Why were the British so upset by this recognition? The reasons were obvious. The old Mughul Emperor was their pensioner; they could go on increasing their power without rousing the suspicion and fear of the Muslims who were continuously administered the dopeh that the English were after all the servants of their Emperor. Sultan Tipu was a new nucleus of Muslim resistance-conscious of the fact that the English were stealing the sceptre from the hands of the effete Mughul. This was the plea which Tipu had advanced for his attitude towards the English as well as the . Emperor.30 If Tipu succeeded in arousing the Muslims, the British would have to face much greater difficulties in subjugating India. Besides, Tipu's letters were drawing the attention of the Muslim powers in India. What was more, he had schemes of co-operation in political and economic spheres which would create a new hindrance for the British because it was Tipu's suggestion that Muslims countries should have trade relations, factory establishments, new arms and naval power.31 An independent, live centre of Islamic renaissance in India could not suit British interests.

Hitherto religious feeling could be roused against Tipu by branding his as a rebel and a destroyer of the unity of the Mughul Empire. But the Sultan of Turkey had a better right to recognize the position of Tipu, because the empire of Turkey still enjoyed a great prestige as the formost political power of Islam in spite of its decay. The Sultan was the Caliph of the Muslim world. It is true that the Mughul Emperor claimed to be Caliphs in their own dominions but the Turkish Sultans were the "servants of the sacred shrines" and they had been given the office by the House of Abbas. The Nizam could no longer harp on his legal superiority; because the Sultan of Mysore had a better title to his kingdom than the vicercy of the Deccan to his viceroyalty. It is not surprising therefore, that the English decided to crush Tipu and directed all their attention to his destruction. The Sultan's ideas were dangerous: hence Wellesley's high handed treatment of · him even when he had ceased to be an effective power. In the light of these factors one understands the jubilations over the fall of Tipu Sultan and the systematic propaganda against that brave, pious and high souled martyr which English historians employ to hide British iniquity and intrigue.

^{28.} Mir Muhammad Husain's letter received 21st June, 1787.

^{29.} Sec. Con. 12th November, 1787, No. 9.

^{30,} Petters to Sultan Salim and other Muslim monarcher

OURSELVES.

We regret very much the inordinate but inevitable delay in the publication of the first two issues of volume XXIV of the journal. We can only plead unaveidable circumstances as having brought about this. The curtailment of paper supply almost drove us to consider whether it would not be wisdom to stop issuing the journal. We managed however to surmount this by the generous relaxation of the restriction in our favour by the Government of India. Then came in the change of press at an awkward time. Press work delayed enormously, as it was found impossible to recruit new workmen at the press under the prevailing conditions of the labour market. It became therefore unavoidable that the work be carried on with the reliable personnel available and without any possibility of additional workmen being engaged. We apologise sincerely for the delay. We are proceeding to work almost continuously upon bringing out Part 3 so as to complete volume XXIV by December next,

It has become necessary for us to do this, as we have agreed to transfer the journal to the Travancore University at the request of the University authorities. The journal will hereafter be published by the Travancore University. We hope this arrangement will prove satisfactory and assure the continuance of the journal. We have had reluctantly to agree to this proposal owing to our own recent ill-health and the inconveniences experienced by us in these bad times. Notwithstanding these personal inconveniences, we part with the journal with regret, though, through the generosity of the authorities of the University, our association with the journal will receive recognition. We wish the journal a long life, and trust that the labour and the sacrifices put into it during the last 21 years of our active work with it, will not be lost. We hope we have done our duty by the subject of our choice, to the best of our ability during the score of years of our responsible connection with it, not withstanding the advice of sincere friends, who tried to dissuade us, from experience, from taking up the journal.

OBITUARY.

We regret very much to record the death of Professor Beni Prasad of the Allahabad University. Though his name was not directly associated with the journal, he is one of those who had devoted himself to the work of research on Indian History and had done valuable work in the subject of his choice. It is matter for regret that he should be taken away from his work at the prime of life.

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REVIEWS.

We note with pleasure the publication of two Commemoration Volumes in honour of two Indian scholars who have done valuable work in Indian historical research. The first is Bharata-kaumudi in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, till recently Professor of Indian History in the University of Lucknow, to which he passed from the Mysore University. It is a good collection of 42 papers. This is the first volume. The volume is in two parts, and another part is to follow, making up a total of 75 articles contributed. It is a very interesting collection, and it will be invidious to make selections from out of these.

The Dr. B. C. Law Volume, which is also the first part, is even bigger in size. The next part is promised early. Dr. Bimala Churn Law entered the field of Indian historical research early in his life and has made large contribution to historical research. Not only that. Being a zemindar of wealth, he not only contributed to the work of research, but made liberal donations in encouragement of historical research. It is quite fitting that his work as a student of history and a liberal patron of Indian historical research alike should deserve wide recognition.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M. A., Mysore University.

The publication of the various reports bearing on the Indus Valley-Civilization brings the question of the ancient Hindu civilization into considerable prominence. One of the problems connected with these archaeological discoveries, viz., its connection with the Vedic civilization, was prominently noticed even in Sir John Marshall's report, the first document bearing on this important discovery. The problems connected with the discoveries connected with the Indus Valley Civilization are certainly really many and very important. The first and the most important point for consideration would be how far the civilization revealed by these feats of exploration are originally Indian, and how this is connected with the other ancient Asiatic civilizations on the one side and the Vedic Indian civilization on the other. The archaeological explorations on the sites of Western Asia, Crefe and Greece etc., open a field for comparison between the Indus Valley Civilization and the Aegean and West Asiatio civilizations. The question of the connection of this Indus Civilization with Vedic civilization generally but slenderly touched by Sir John Marshall,

REVIEWS

requires to be studied more systematically in the light of the fulness of these archaeological reports and a complete knowledge of Vedic literature as such. It means naturally a full study of Vedic literature and of the examination of the archaeological finds in the light of the knowledge that could be gained therefrom. It is therefore with pleasure that we know that a competent Sanskrit scholar like Mr. Srikantha Sastri of the Mysore University should have taken upon himself a systematic study of the archaeological finds with a view to their Vedic affiliation. Mr. Srikantha Sastri makes in this brochure of less than a hundred pages a serious attempt at the religion of the people whose handiwork have been brought to light in the volumes of the reports of the Indus Valley Civilization. On a mere preliminary study of the signs and symbols one finds on the artefacts brought out from the excavations, Mr. Srikantha Sastri is able to see much that could be understood from passages of a very ancient character in Vedic literature, particularly in the hymns of the Atharva Veda and even of the Rig Veda, not to speak of the literature subsidiary thereto. He is able to institute comparisons between the similarities discovered between the artefacts of the Indus Civilization and the West Asiatic on the one hand, and the new light that may be derived from Vedic literature on the other. He is able to point out that much that remained unexplained by a comparative study of the science and symbols of the Indus Valley and the Asiatic civilization could be explained rather more satisfactorily from what we can gather from the more ancient parts of this Vedic literature.

He attempts his study with a systematic consideration of these signs and symbols which may be regarded as decorative or mere geometrical symbols, and then passes on to the consideration of similar symbols which may have religious significance and proceeds to the consideration of the forms in which the deities are made to appear both in West Asia and in the Indus group. He notes that in West Asia the deities are represented in human forms. Such human representation of deities is comparatively rare in India. One feature of these figurines is that they occur in large numbers and topped by a representation of the great God interpreted as the God of Peace, making this supreme deity. The notion of a dominating mothergoddess seems almost completely absent in the Indus Valley and eisewhere in India. Since most of the seals found may be regarded as amulets, we'do come to the representation of certain Gods, which are much better interpreted in the light of the Atharvan civilization than in the usual imaginative way in which they have been so far interpreted. Though we do not find an exact representation of the Sun God in the Indus Civilization, we do come upon a deity with a head-gear of plants and shown under the bough of a tree. The sun deity seems to be represented by the symbol of a

Svastika, a circle with radiating bands bent towards the right, not withstanding all the various theories that had been advanced in regard to the origin of this symbol. Mr. Sastri has got much to say about various other symbols which do represent astronomical objects. Coming to a question of fertility Gods, Mr. Sastri finds that the god in the pattern of Indus seals under a bough of trees full of leaves with a head-gear which is a three leaf ornamentation. In the absence of the characteristic feature of a female deity rousing him to life, the interpretation that it is Siva a fertility God seems to find confirmation. Siva and Krishna are the Gods of the Hindu pantheon associated with agriculture. As such, the three-headed figure with an antelope below the seal and surrounded by other animals such as kine, horses, men, goats and sheep, would perhaps bear the interpretation of being Siva, Mahesvaramurti, or Agni between whom there is a certain. amount of similarity. The Atharva representation of Virupaksha would seem to answer to this more satisfactorily than anything that has so far been suggested.

We come next to the important question of the Vrātya described in the Atharva Veda, Book V. The word Vrātya is derivable both from the word Vrata and Vrāta, Vrata means a ceremony and Vrāta a crowd, There is authority in Vedic literature for regarding these as Sanyasis or other wandering mendicants and being Brahmans, possibly worshippers of Siva. The God is represented as either standing erect or sitting on an āsandi (throne), a benchlike thing with rests on both ends and covered over with a carpet or something analogous to it. The interesting point of it is that the characteristics of the Vratyas derivable from the Atharva Veda are . found on the three-faced deities. It is possible perhaps to identify this deity with other Vedic Gods, such as Tvasta, who is sometime described as Triśiras, three-headed, and Viśvarūpa. There are other Gods besides found represented as seated on trees and looking upon animals below. Wild animals find representations similarly answering more or less to their description in the Atharva Veda. There is besides a representation of the Goddess of Fertility, but the representation in these seals shows the Goddess in a subordinate capacity which makes it impossible; we could regard her as the mother goddess, of the Supreme Deity as in the West Asiatic archaeological finds. The Atharva Veda describes a variety of head dresses of these goddesses. Among the variety of names describing the head-gear, the words, Opāsa, Kubīra and Kamba, all meaning roughly horn. Mr. Sastri tries to find a Dravidian analogue for the Kurira in Kural, which he interprets as hair curls. If it is a Dravidian word at all, it must be Surul, and not Kural, which has got an altogether different significance.

Coming to the representation of goddesses with pigtails, braided hair, which finds mention in the Vedas frequently, seems to be the prevailing

fashion and the goddesses with plaited hair are regarded as imported from India in the West Asiatic civilisation of the Jemdat Nasr period and thence carried into Sumerian. One of these Goddesses called Sivali is represented broad braids analogous to the spouse of Vishnu described in the Atharva Veda (VII, 40) and Rig Veda (II, 32. 7). There is much else by way of detail that each describes, and analogies could be found readier in the early Vedic literature than elsewhere. By way of representation of Vishnu worship, we have representations of Saligrama, of Sankha, a plant in a pot, perhaps representing tulasi (basil), the eagle with snakes and representations of chakra, which may be sun-wheel. This might point to a proto-Vaishnavism that prevailed. Mr. Sastri then passes on to a remedy for a fever, Thakman in the Atharva Veda, Hrudu, and the variant forms of this word, Mr. Sastri tries to explain this word Hrudu unlike the other explanation by having recourse to the Dravidian as usual $\vec{A}d\vec{u}$, sheep in Dravidian, just as the analogue in Vedic Sanskrit is Eduka. But I believe Hrudu has closer analogy in the term Varudai which may be philologically closer, and indicates a species of animal of the group of deer. Then he passes on to the figurines and amulets, very often the product of witchcraft and sorcery, of which there is a considerable variety, for which analogy could be quoted again from the Atharva Veda in the books concerned with spells and incantations. There are many points of interest besides in this. Mr. Sastri passes on to a consideration of artefacts of astrologicomagical significance. Though there are no representations of the moon as such, Mr. Sastri finds among the Harapa seals representation of the crescent as scorpion, man with water jars suspended from a pole. This he regards as certainly astrological representations of the houses of the Zodiac. He carries the investigation further.

Passing on to a consideration of the archaeological finds which may be considered as of astronomical significance, Mr. Srikantha Sastri arrives at very important conclusions quite subversive of current notions on the matter, supporting his conclusions by even comparative studies of the archaeological finds of the West made in modern times. On a somewhat elaborate study of these he comes to the important conclusion that the nakshatra system, the signs of the Zodiac and other matters connected with it are proved to be Indian completely, and carried to China therefrom long anterior to any knowledge of these in West Asia as exhibited by more recent research in the field, arguing from a statement of Mr. Gadd in respect of certain symbols on certain seals found in Mesopotamia, which show a combination of Indian and Sumerian elements. He would add to these a new seal of gray steatite carrying representations of two figures, one of them carrying a vase and the other holding a goat by the neck. The men are dressed with the Sumerian fleece dress, and exhibits, according to Mr. Sastri,

a combination of Sumerian and Indian features. Then he proceeds to a detailed study of the zodical signs and comes to a conclusion which confirm their completely Indian character. . He finds some of these seals confirming the character of these as described in the Brhatjataka of Varahamihira. The giving by Varahamihira of the Greek names of these houses on the authority of apparently a Greek astronomer, Yavanēśvara, was taken hold of .for the conclusion that the Indians borrowed everything astronomical from the Greeks. But in the face of this fact it is the opposite conclusion that seems to be much more appropriate. This question has to be decided finally on a careful study of connected material available in the Rig Veda particularly the supplementary book XIX of the Atharva Veda, ascribed to Rishi Gargya. The Vedangajotisha with its solar calendar shows itself to be correct over long periods. The contrast between the Babylonian Zodiac and the Indian nakshatra system is then exhibited and the notion of the week between India and Babylonia gets emphasized. In the Brahmana literature we find a week of six days, five such constituting a month, whereas the Babylonians had a week of seven days or five days. In regard to the naming of the months, it is the Babylonian system that gives the names after the zodiacal signs, whereas in India the months are indicated on the basis of the nakshatra in which the moon becomes full. That is the difference recognised now-a-days between the solar and the lunar systems in India. A statement of Philostratus is quoted in support of the contention that the week days named after the planets were unknown in the West in the centuries before Christ. There are records in China which note combinations of five planets of dates 2514 and 2436 B. C., and other details like this are found in China as well. Another important point is that the equinoxes were not known among the Babylonians before 314 B. C. Mr. Sastri draws general conclusions from these that the "Babylonians observed only eclipses and the motion of the planet Venus (Ishtar) and otherwise were quite ignorant of the week days, signs of the Zodiac, cycles of recurrence, precession of the equinoxes, the nakshatras and the method of calculating the lagna, before the fifth century B. C. In India records noting sloar eclipses and the fact of their having been observed by an instrument called Turiyā are noted. The names of the Rāśis were known at any rate from the days of the Mahabharata, and he proceeds further to the dating of the Rig Veda very early. This early dating seems to be confirmed by Western literature. The Boghaz-Keui and Mitannian records omit to mention Agni, and the Gods mentioned are regarded as having been imported from India. He quotes other Vedic passages, and from these the inference is drawn that "s knowledge of the five planets, twenty-eight nakshatras, the twelve divisions of the Sodiac and possibly the seven-day week, was prevalent in the time of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas, not later than 1400 B. C." In the light of these, seme of the signs on the Indus seals are considered and he pursues

the subject-matter and comes to other important conclusions in regard to the connection between India and China in the field of astronomy.

He comes last of all to the general character of the Indus civilization, which Sir John Marshall regarded as non-Vedic in point of character. The Harappa excavations seem more or less to overthrow this position, particularly in respect of the disposal of the dead by burning. This finds confirmation in a further study of the Vedic funereal customs which point to the Aryans having observed not only the disposal of the dead by cremation, but by various other methods. Mr. Sastri comes to the important conclusion that the Indus fenerary customs proved completely the Aryan character of the Indus civilization.

We are indeed very gratified to find Mr. Srikantha Sastri has carried on his investigation into this comparatively new, and, we should say, rather unfamiliar subject to purpose; and has arrived at conclusions which, on the face of it, are startling. The subject certainly did deserve to be worked out fully and carefully, and Mr. Sastri has done a good deal to justify the effort. We may say that his study is not as yet as complete as one would The important topics covered by this thesis of Mr. Sastri ought to be worked out in fuller detail and the text bearing on these ought to be published with translation and introduction to make the non-Sanskrit knowing people appreciate the position, as they could not without a full exposition of the texts bearing on the question. The important position of the subject of the Vrātyas and the details of an astronomical character would deserve a far more elaborate study with the fulness and thoroughness which the important character of the subject deserves. We congratulate Mr. Sastri on what he has done and trust he will carry on the study further and more completely.

Pakistan Literature Series :

- No. 1. National States and National Minorities;
- No. 2. The Communal Pattern of India;
- No. 3. Some Aspects of Pakistan.

These publications written by competent scholars seem intended to enforce the Pakistan idea among people. A Special Committee has made itself responsible for the publication and the convener of the Committee contributes an introduction to some of these. The purport of these publications seems to be to establish the imperative need of separate Muhammadan states in India, wherever the Muslim should be in a majority. All the arguments in the pamphlets seem to enforce the idea of the distinctive separate existence of Muslim communities in various parts of India, and the argument seems to be that wherever they happen to be in a majority

they should be allowed to have self-determination as far as possible, with little subordination to the central authority even. The arguments in the pamphlets are all of them familiar and are intended to show the distinct character of the Muslim population in India. This distinct character of the Indian Muslims does not require much demonstration, and the real question is whether this distinct character entitles them to the claim that they are a separate nation and ought to be treated as such. The nationality idea of the 19th century did make religion an important factor. But circumstances have since changed very largely, and mere change of religion cannot change the national character of individuals and families, particularly in these days of large political communities, either empires or large divisions named otherwise. The main consideration in respect of India at this critical moment is not the individuality of the separate groups forming the population of India as a whole, but really the position that India is to occupy among the countries of the world constituting what in fact is the tendency to the formation of a world state. While one might agree with much that is contained in these pamphlets, it is impossible that one could bring himself to agree that the change of religion merely does make one change his nationality. As a matter of fact, we can quote from the pamphlets instances where they want to make the Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, such as remain in India, as separate nations. We very much fear that they would not agree to that.

Another point of importance in this is that the term Hindu is used here as if it were a term of application to a religious group. There is no religion that can be defined as Hinduism, and what is popularly and vaguely called Hinduism is the religion professed by a man who is described as a Hindu. Atl the religious convictions and practices of groups of these people labelled Hindu would be found to be as different from one another as the other sections of religion referred to above even including the Muslims. The term Hindu is a term, not Indian in origin, but foreign, and ought to apply to the population of Hind or India, and would include all these distinct peoples. The nearest native equivalent for the European term Indian is Hindu, and the application of this term has been a source of considerable misunderstanding, not to say mischief exactly. Unless it be regarded as a device to reduce the so-called Hindu population of the country to a minority, the description is entirely false. Society in India is constituted not on the basis of uniformity of religion and religious practices. From time immemorial these features have been regarded as personal features and have not been regarded as social influences making for separation of communities. Communities have been allowed to enjoy independence in religion and even in many of the essential social features, such as inter-marriage inter-diring, etc., and India has been all through

the thousands of years happ Hy a country of various communities and religion, and any plan for India should take note of this. At the present moment when the world is in great labour for the birth of a world state, it would be ridiculous if comparatively minor details like religion or the habit of eating or the character of the food should be held to intensify the distinction to the point of separation. We must now take note of the fact as was said by one of the members of the Turkish Delegation that in Turkey they do not insist upon religion constituting a separate nationality. So it seems to be in China. The Chinese Muslim does not appear to think that he is anything distinct from the Chinese. All the arguments of these pamphlets seem wasted. The Muhammadan in India is about as good as the Jain or the Sikh, and has no claim to any more distinct character than either of these communities. There are far other mere religion against a division of India into considerations than communities.

Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa by C. Sivaramamurti, M.A. Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of South India, No. 1.

In this little book, Mr. Sivaramamurthi has brought together about a hundred inscriptions in Sanskrit language, reproducing most of them in facsimile as well. The purpose of the little book is to point out that these inscriptions show their indebtedness to various classical writers of Sanskrit, Kalidasa in particular. It is an interesting collection and withal informing to learners of Sanskrit epigraphy, and will serve as an easy introduction to epigraphy.

Studies in the Renaissance of Hinduism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries by Professor D.S. Sarma, M.A. (The Pratap Singh Gaekwad Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion, Benares Hindu University, 1944, pp. 652.)

It is now nearly a century and a half since the morning star of Hindu Renaissance, Ram Mohun Roy, began his life of light. The light has grown into the full midday beam of Mahatma at which latter day Hindus have kindled their undazzled eyes, purging and unscaling their long abused sight. It was time then to attest, at any rate to chronicle, the renaissance of a religion and a way of life to which the great Hindus from Ram Mohun Roy to Mahatma Gandhi have borne witness gloriously. And the Benares Hindu University and Professor D. S. Sarma have undertaken the task and the book under review, one hopes, is only one of a series of such books considering the amplitude of the theme and the different perspectives possible.

Professor Sarma's perspective has included in this "survey," as he calls his book, "only those movements and those personages whose

influence has been felt all over India." . Perspectives differ; it would be churlish to marvel at the attention devoted to Keshub Chander Sen whose influence has not been felt all over India, at least over South India, and who, according to the learned author, "played as he pleased with the doctrines of Christianity as well as of Hinduism" and "whose religion, therefore, was a sort of conglomerate of Brahmo rationalism, Vaishnava emotionalism. Christian supernaturalism and Vedantic mysticism" while not even a passing reference is made to Ramalinga Swami the impetus given by whom to the theistic, moralistic and humanitarian impluses already implicit in the land of the Alvars and the Nayanmars has survived him. Assuredly Sri Ramana Maharsi who has been assigned a footnote deserves greater and fuller treatment, the more so when one considers the one whole chapter devoted to a kindred spirit, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, when both are God-realised souls and Advaitins. These two South Indian personages have been brought up here not in any parochial spirit but to illustrate what appears to be a deficiency of treatment of the theme, considering that these are more racy of the soil than their Northern compeers who were subject to a greater degree of foreign influence, especially Christian.

But Professor Sarma's treatment of the personages and movements he has chosen for his investigation, is copious fair and full of academic propriety—in fact, a thought too academic, for how else is one to account for the odd and unexpected little compliment to Mahatma Gandhi when we are told by the learned author that it took Mahatma Gandhi "over an hour and a half to dictate his statement to the press, and it was done without a single note and without the need to make a single correction afterwards, or for the recital of the many academic honours that have gathered thick upon Professor Radhakrishnan, or for the particularity which for instance, notes that Professor Radhakrishnan was born of Telugu Brahman parents? Nevertheless, the glow of feeling almost of exaltation, that suffuses these studies of our great men makes tonic reading and young Hindus have cause to be grateful to Professor Sarma.

And if after these studies the learned author says" To many Hindus themselves, it was an eye-opener in this period to be taught that what really matters in religion is its philosophy based on spiritual experience, and not the particular social arrangements or the beliefs in particular deities in which it embodied itself in the past," one has only to endorse the statement with the grateful remark that the conclusion could not have been put more succinctly or clearly. But when he proceeds to indicate that "there is no reason, for instance, why all these who come into our fold should be confined to the creed of the Arya Samaj. Some might prefer the later developments in Hinduism, like Vaishnavism or Saivism or Sri Vidya or the philosophy of Sankara. Therefore there should be

absolute freedom for any stranger to come into any room of our spacious mansion and make himself comfortable there. Only the person who comes in must conform to the rituals, usages and formulas of the sect he chooses. He must be made to fall in line with others of the same persuasion and not merely hang loose on the sect" (italics mine), it is not clear if he means that his earlier statement is a lesson to be learnt and not applied, or if he is pleading for the reduplication in our times of something like the Vaishnavite Ghoshti with its sampradaya, etc., or if he contemplates with equanimity the perpetuation of so many bright little, tight little sects with ever-growing numbers in membership and even stiffening dogmas. The question is important, as we should know whither we ought to tend whither, as a matter of fact, we are tending as the result of the Renaissance; it is also important as dogmatic religion is alien to our tradition and the Arya Samaj has already been noted in his autobiography by one of the most intellectual and detached of Hindus of our day, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to be moving towards a certain harsh dogmatic exclusiveness alien to the wide intellectual approach (he perceives as characteristic) of the Hindus. If the Renaissance is to end in the emergence of sects like the Arya Samaj, it will not be easy to decide whether the process has justified the results or the results have justified the process.

Another important question which must be raised is Professor Sarma's attitude towards the principle of Non-violence. When the author states "The originality of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching, about non-violence consists in his showing how we can combine the highest non-violence with the highest courage. Probably Western nations with their undoubted courage, spirit of self-sacrifice and power of endurance would be able to make much more of this gospel than we can, when once they learned to renounce violence" (italics mine), is it meant that in India the gospel of non-violence is largely followed by the weak and the cowardly, or that it can never be adopted in India under the optimum conditions?

These questions have to be widely discussed and understood (even if no final answers are found) before the Hindu society can claim to have realised the Renaissance spirit which has sprung from it these last two centuries. Professor Sarma has to be thanked for enabling us to do so by writing this book which is at once patient, minute and animatedly eloquent about the future of Hinduism.

It is worthy of note that such a massive work should be free from mistakes, but still there are a few printer's errors, e.g., Creedal', on page 643, which could have been avoided. And what does Professor Sarma mean by the peculiar expression that Sir S. Radhakrishnan is a great world-champion of religion in general'.

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennal and eGangotri JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

[We are publishing the following note from Professor Nilakanta Sastri in criticism of the editorial note in the previous issue of the journal. Readers of the two together can judge for themselves, and we do not propose making any remarks thereon.]

Editor.

TONDI

BY

PROF. . K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,

University of Madras.

In the Journal of Indian History Vol. XXIII. Pt. 3, December 1944, there is found an editorial critique on my article 'Tamil land and the Eastern Colonies' which appeared in a recent issue of the Journal of the Greater India Society (XI—i, January 1944, pp. 26-8). The critic concludes: 'It seems therefore that Prof. Sastri has misunderstood the passage (cited from the Silappadikāram) and builds up a series of statements hardly acceptable to serious students of the Silappadikāram and other Sangam literature'.

Now I do not think that the Śilappadikāram in its present form is a work of the same antiquity as the bulk of the Śangam anthologies, but I do not wish to pursue the point here, and for the sake of argument, I shall concede the opposite assumption of my critic as the point is in no way material for the purpose of this note. Its aim is to examine the statement that I have misunderstood and misinterpreted the text of the Śilappadikāram.

The translation I offered of the text cited reads "Having entered together with the East wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloe, silks, sandal, spices and camphor put by the residents of Tondi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships". The accuracy of this translation has not been questioned by my critic and is apparently accepted by him. His quarrel is with the location I propose for Tondi somewhere in the Eastern lands across the Bay of Bengal. He asserts that if we take note of the whole passage in the Silappadikaram from which my extract comes, it will be found that there are references to the South wind blowing through Korkai, the West wind from Podiyil, and the northern wind through the hill Sirumalai, and then says "these are all referred to in the passage and the statement follows, that the seasons of these winds are all over; and the next hot winds have commenced or are in prospect. It will be seen therefore that the inhabitants of Tondi, the proud possessors of these articles of commerce brought by a large number of ships from the East are not others than the inhabitants of the port on the Eastern sea-board of the Tamil-country". His argument

seems to be that as the winds from the other main directions are said to Blow through places in the Tamil country; and near about Madua, Tondi mentioned in connection with the Eastern wind must also be taken to have been a port in the Tamil country and necessarily identified with Tondi on the Ramnad coast. Even if the facts about the Southern, Western and Northern winds were as stated by my critic, his conclusion regarding the Eastern wind and Tondi would not necessarily follow, and the confident use of the word 'therefore' in his argument cited above is by no means justifiable. But the most cursory examination of the text of Śilappadikāram, canto XIV would show that my critic has got all his facts wrong. It will be seen that Korkai and Sirumalai are mentioned in the text in the passage relating to the rainy season and the Western wind 11. 70-97; Koraki is mentioned for its pearls and Sirumalai for a flower growing on it; and these places have nothing to do with the wind from any direction. Podivil is mentioned in l. 115 as the source of the tenral, South-wind. It will also be noticed that there is no regular correspondence between the winds and the seasons, some seasons being mentioned without any corresponding winds. It is therefore wrong to say, as my critic does, that the winds from the three other main directions are described as blowing through the three places mentioned, and that therefore the wind from the East must also be taken as blowing from or through another place in South India.

My critic affirms "Mr. Sastri is apparently not aware that Tamil literature notes a Cōlan Toṇḍi as opposed to a Kuṭṭuvan Toṇḍi, i.e. the Toṇḍi of the Cōlas as opposed to the Toṇḍi of the Cēras". I confess I have not come across this Cōlan Toṇḍi in Tamil literature and shall be grateful if he would furnish his references. I am aware, however, of references to a Tennavan Toṇḍi, the Toṇḍi of the Pāṇḍyas, to which the earliest reference is perhaps that in the Pāṇḍikkōvai, a work of the eighth or ninth century A. D. This doubtless was the Toṇḍi on the Ramnad coast which was a prominent port for several centuries. But there is no evidence that that Port specialised in the articles of commerce mentioned in the passage translated above; while they are all admittedly products of Eastern lands.

Lastly I am criticised for questioning Adiyārkkunallār's statement that Tondi belonged to the Colas and for assigning to him a date in the 14th century. Regarding the statement that Tondi belonged to the Colas, I shall be content to invite the readers' attention to the exact words I used in my article in dealing with this statement of the commentator and those who have followed him. As I have already stated I am unable to accept without specific references my critic's statement that Tamil' literature notes a Colan Tondi. About the date of Adiyārkkunallār I will only say here

that he quotes works of the 12th and 13th centuries such as the Kalingattuppa ani and the Uttara-Rāmāyana. A date in the 14th century is by no. means too late for him. Others have placed him in the 15th century.

With these observations I shall leave the reader to judge who has misunderstood Canto XIV of the Silappadikāram. I am behind none in my respect for the ancient scholarship of our land, whether it be that of an old commentator like Adiyārkkunallār, or a modern scholar like the late Pandit Swaminatha Aiyer. But our respect for them should not stand in the way of our scrutinising ancient texts as best we may in the light of increasing knowledge; and if what is urged in the editorial note under reference is all that could be said against my suggestion that Tondi might have been the name of a port in the Eastern colonies, I think I have no reason to withdraw that suggestion.

I have examined this question at some length because of the widespread interest of the matter involved and of the difficulty which scholars who do not read Tamil have in following discussions based on original Tamil texts.

Our Exchanges

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The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.

Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona City.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

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The Hindustan Review, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

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Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.

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The Political Science Quarterly, Columbia University, New York.

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The Modern Review, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

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The Ceylon University Journal, University of Ceylon, Colombo.

The Indian Review, Esplanade, Madras.

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The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras...

The Federated India, Esplanade, Madras.

The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

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The Journal of the Greater India Society, 21, Badurbagan Row P. O., Amherst St., Calcutta.

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The Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Benares Hindu University P.O.

Indiana, Gandhigraham, Benares City.

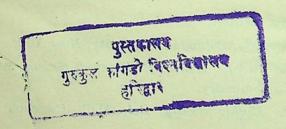
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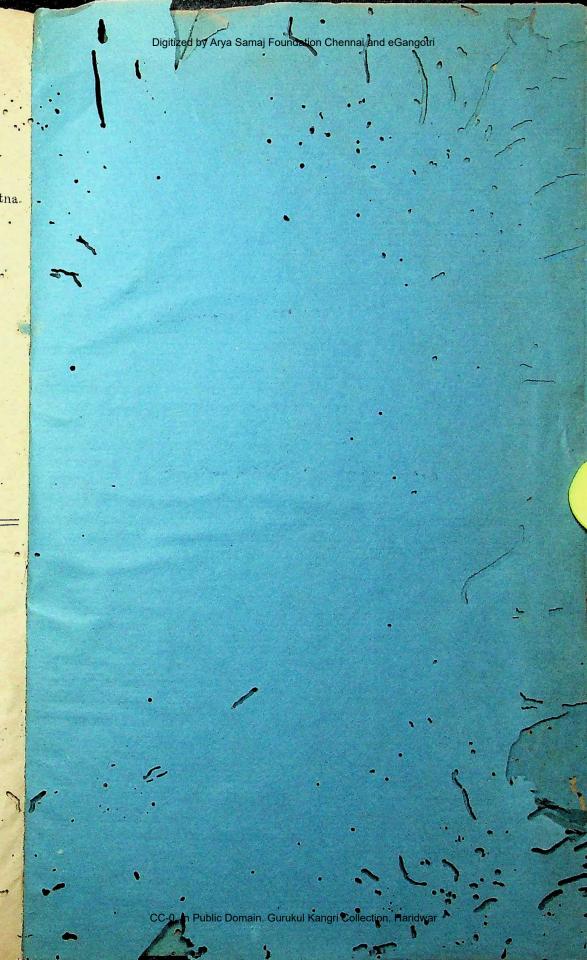
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